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NEW

THE

THEOLOGICAL

WORKS

OF

ISAAC BARROW, D.D.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOLUME VII.

CONTAINING

A TREATISE ON THE POPE'S SUPREMACY,

AND A

DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

OXFORD,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.
MDCCCXXX.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENEAGE,

EARL OF NOTTINGHAM,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND,

AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S

MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL;

THOMAS BARROW,

THE AUTHOR'S FATHER,

HUMBLY DEDICATETH

THIS TREATISE.

THE

PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

THIS excellent and elaborate Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy, which I here present thee withal, the learned Author of it upon his death-bed gave me a particular permission to publish, with this modest character of it; That *he hoped it was indifferent perfect, though not altogether as he intended it, if God had granted him longer life.* He designed, indeed, to have transcribed it again, and to have filled up those many spaces which were purposely left in it, for the further confirmation and illustration of several things by more testimonies and instances, which probably he had in his thoughts: and it would certainly have added much to the beauty and perfection of this work, had it pleased God that he had lived to finish it to his mind, and to have given it his last hand.

However, as it is, it is not only a just, but an admirable Discourse upon this subject; which many others have handled before, but he hath exhausted it: insomuch that no argument of moment, nay, hardly any consideration properly belonging to it, hath escaped his large and comprehensive mind. He hath said enough to silence the controversy for ever, and to deter all wise men, of both sides, from meddling any further with it.

And I dare say, that whoever shall carefully peruse this Treatise will find, that this point of the pope's supremacy (upon which Bellarmine hath the confidence to say *the whole of Christianity depends*) is not only an indefensible, but an impudent cause, as ever was undertaken by learned pens. And nothing could have kept it so long from becoming ridiculous in the judgment of mankind, but its being so strongly supported by a worldly interest. For there is not one tolerable argument for it, and there are a thousand invincible reasons against it. There is neither from scripture, nor reason, nor antiquity, any evidence of it; the past and the

present state of Christendom, the histories and records of all ages, are a perpetual demonstration against it: and there is no other ground in the whole world for it, but that now of a long time it hath been by the pope's janizaries boldly asserted, and stiffly contended for, without reason. So that any one might with as much colour and evidence of truth maintain, that the grand seignior is of right, and for many ages hath been acknowledged, sovereign of the whole world, as that the bishop of Rome is of right, and in all ages from the beginning of Christianity hath been owned to be, the universal monarch and head of the Christian church.

To this Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy I have, for the affinity of the argument, added by way of appendix another discourse of the same Author's, concerning *The Unity of the Church;* which he so explains, as quite to take away the necessity of a visible head over the whole church for the preservation of its unity, which is the only specious, but yet a very remote pretence for the pope's supremacy: for if a visible monarch of the

church were granted necessary, many things more must be supposed, (which neither yet are, nor ever can be proved,) to make the bishop of Rome the man.

The testimonies relating to both parts were very few of them translated by the Author; which he certainly intended, having left spaces for it, and is since done with great care by two of his worthy and learned friends of his own college.

This is all the advertisement I thought necessary.

J. TILLOTSON.

A

TREATISE

OF THE

POPE'S SUPREMACY.

INTRODUCTION.

§. I. THE Roman party doth much glory in unity and certainty of doctrine, as things peculiar to them, and which no other men have any means to attain: yet about divers matters of notable consideration, in what they agree, or of what they are certain, it is hard to descry.

They pretend it very needful that controversies should be decided, and that they have a special knack of doing it: yet do many controversies of great weight and consequence stick on their hands unresolved, many points rest in great doubt and debate among them.

The κύριαι δόξαι of the Roman sect (concerning doctrine, practice, laws and customs of discipline, rites and ceremonies) are of divers sorts, or built on divers grounds. 1. Some established by (pretended) general synods. 2. Some founded on decrees of popes. 3. Some entertained as upon tradition, custom, common agreement. 4. Some which their eminent divines or schoolmen do commonly embrace. 5. Some prevailing by the favour of the Roman court, and its zealous dependents.

Hence it is very difficult to know wherein their religion consisteth: for those grounds divers times seem to clash, and accordingly their divines (some building on these, some on others) disagree.

This being so in many points of importance, is so particularly in this.

For instance, the head of their church (as they call it) is, one would think, a subject about which they should thoroughly consent, and which they, by this time, should have cleared from all disputes; so that (so far as their decisive faculty goeth) we might be assured wherein his authority consisteth, and how far it doth extend; seeing the resolution of that point so nearly toucheth the heart of religion, the faith and practice of all Christians, the good of the church, and peace of the world; seeing that no one question (perhaps not all questions together) hath created so many tragical disturbances in Christendom, as that concerning the bounds of papal authority [a].

This disagreement of the Roman doctors about the nature and extent of papal authority is a shrewd prejudice against it. If a man should sue for a piece of land, and his advocates (the notablest could be had, and well paid) could not find where it lieth, how it is butted and bounded, from whom it was conveyed to him, one would be very apt to suspect his title. If God had instituted such an office, it is highly probable we might satisfactorily know what the nature and use of it were: the patents and charters for it would declare it.

[a] Agitur de summa rei Christianæ. *Bell. Præf. de Rom. Pont.* Upon this one point the very sum and substance of Christianity depends.

Yet for resolution in this great case we are left to seek; they not having either the will, or the courage, or the power, to determine it. This insuperable problem hath baffled all their infallible methods of deciding controversies; their traditions blundering, their synods clashing, their divines wrangling endlessly about what kind of thing the pope is, and what power he rightly may claim.

[b] *There is* (saith a great divine among them) *so much controversy about the plenitude of ecclesiastical power, and to what things it may extend itself, that few things in that matter are secure*——.

This is a plain argument of the impotency of the pope's power in judging and deciding controversies, or of his cause in this matter; that he cannot define a point so nearly concerning him, and which he so much desireth an agreement in; that he cannot settle his own claim out of doubt; that all his authority cannot secure itself from contest.

So indeed it is, that no spells can allay some spirits; and where interests are irreconcileable, opinions will be so.

Some points are so tough and so touchy, that nobody dare meddle with them, fearing that their resolution will fail of success and submission. Hence even the anathematizing definers of Trent (the boldest undertakers to decide controversies that ever were) did wave this point; the legates of the pope being enjoined, [c] *to advertise, That they should not*

[b] Tanta est inter doctores controversia de plenitudine ecclesiasticæ potestatis, et ad quæ se extendat, ut pauca sint in ea materia secura——. *Almain. de Auct. Eccl.* cap. 3.

[c] ——di avertire, Che non si venga mai per qual causa si sia alla disputa dell autorita di papa. *Concil. Trid.* lib. ii. p. 159.

for any cause whatever come to dispute about the pope's authority.

It was indeed wisely done of them to decline this question, their authority not being strong enough to bear the weight of a decision in favour of the Roman see, (against which they could do nothing,) according to its pretences; as appeareth by one clear instance. For whereas that council took upon it incidentally to enact, that any prince should be excommunicate, and deprived of the dominion of any city or place, where he should permit a duel to be fought; the prelates of France in the Convention of Orders, anno 1595, did declare against that decree, as infringing their king's authority[d].

It was therefore advisedly done not to meddle with so ticklish a point. But in the mean time their policy seemeth greater than their charity; which might have inclined them not to leave the world in darkness and doubt, and unresolved in a point of so main importance; (as indeed they did in others of no small consequence, disputed among their divines with obstinate heat, viz. the divine right of bishops, the necessity of residence, the immaculate conception, &c.)

The opinions therefore among them concerning the pope's authority, as they have been, so they are, and in likelihood may continue, very different.

§. II. There are among them those who ascribe to the pope an universal, absolute, and boundless

[d] Hic articulus est contra authoritatem regis, qui non potest privari suo dominio temporali, respectu cujus nullum superiorem recognoscit. *Bochel.* l. v. tit. 20. c. 45. This article is against the authority of the king, who cannot be deprived of his temporal dominion, wherein he acknowledges no superior.

empire over all persons indifferently, and in all matters; conferred and settled on him by Divine immutable sanction: so that all men, of whatever degree, are obliged in conscience to believe whatever he doth authoritatively dictate, and to obey whatever he doth prescribe. So that if princes themselves do refuse obedience to his will, he may excommunicate them, cashier them, depose them, extirpate them. If he chargeth us to hold no communion with our prince, to renounce our allegiance to him, to abandon, oppose, and persecute him, even to death, we may without scruple, we must in duty obey. If he doth interdict whole nations from the exercise of God's worship and service, they must comply therein. So that, according to their conceits, he is in effect sovereign lord of all the world; and superior, even in temporal or civil matters, unto all kings and princes.

It is notorious, that many canonists (if not most) and many divines of that party do maintain this doctrine; affirming, that all the power of Christ (*the Lord of lords, and King of kings*, to whom all power in heaven and earth doth appertain) is imparted to the pope, as to his vicegerent [e].

This is the doctrine which almost 400 years ago Augustinus Triumphus [f], in his *egregious work* con-

[e] Prima sententia est, summum pontificem jure divino habere plenissimam potestatem in universum orbem terrarum, tam in rebus ecclesiasticis quam civilibus. Ita docent Aug. Triumphus, Alvarus Pelagius, Panormitanus, Hostiensis, Silvester, et alii non pauci. *Bell.* v. 1. The first opinion is, that the pope hath a most full power over the whole world, both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs. This is the doctrine of Aug. Triumphus, &c. and of many others.

[f] Scripsit egregiam summam de potestate ecclesiæ. *Bell. de*

cerning ecclesiastical power, did teach; attributing to the pope *an incomprehensible and infinite power; because great is the Lord, and great is his power, and of his greatness there is no end.*

This is the doctrine which the leading theologue of their sect, their angelical doctor, doth affirm, both directly, saying, that [g] *in the pope is the top of both powers;* and by plain consequence, asserting, that *when any one is denounced excommunicate for apostasy, his subjects are immediately freed from his dominion, and their oath of allegiance to him.*

This the same Thomas (or an author passing under his name, in his book touching *the Rule of Princes*) doth teach, affirming, that the pope, [h] *as supreme king of all the world, may impose taxes on all Christians, and destroy towns and castles for the preservation of Christianity.*

This (as cardinal Zabarell near 300 years ago

Script. an. 1301. Error est, non credere pontificem Rom. universalis ecclesiæ pastorem, Petri successorem, et Christi vicarium, supra temporalia et spiritualia universalem non habere primatum; in quem quandoque multi labuntur, dictæ potestatis ignorantia; quæ cum sit infinita, eo quod *magnus est Dominus, et magna virtus ejus, et magnitudinis ejus non est finis,* omnis creatus intellectus in ejus perscrutatione invenitur deficere. *Aug. Triumph. de Potest. Eccl. in præf. ad P. Joh. XXII.*

[g] Thomas in fine Secun. Sentent. dicit in papa esse apicem utriusque potestatis. *Bell.* v. 1. Quum quis per sententiam denunciatur propter apostasiam excommunicatus, ipso facto ejus subditi a dominio, et juramento fidelitatis ejus liberati sunt. *Th.* ii. Secund. qu. 12. art. 2.

[h] S. Thomas (in lib. iii. *de Regim. Princ.* cap. 10, 19.) affirmat summum pontificem jure divino habere spiritualem et temporalem potestatem, ut supremum totius mundi regem, adeo ut etiam taleas omnibus Christianis possit imponere, et civitates ac castra destruere pro conservatione Christianitatis. *Bell.* v. 5.

telleth us) is the doctrine [i] *which, for a long time, those who would please popes did persuade them, that they could do all things, whatever they pleased; yea, and things unlawful; and so could do more than God.*

According to this doctrine then current at Rome, in the last Lateran great synod, under the pope's nose and in his ear, one bishop styled him, [k] *prince of the world;* another orator called him, [l] *king of kings, and monarch of the earth;* another great prelate said of him, that [m] *he had all power above all powers both of heaven and earth.* And the same roused up pope Leo X. in these brave terms; [n] *Snatch up therefore the two-edged sword of divine power, committed to thee; and enjoin, command, and charge, that an universal peace and alliance be made among Christians for at least ten years; and to that bind kings in the fetters of the great King, and constrain nobles by the iron ma-*

[i] Quæ jura sunt notanda, quia male considerata sunt per multos assentatores, qui voluerunt placere pontificibus, per multa retro tempora, et usque ad hodierna suaserunt eis, quod omnia possent; et sic quod facerent quicquid liberet, etiam illicita, et sic plus quam Deus. *Zab. de Schism.*

[k] Orbis princeps. *Episc. Spal.* sess. i. p. 24.

[l] Regum rex, et orbis terrarum monarcha. *Del Rio,* sess. viii. p. 87.

[m] —Virum, in quo erat potestas supra omnes potestates, tam cœli, quam terræ. *Episc. Patrac.* sess. x. p. 132.

[n] Arripe ergo gladium divinæ potestatis tibi creditum, bis acutum; et jube, impera, manda, ut pax universalis et colligatio per decennium inter Christianos ad minus fiat; et reges ad id in compedibus magni regis liga, et nobiles in manicis ferreis censurarum constringe: quoniam tibi data est omnis potestas in cœlo et in terra. *Ibid.* p. 133.

nacles of censures: for to thee is given all power in heaven and in earth.

This is the doctrine which Baronius, with a Roman confidence, doth so often assert and drive forward, saying, that [o]*there can be no doubt of it, but that the civil principality is subject to the sacerdotal:* and, that [p]*God hath made the political government subject to the dominion of the spiritual church.*

§. III. From that doctrine the opinion in effect doth not differ, which Bellarmine voucheth for the common opinion of catholics, that [q]*by reason of the spiritual power, the pope, at least indirectly, hath a supreme power even in temporal matters.*

This opinion, so common, doth not, I say, in effect and practical consideration, anywise differ from the former; but only in words devised to shun envy, and veil the impudence of the other assertion: for the qualifications, *by reason of the spiritual power,* and, *at least indirectly,* are but notional, insignificant, and illusive, in regard to practice: it importing not, if he hath in his keeping a sovereign power, upon what account, or in what formality he doth employ it; seeing that every matter is easily referrible to a spiritual account; seeing he is sole judge

[o] Politicum principatum sacerdotali esse subjectum nulla potest esse dubitatio. *Ann.* 57. §. 23.

[p] Politicum imperium subjecit spiritualis ecclesiæ dominio. *Ibid.* §. 53.

[q] Tertia sententia media et catholicorum communis, pontificem ut pontificem non habere directe et immediate ullam temporalem potestatem, sed solum spiritualem, tamen ratione spiritualis habere saltem indirecte potestatem quandam, eamque summam, in temporalibus. *Bell.* v. 1.

upon what account he doth act; seeing experience sheweth, that he will spiritualize all his interests, and upon any occasion exercise that pretended authority; seeing it little mattereth, if he may strike princes, whether he doth it by a downright blow, or slantingly.

§. IV. That such an universal and absolute power hath been claimed by divers popes, successively for many ages, is apparent from their most solemn declarations and notorious practices; whereof (beginning from later times, and rising upwards toward the source of this doctrine) we shall represent some.

The bull of pope Sixtus V. against *the two sons of wrath*, Henry, king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, beginneth thus; [r] *The authority given to St. Peter and his successors, by the immense power of the eternal King, excels all the powers of earthly kings and princes—It passes uncontrolable sentence upon them all—And if it find any of them resisting God's ordinance, it takes more severe vengeance of them, casting them down from their thrones, though never so puissant, and tumbling them down to the lowest parts of the earth, as the ministers of aspiring Lucifer.* And then he proceeds to thunder against them, *We deprive them and their posterity for ever of their dominions and kingdoms;* and accordingly he depriveth those An. 1585.

[r] Ab immensa æterni Regis potentia B. Petro ejusque successoribus tradita auctoritas omnes terrenorum regum et principum supereminet potestates—Inconcussa profert in omnes judicia—— Et si quos ordinationi Dei resistentes invenit, severiore hos vindicta ulciscitur, et, quamvis potentiores, de solio dejiciens, veluti superbientis Luciferi ministros, ad infima terræ deturbatos prosternit——. Dominiis, regnis, &c. nos illos illorumque posteros privamus in perpetuum——.

princes of their kingdoms and dominions, absolveth their subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and forbiddeth them to pay any obedience to them. [s] ***By the authority of these presents, we do absolve and set free all persons, as well jointly as severally, from any such oath, and from all duty whatsoever in regard of dominion, fealty, and obedience; and do charge and forbid all and every of them, that they do not dare to obey them, or any of their admonitions, laws, and commands.***

An. 1570. Pope Pius V. (one of the holiest popes of the last stamp, who hardly hath escaped canonization until now[t]) beginneth his bull against our queen Elizabeth in these words; [u] ***He that reigneth on high, to whom is given all power in heaven and in earth, hath committed the one holy catholic and apostolic church, out of which there is no salvation, to one alone on earth, namely, to Peter, prince of the apostles, and to the Roman pontiff, successor of Peter, to be governed with a plenitude of power:***

[s] A juramento hujusmodi, ac omni prorsus dominii, fidelitatis et obsequii debito, illos omnes tam universe quam singulatim auctoritate præsentium absolvimus et liberamus; præcipimusque et interdicimus eis universis et singulis, ne illis eorumque monitis, legibus et mandatis audeant obedire. *Bulla Sixti V. contra Henr. Navarr. R.* &c.

[t] Pius V.—Quem mirum est in albo sanctorum nondum relatum esse. *Briet. Chr.* anno 1572.

[u] Regnans in excelsis, cui data est omnis in cœlo et in terra potestas, unam sanctam, catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam, extra quam nulla est salus, uni soli in terris, videlicet apostolorum principi Petro, Petrique successori Romano pontifici, in potestatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandam: hunc unum super omnes gentes et omnia regna principem constituit, qui evellat, destruat, dissipet, disperdat, plantet et ædificet.—*P. Pius V. in Bull. contra R. Eliz.* (*Camb. Hist.* anno 1570.)

this one he hath constituted prince over all nations, and all kingdoms, that he might pluck up, destroy, dissipate, ruinate, plant, and build.—And in the same bull he declares, that [v] *he thereby deprives the queen of her pretended right to the kingdom, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever; and absolves all the nobles, subjects, and people of the kingdom, and whoever else have sworn to her, from their oath, and all duty whatsoever, in regard of dominion, fidelity, and obedience.*

Pope Clement VI. did pretend to depose the emperor Lewis IV. An. 1346.

Pope Clement V. in the great synod of Vienna, declared the emperor subject to him, or standing obliged to him by a proper oath of fealty[x]. An. 1311.

Pope Boniface VIII. hath a decree extant in the canon law running thus; [y] *We declare, say, define, pronounce it to be of necessity to salvation, for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff.* The which subjection, according to his intent, reacheth all matters; for he there challengeth a double sword, and asserteth to himself jurisdiction over all temporal authorities: for [z] *One* An. 1294.

[v] Ipsam prætenso regni jure, nec non omni quocunque dominio, dignitate privilegioque privamus; et iterum proceres, subditos, &c. *Ibid.*

[x] Apostolica auctoritate de fratrum nostrorum consilio declaramus, illa juramenta prædicta fidelitatis existere et censeri debere. *Clem.* lib. ii. tit. 9. Vide Conc. Vienn. p. 909.

[y] Subesse Romano pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis. *Extrav.* com. lib. i. tit. 8. cap. 1.

[z] Oportet gladium esse sub gladio, et temporalem authoritatem spirituali subjici potestati. *Ibid.* Ergo si deviat terrena potestas, judicabitur a potestate spirituali. *Ibid.*

sword, saith he, *must be under another, and the temporal authority must be subject to the spiritual power;—whence, if the earthly power doth go astray, it must be judged by the spiritual power.* The which aphorisms he proveth by scriptures admirably expounded to that purpose.

This definition might pass for a rant of that boisterous pope, ([z] *a man above measure ambitious and arrogant,*) vented in his passion against king Philip of France, if it had not the advantage (of a greater than which no papal decree is capable) of being expressly confirmed by one of their general councils; for, [a] *We* (saith Pope Leo X. in his bull read and passed in the Lateran council) *do renew and approve that holy constitution, with approbation of the present holy council.* Accordingly Melch. Canus saith, [b] that *the Lateran council did renew and approve that extravagant* (indeed extravagant) *constitution:* and Baronius saith of it, that [c] *all do assent to it, so that none dissenteth, who doth not by discord fall from the church.*

The truth is, pope Boniface did not invent that proposition, but borrowed it from the school; for Thomas Aquinas, in his work against the Greeks, pretendeth to shew, that [d] *it is of necessity to sal-*

[z] Vir super modum ambitiosus et arrogans. (*Binius in Vita Bonif. VIII.*)

[a] Constitutionem ipsam, sacro præsenti concilio approbante, innovamus et approbamus. *Concil. Lateran.* sess. xi. p. 153.

[b] Quam extravagantem renovavit et approbavit concilium Lateranense sub Leone X. *Canus* loc. vi. 4.

[c] Hæc Bonifacius, cui assentiuntur omnes, ut nullus discrepet, nisi qui dissidio ab ecclesia excidit. *Baron.* ann. 1053. §. 14.

[d] Ostenditur etiam quod subesse Romano pontifici sit de necessitate salutis. (*Thom. in Opusc. contra Græcos.*)

vation to be subject to the Roman pontiff. The which scholastical aphorism pope Boniface turned into law, and applied to his purpose of exercising domination over princes; offering, in virtue of it, to deprive king Philip of his kingdom.

The appendix to Mart. Pol. saith of pope Boniface VIII. *Regem se regum, mundi monarcham, unicum in spiritualibus et temporalibus dominum promulgavit;* that *he openly declared himself to be king of kings, monarch of the world, and sole lord and governor both in spirituals and temporals.*

Before him, pope Innocent IV. did hold and exemplify the same notion; declaring the emperor Frederick II. *his vassal, and denouncing, in his general council of Lyons, a sentence of deprivation against him in these terms:* [c] *We having about the foregoing and many other his wicked miscarriages had before a careful deliberation with our brethren and the holy council, seeing that we, although unworthy, do hold the place of Jesus Christ on earth, and that it was said unto us in the person of St. Peter the apostle, Whatever thou shalt bind on earth—the said prince (who hath rendered himself unworthy of empire and kingdoms, and of all honour and dignity, and who for his iniquities is cast away by God, that he should not reign or command, being bound by his sins and cast away, and deprived by the Lord of all honour and dignity) do shew, denounce, and accordingly, by sentence, deprive; absolving all who are held bound by oath of allegiance from such oath for ever; by apostolical authority firmly prohibiting, that no man* An. 1245.

[c] Nos itaque super præmissis, &c. *P. Innoc. IV. in Conc. Lugd.* Matt. Paris (anno 1253.) saith, he deemed kings *mancipia papæ.*

henceforth do obey or regard him as emperor or king; and decreeing, that whoever shall hereafter yield advice, or aid, or favour to him as emperor or king, shall immediately lie under the band of excommunication.

Before him, pope Innocent the Third, (that [f]*true wonder of the world, and changer of the age,*) did affirm, [g]*the pontifical authority so much to exceed the royal power, as the sun doth the moon;* and applieth to the former that of the prophet Jeremiah;

Jer. i. 10. *Ecce, constitui te super gentes et regna;—See, I have set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down,* &c.

Of this power that pope made experiment, by deposing the emperor Otho IV.; [h]*whom,* saith Naucle-rus, *as rebellious to the apostolical see, he first did strike with an anathema; then him persevering in his obstinacy did in a council of prelates, held at Rome, pronounce deposed from empire.*

The which authority was avowed by that great council under this pope[i], (the which, according to

[f] Vere stupor mundi, et immutator seculi. *Matt. Par.* anno 1217.

[g] Ut quanta est inter solem et lunam tanta inter pontifices et reges differentia cognoscatur. *P. Innoc. III. in Decret. Greg.* lib. i. tit. 33. cap. 6.

[h] Imperatorem—ut rebellem sedi apostolicæ et inobedientem anathemate primum, deinde in pertinacia perseverantem, in concilio præsulum, quod Romæ tum Innocentius celebrabat, ab imperio depositum percussit et pronunciavit. *Naucl.* anno 1212.

[i] Neque enim per Lateranense concilium ecclesia statuit, &c. *Syn. Trid.* sess. xiv. cap. 5. Si vero dominus temporalis requisitus et monitus. *Conc. Later.* cap. 3. *in Decret. Greg.* lib. v. tit. 7. cap. 13.

the men of Trent, did represent or constitute the church,) wherein it was ordained, that if a *temporal lord, being required and admonished by the church, should neglect to purge his territory from heretical filth, he should by the metropolitan and the other comprovincial bishops be noosed in the band of excommunication; and that if he should slight to make satisfaction within a year, it should be signified to the pope, that he might from that time denounce the subjects absolved from their fealty to him, and expose the territory to be seized on by catholics,* &c.

Before that, pope Paschal II. deprived Henry IV. An. 1099. and excited enemies *to persecute him;* [i] telling them, that they could not *offer a more acceptable sacrifice to God, than by impugning him, who endeavoured to take the kingdom from God's church.*

Before him, pope Urban II. (called Turban by An. 1088. some in his age) did preach this doctrine, recommended to us in the decrees, that [k] *subjects are by no authority constrained to pay the fidelity which they have sworn to a Christian prince, who opposeth God and his saints, or violateth their precepts.* An instance whereof we have in his granting a privilege to the canons of Tours; [l] *which,* saith

[i] Nam in hac non tantum parte, sed ubique, cum poteris, Henricum, hæreticorum caput, et ejus fautores pro viribus persequaris. Nullum profecto gratius Deo sacrificium, quam si eum impugnes, qui se contra Deum erexit, qui ecclesiæ regnum auferre conatur. *P. Pasch. Ep.* vii. *ad Rob. Fland. Com.*

[k] Fidelitatem enim quam Christiano principi jurarunt, Deo ejusque sanctis adversanti, eorumque præcepta, nulla cohibentur auctoritate persolvere. *Caus.* xv. qu. 7. cap. 5.

[l] Si quis imperator, rex, princeps—contra hanc constitutionem

he, *if any emperor, king, prince,* &c. *shall wilfully attempt to thwart, let him be deprived of the dignity of his honour and power.*

But the great apostle (if not author) of this confounding doctrine was pope Gregory VII. (a man of a bold spirit and fiery temper, inured even before his entry on that see to bear sway, and drive on daring projects; possessed with resolution to use the advantages of his place and time in pushing forward the papal interest to the utmost,) who did *lift up his voice like a trumpet,* kindling wars and seditions thereby over Christendom. His dictates and practices are well known, being iterated in his own epistles, and in the Roman councils under him, extant [m]: yet it may be worth the while to hear him swagger in his own language.

[n] *For the dignity and defence of God's holy church, in the name of Almighty God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I depose from imperial and royal administration, king Henry, son of Henry sometime emperor, who too boldly and rashly hath*

venire tentaverit—potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat—. *P. Urb. II. Ep.* 12.

[m] Vide ejus dictata apud Bin. post. Ep. lib. 2. Ep. lv. Ep. iv. 2. viii. 21. et passim. Ep. i. 58. ii. 5, 12, 13, 18, 32. iii. 10. iv. 1, 2, 3, 7, 22.

[n] Hac itaque fiducia fretus, pro dignitate et tutela ecclesiæ suæ sanctæ, Omnipotentis Dei nomine, Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Henricum regem, Henrici quondam imperatoris filium, qui audácter nimium et temerarie in ecclesiam tuam manus injecit, imperatoria administratione regiaque dejicio; et Christianos omnes imperio subjectos juramento illo absolvo, quo fidem veris regibus præstare consueverunt: dignum enim est, ut is honore careat, qui majestatem ecclesiæ imminuere causatur. *Plat. in Greg. VII.* et tom. 7. *Conc. Rom.* iii. *apud Bin.* p. 484.

laid hands on thy church; and I absolve all Christians subject to the empire from that oath whereby they were wont to plight their faith unto true kings: for it is right that he should be deprived of dignity, who doth endeavour to diminish the majesty of the church.

[a] *Go to therefore, most holy princes of the apostles, and what I said, by interposing your authority, confirm; that all men may now at length understand, if ye can bind and loose in heaven, that ye also can upon earth take away and give empires, kingdoms, and whatsoever mortals can have: for if ye can judge things belonging unto God, what is to be deemed concerning these inferior and profane things? And if it is your part to judge angels, who govern proud princes, what becometh it you to do toward their servants? Let kings now, and all secular princes, learn by this man's example, what ye can do in heaven, and in what esteem ye are with God; and let them henceforth fear to slight the commands of holy church: but put forth suddenly this judgment, that all men may understand, that not casually, but by your means, this son of iniquity doth fall from his kingdom.*

So did that pope, not unadvisedly in heat or passion, but out of settled judgment, upon cool deliberation, express himself in his synods at Rome.

This pope is indeed by many held the inventor and broacher of this strange doctrine; and even those, who about his age did oppose it, did express

[a] Agite igitur, apostolorum sanctissimi principes, et quod dixi —. *Plat. in Greg. VII. Conc. Rom.* vii. *apud Bin.* tom. vii. p. 491.

themselves of this mind; calling it [p] *the novel tradition, schism, heresy of Hildebrand.*

[q] *Pope Hildebrand* (saith the church of Liege, in their answer to the epistle to pope Paschal) *is author of this new schism, and first did raise the priest's lance against the royal diadem.—Who first did girt himself, and by his example other popes, with the sword of war against the emperors.*

[r] *This only novelty,* saith Sigebert, *not to say heresy, had not yet sprang up in the world, that the priests of him who saith to the king, Apostate, and who maketh hypocrites to reign for the sins of the people, should teach the people that they owe no subjection to bad kings; and although they have sworn allegiance to the king, they yet owe him none, and that they who take part against the king may not be said to be perjured; yea, that he who shall obey the king may be held excommunicate; he that shall oppose the king, may be absolved from the crime of injustice and perjury.*

Job xxxiv. 18, 30.

Indeed certain it is, that this man did in most

[p] Quod ex novella traditione Hildebrandus. *Eccl. Leod. apud Bin.* tom. vii. p. 521.

[q] Hildebrandus P. author est hujus novelli schismatis, et primus levavit sacerdotalem lanceam contra diadema regni. *Ibid.* p. 522. Qui primus se, et suo exemplo alios pontifices, contra imp. accinxit gladio belli. *Ibid.* p. 523.

[r] Hæc sola novitas, ne dicam hæresis, nondum in mundo emerserat, ut sacerdotes illius qui dicit regi, apostata, et qui regnare facit hypocritas propter peccata populi, doceant populum, quod malis regibus nullam debeant subjectionem, et licet ei sacramentum fidelitatis fecerint, nullam tamen fidelitatem debeant; nec perjuri dicantur, qui contra regem senserint; imo, qui regi paruerit pro excommunicato habeatur; qui contra regem fecerit, a noxa injustitiæ et perjurii absolvatur. *Sigeb. Chron.* anno 1088.

downright strains hold the doctrine, and most smartly apply it to practice; yet did he disclaim the invention or introduction of it; professing that he followed the notions and examples of his predecessors, divers of which he allegeth in defence of his proceedings. [s] *We*, saith he, *holding the statutes of our holy predecessors, do by apostolical authority absolve those from their oath who are obliged by fealty or sacrament to excommunicate persons, and by all means prohibit that they observe fealty to them.*

And so it is, that (although for many successions before pope Hildebrand the popes were not in condition or capacity to take so much upon them; there having been a row of persons intruded into that see, void of virtue, and of small authority, most of them very beasts, who depended upon the favour of princes for their admittance, confirmation, or support in the place; yet) we may find some popes before him, who had a great spice of those imperious conceits, and upon occasion made very bold with princes, assuming power over them, and darting menaces against them. For

Pope Leo IX. telleth us, that Constantine M. [t] *did think it very unbecoming, that they should be subject to an earthly empire whom the Divine Majesty had set over an heavenly:* and surely he was of his

[s] Nos, sanctorum prædecessorum statuta tenentes, eos qui excommunicatis fidelitate aut sacramento constricti sunt, apostolica auctoritate a sacramento absolvimus, et ne eis fidelitatem observent omnibus modis prohibemus. *Greg. VII. Ep.* viii. 21. *Caus.* xv. qu. 7. cap. 4.

[t] Valde indignum fore arbitratus, terreno imperio subdi, quos Divina Majestas præfecit cœlesti. *P. Leo IX. Ep.* i. cap. 12.

author's mind, whom he alleged; although indeed this pope may be supposed to speak this and other sayings to that purpose, by suggestion of Hildebrand, by whom he was much governed.

[u] Pope Stephanus VI. told the emperor Basilius, that *he ought to be subject with all veneration to the Roman church.*

An. 873. [x] Pope John VIII. (or IX.) did pretend obedience due to him from princes; and in default thereof threatened to excommunicate them.

An. 858. Pope Nicolas I. cast many imperious sayings and threats at king Lotharius: these among others. [y] *We do therefore by apostolical authority, under obtestation of the divine judgment, enjoin to thee, that in Triers and Colen thou shouldest not suffer any bishop to be chosen, before a report be made to our apostleship.* (Was not this *satis pro imperio*?) And again, [z] *That being compelled thou mayest be able to repent, know, that very soon thou shalt be struck with the ecclesiastical sword; so that thou mayest be afraid any more to commit such things in God's holy church.*

[u] Plat. in Vita Leon. IX. Quis te seduxit, ut pontificem œcumenicum scommatibus lacesseres, et S. Romanam ecclesiam maledictis incesseres, cui cum omni veneratione subditus esse debes? *Steph. VI. Ep.* i. *Baron.* ann. 885. §. 11.

[x] — cuncti venire per inobedientiam neglexistis. *Joh. VIII. Ep.* 119. deinceps excommunicamus omnes, &c. *Ibid.*

[y] Idcirco apostolica authoritate, sub Divini judicii obtestatione, injungimus tibi, ut in Trevirensi urbe et in Agrippina Colonia nullum eligi patiaris, antequam relatum super hoc nostro apostolatui fiat. *Grat. Dist.* lxiii. cap. 4.

[z] Ut saltem compulsus resipiscere valeas, noveris, te citissime mucrone ecclesiastico feriendum; ita ut ulterius talia in S. Dei ecclesia perpetrare formides. *P. Nic. I. Ep.* 64.

And this he suggesteth for right doctrine, that subjection is not due to bad princes; perverting the apostle's words to that purpose; [a] *Be subject to the king as excelling, that is,* saith he, *in virtues, not in vices:* whereas the apostle meaneth eminency in power.

Pope Gregory VII. doth also allege pope Zachary, [b] *who,* saith he, *did depose the king of the Franks, and did absolve all the French from the oath of fidelity which they had taken unto him, not so much for his iniquities, as because he was unfit for such a power.*

This indeed was a notable act of jurisdiction, if pope Gregory's word may be taken for matter of fact; but divers maintain, that pope Zachary did only concur with the rebellious deposers of king Chilperick in way of advice or approbation, not by authority.

It was pretty briskly said of pope Adrian I. [c] *We do by general decree constitute, that whatever king, or bishop, or potentate, shall hereafter believe, or permit, that the censure of the Roman pontiffs may be violated in any case, he shall be an execrable* An. 772.

[a] Regi quasi præcellenti, virtutibus scilicet, non vitiis, subditi estote. *P. Nic. I. Epist.* 4. *Append.* p. 626.

[b] Alius item Rom. pontifex, Zacharias scilicet, regem Francorum, non tam pro suis iniquitatibus, quam pro eo quod tantæ potestati erat inutilis, deposuit—omnesque Francigenas a juramento fidelitatis quod illi ——. *Decret.* ii. *part. Caus.* xv. q. 6.

[c] Generali decreto constituimus, ut exsecrandum anathema sit, et veluti prævaricator catholicæ fidei semper apud Deum reus existat, quicunque regum, seu episcoporum, vel potentum, deinceps Romanorum pontificum censuram in quocunque crediderit, vel permiserit violandam. *P. Had. I. Capit. apud Grat. Caus.* xxv.

anathema, and shall be guilty before God, as a betrayer of the catholic faith.

[d] *Constitutions against the canons and decrees of the bishops of Rome, or against good manners, are of no moment.*

An. 730. Before that, pope Gregory II. because the eastern emperor did cross the worship of images, did withdraw subjection from him, and did thrust his authority out of Italy. [e] *He*, saith Baronius, *did effectually cause both the Romans and Italians to recede from obedience to the emperor.*

This was an act in truth of rebellion against the emperor, in pretence of jurisdiction over him; for how otherwise could he justify or colour the fact? [f] *So*, as Baronius reflecteth, *he did leave to posterity a worthy example*, (forsooth,) *that heretical princes should not be suffered to reign in the church of Christ, if, being warned, they were found pertinacious in error.*

And no wonder he then was so bold, seeing the pope had obtained so much respect in those parts of the world, that (as he told the emperor Leo Isaurus) [g] *all the kingdoms of the west did hold St. Peter as an earthly god:* of which he might be able to seduce some to uphold him in his rebellious practices.

This is the highest source, as I take it, to which

[d] Constitutiones contra canones et decreta præsulum Romanorum, vel bonos mores, nullius sunt momenti. *Distinct.* x. cap. 4.

[e] Tum Romanos tum Italos ad ejus obedientia recedere penitus fecit. *Baron.* anno 730. §. 4.

[f] Sic dignum posteris reliquit exemplum, ne in ecclesia Christi regnare sinerentur hæretici principes, si sæpe moniti, in errore persistere obstinato animo invenirentur. *Baron.* ibid.

[g] Ὃν αἱ πᾶσαι βασιλεῖαι τῆς δύσεως ὡς θεὸν ἐπίγειον ἔχουσι. Greg. II. Epist. i. Bin. tom. v. p. 508.

this extravagant doctrine can be driven. For that single passage of pope Felix III. though much ancienter, will not amount to it. [h] *It is certain, that, in causes relating to God, it is the safest course for you, that, according to his institution, ye endeavour to submit the will of the king to the priests,* &c.

For while the emperor did retain any considerable authority in Italy, the popes were better advised than to vent such notions; and while they themselves did retain any measure of pious or prudent modesty, they were not disposed to it. And we may observe divers popes near that time in word and practice thwarting that practice. For instance,

Pope Gelasius, a vehement stickler for papal authority, doth say to the emperor Anastasius, [i] *I, as being a Roman born, do love, worship, reverence thee as the Roman prince.* And he saith, that [k] *the prelates of religion (knowing the empire conferred on him by Divine Providence) did obey his laws.* And otherwhere he discourseth, that [l] *Christ had distinguished by their proper acts and dignities the offices of ecclesiastical and civil power,* that one should not meddle with the other; so disclaim-

[h] Certum est, rebus vestris hoc esse salutare, ut, cum de causis Dei agitur, juxta ipsius constitutionem, regiam voluntatem sacerdotibus Christi studeatis subdere, non præferre—&c. *P. Felix III.* (anno 483.) *Dist.* x. cap. 3.

[i] Te, sicut Romanus natus, Romanum principem amo, colo, suspicio. *P. Gelas. I. Epist.* 8. (*ad Anast. Imp.*)

[k] —— cognoscentes imperium tibi superna dispositione collatum, legibus tuis ipsi quoque parent religionis antistites. *Ibid.*

[l] Christus, dispensatione magnifica temperans, sic actionibus propriis dignitatibusque distinctis officia potestatis utriusque discrevit, &c.

ing temporal power due to himself, being content to screw up his spiritual authority.

After him, as is well known, pope Gregory I. (as became a pious and good man) did avow the emperor for [m] *his lord, by God's gift superior to all men, to whom he was subject, whom he in duty was bound to obey;* and supposed it a high presumption for any one to [n] *set himself above the honour of the empire,* by assuming the title of universal bishop.

An. 680. After him, pope Agatho, in the acts of the sixth general council, doth call the emperor Constantine Pogonatus *his lord;* doth avow [o] *himself, together with all presidents of the churches, servants to the emperor;* doth say, that his see and his synod were subject to him, and did owe obedience to him.

Presently after him, pope Leo II. who confirmed that general synod, doth call the emperor [p] *the prototype son of the church;* and acknowledgeth the body of priests to be servants [q] (*meanest servants*) *of his royal nobleness.*

An. 709. After him, pope Constantine, (the immediate predecessor of pope Gregory II.) when the emperor did

[m] Ad hoc potestas Dominorum meorum pietati coelitus data est super omnes homines.

Ego indignus famulus vester——

Ego quidem jussioni subjectus. *P. Greg. I. Ep.* ii. 26.

[n] Qui honori quoque imperii vestri se per privatum vocabulum superponit. *Ep.* iv. 32.

[o] Δεσπόται καὶ τέκνα. Act. Syn. vi. p. 53. ἡμεῖς δοῦλοι τοῦ βασιλέως. p. 304. ἡμετέρα δουλεία. p. 32. τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν πρόεδροι οἱ δοῦλοι τοῦ χριστιανικωτάτου ὑμῶν κράτους. p. 94. δουλικὸς ὑμῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς θρόνος. p. 64. ἕνεκεν ὑπακοῆς, ἧς ὀφείλομεν. p. 33, 34.

[p] Πρωτότυπον ἐκκλησίας τέκνον. Act. Syn. VI. p. 303.

[q] Ἡ βασιλικὴ εὐγένεια τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ἑαυτῆς δούλοις συγκατέβαινε. Ibid. p. 304.

command him to come to Constantinople, [r]*the most holy man*, saith Anastasius in his Life, *did obey the imperial commands.*

Yea, pope Gregory II. himself, before his defection, (when perhaps the circumstances of time did not animate him thereto,) did, in his epistle to Leo Isaurus, acknowledge him as emperor to be [s]*the head of Christians*, and himself consequently subject to him.

This Gregory therefore may be reputed the father of that doctrine, which, being fostered by his successors, was by pope Gregory VII. brought up to its robust pitch and stature.

I know, pope Gregory VII. to countenance him, doth allege pope Innocent I. excommunicating the emperor Arcadius for his proceedings against St. Chrysostom: and the writers of St. Chrysostom's Life, with others of the like age and credit, do back him therein. But seeing the historians who lived in St. Chrysostom's own time, and who write very carefully about him, do not mention any such thing; seeing that, being the first act in the kind, must have been very notable, and have made a great noise; seeing that story doth not suit with the tenor of proceedings, reported by those most credible historians, in that case; seeing that fact doth nowise sort to the condition and way of those times; that report cannot be true, and it must be numbered among the many fabulous narrations, devised by some

Greg. VII. Ep. viii. 2. Baron. an. 407. §. 23. Georg. Alex. Vit. Chrys. cap. 68. Anon. Vit. Chrys. cap. 39. Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Palladius.

[r] Misit imp. ad Constantinum P. sacram, per quam jussit eum ad regiam ascendere urbem; qui sanctiss. vir jussis imperialibus obtemperans. *Anast. in Vit. P. Const.*

[s] Ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν Χριστιανῶν. P. Greg. II. ad Leon. Is. Ep. i. (p. 502.)

wanton Greeks, to set out the life of that excellent personage.

The same pope doth also allege St. Gregory M. denouncing excommunication and *deprivation of honour to all kings, bishops, judges,* &c. who should violate the privilege granted to the monastery of St. Medard [t]. But this (as are many such privileges) is a rank forgery, unworthily imposed on pope Gregory, (that prudent, meek, and holy man,) much to his wrong and disgrace: which I will not be at trouble to confute, having shewed St. Gregory to have been of another judgment and temper, than to behave himself thus towards princes; and seeing that task is abundantly discharged by that very learned man, monsieur Launoy.

Epist. pars vii.

Indeed, (upon this occasion to digress a little further,) it doth not seem to have been the opinion of the ancient popes, that they might excommunicate their sovereign princes: for if they might, why did they forbear to exercise that power, when there was greatest reason, and great temptation for it?

Why did not pope Julius or pope Liberius excommunicate Constantius, the great favourer of the Arians, against whom Athanasius, St. Hilary, and Lucifer Calar. do so earnestly inveigh, calling him heretic, antichrist, and what not? How did Julian himself escape the censure of pope Liberius? Why did not pope Damasus thunder against Valens, that fierce persecutor of catholics? Why did not Dama-

[t] Siquis autem regum, antistitum, judicum, vel quarumcumque secularium personarum, hujus apostolicæ auctoritatis, et nostræ præceptionis decreta violaverit——cujuscunque dignitatis vel sublimitatis sit, honore suo privetur. *Greg. M. post Epist.* xxxviii. lib. 2.

sus censure the empress Justina, the patroness of Arianism? Why did not pope Siricius censure Theodosius I. for that bloody fact, for which St. Ambrose denied him the communion? How was it that pope Leo I. (that stout and high pope) had not the heart to correct Theodosius Junior in this way, who was the supporter of his adversary Dioscorus, and the obstinate protector of the second Ephesine council, which that pope so much detested? Why did not that pope rather compel that emperor to reason by censures, than supplicate him by tears? How did so many popes connive at Theodoric, and other princes professing Arianism at their door? Wherefore did not pope Simplicius or pope Felix thus punish the emperor Zeno, the supplanter of the synod of Chalcedon, for which they had so much zeal? Why did neither pope Felix, nor pope Gelasius, nor pope Symmachus, nor pope Hormisdas, excommunicate the emperor Anastasius, (yea, did not so much, pope Gelasius saith, as [u]*touch his name*,) for countenancing the oriental bishops in their schism, and refractory noncompliance with the papal authority? Those popes did indeed clash with that emperor, but they expressly deny that they did condemn him with others whom he did favour. [x] *We*, saith pope Symmachus, *did not excommunicate thee, O emperor, but Acacius.—If you mingle yourself, you are not*

[u] Quid sibi vult autem, quod dixerit imperator a nobis se in religione damnatum, cum super hac parte decessor meus non solum minime nomen ejus attigerit?——*P. Gelas. I. Epist.* 4.

[x] Nos te non excommunicavimus, imperator, sed Acacium.—Si te misces, non a nobis, sed a te ipso excommunicatus es. *P. Symmachus I. Ep.* 7. Si isti placet se miscere damnatis, nobis non potest imputari. *P. Gelas. I. Ep.* 4.

excommunicated by us, but by yourself. And, *If the emperor pleaseth to join himself with those condemned,* saith pope Gelasius, *it cannot be imputed to us.*

Baron. an. 503. §. 17. Wherefore Baronius doth ill, in affirming pope Symmachus to have anathematized Anastasius: whereas that pope plainly denied that he had excommunicated him, yea, denied it even in those words which are cited to prove it, being rightly read[y]: for they are corruptly written in Baronius and Binius; *ego* (which hath no sense, or one contradictory to his former assertion) being put for *nego*, which is good sense, and agreeable to what he and the other popes do affirm in relation to that matter.

Why do we not read that any pope formally did excommunicate, though divers did zealously contradict and oppose, the princes who did reject images?

In fine, a noble bishop above 500 years ago did say, [z] *I read and read again the records of the Roman kings and emperors, and I nowhere find that any of them before this was excommunicated or deprived of his kingdom by the Roman pontiff.*

Surely therefore the ancient popes did either not

[y] Dicis quod, mecum conspirante senatu, excommunicaverim te. Ista quidem ego, (nego,) sed rationabiliter factum a decessoribus meis sine dubio subsequor. *P. Sym. Ep.* 7. You say, that I excommunicated you by the joint consent of the senate. This I deny: but I undoubtedly follow what was with good reason done by my predecessors.

[z] Lego et relego Romanorum regum et imperatorum gesta, et nusquam invenio quenquam eorum ante hunc a Romano pontifice excommunicatum, vel regno privatum. *Otho Frising. Chron.* lib. vi. cap. 35.

know their power, or were very negligent of their duty.

Such have been the doctrine and behaviour of popes in reference to their power.

§. V. This doctrine of the pope's universal power over all persons in all matters may reasonably be supposed the sentiment of all popes continually for a long time, even for more than 500 years unto this present day. For,

1. If this doctrine be false, it implieth no slight error, but one of a very high nature and most dangerous consequence; which involveth great arrogance and iniquity, which tendeth to work enormous wrongs and grievous mischiefs: whence, if any pope should conceive it false, he were bound openly to disclaim, to condemn, to refute it; lest the authority of his predecessors, and his connivance, should induce others into it, or settle them in it; as it is (in regard to pope Honorius) charged upon pope Leo II. [a] *who did not, as it became the apostolical authority, extinguish the flame of heretical doctrine beginning, but did by neglecting cherish it.* In such a case a pope must not be silent: for, [b] *No small danger*, saith pope Gelasius, *lieth upon popes in being silent about what agreeth to the service of God:* and, [c] *If*, saith pope Paschal, *a pope by his silence doth suffer the church to be*

[a] —— cum Honorio, qui flammam hæretici dogmatis non, ut decuit apostolicam authoritatem, incipientem extinxit, sed negligendo confovit. *P. Leo II. Ep.* 2.

[b] Non leve discrimen incumbit pontificibus siluisse pro divinitatis cultu quod congruit. *P. Gelas. I. Ep.* 8. (*ad Anastas. Imp.*)

[c] Si vero nostro silentio pateremur ecclesiam felle amaritudinis et impietatis radice pollui, qua ratione possemus apud æternum Judicem excusari? *P. Paschal. II. Ep.* 3. (*ad Anselm. Cant.*)

polluted with the gall of bitterness and root of impiety, he should nowise be excusable before the eternal Judge: and, [d] ***Error,*** saith pope Felix III. ***which is not resisted,*** (by those in eminent office,) ***is approved; and truth which is not defended, is oppressed:*** and, [e] ***He is not free from suspicion of a close society in mischief, who ceaseth to obviate it:*** and, [f] ***We,*** saith pope Gregory I. ***do greatly offend, if we do hold our peace at things that are to be corrected.*** But all popes since the time specified have either openly declared for this doctrine, or have been silent, and so have avowed it by tacit consent.

2. Any pope disapproving that tenent were bound to renounce communion with those that hold and profess it; or at least to check and discountenance it. But on the contrary they have suffered it to be maintained in their presence and audience; and have hugged that sort of men with especial favour, as their most affectionate and sure friends: they have suspected, discountenanced, and frowned on those who have shewed dislike of it.

Those men indeed who vouch this doctrine, may reasonably be deemed to do it as accomplices with the popes, on purpose to gratify and curry favour with them, in hopes of obtaining reward and preferment of them for it[g].

[d] Error cui non resistitur, approbatur; et veritas quæ minime defensatur, opprimitur. *P. Felix III. Ep.* 1. (*ad Acacium.*)

[e] Non caret scrupulo societatis occultæ, qui evidenter facinori desinit obviare. *Id. ibid.*

[f] Si ea quæ nobis corrigenda sunt tacemus, valde delinquimus. *P. Greg. I. Ep.* ii. 37.

[g] Οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνευδοκοῦσι τοῖς πράσσουσι, Rom.

3. The chief authors and most zealous abettors of these notions (popes, synods, doctors of the school) have continually passed for most authentic masters of divinity, and have retained greatest authority in the church governed and guided by the pope.

4. The decrees containing them do stand in their canon law, and in their collections of synods, without any caution or mark of dislike; which is a sufficient indication of their constant adherence to this doctrine.

5. The common style of the papal edicts or bulls doth import their sense; which is imperious, in regard to all persons without exception: *Let no man* (say they) *presume to infringe this our will and command*, &c.

6. Popes of all tempers and qualifications (even those who have passed for the most wise and moderate among them) have been ready to practise according to those principles, when occasion did invite, and circumstances of things did permit; interdicting princes, absolving subjects from their allegiance, raising or encouraging insurrections; as appeareth by their transactions not long since against our princes, and those of France; which shews the very see imbued with those notions.

7. They do oblige all bishops most solemnly to avow this doctrine, and to engage themselves to practise according to it. For in the oath prescribed to all bishops they are required to avow, that [h] *they will observe the apostolical commands with all their*

i. 32. They not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them.

[h] Mandata apostolica totis viribus observabo, et ab aliis observari faciam.

power, and cause them to be observed by others; that [i] *they will aid and defend the Roman papacy and the royalties of St. Peter against every man;* that [k] *they will to their power persecute and impugn heretics, schismatics, and rebels to the pope or his successors,* without any exception; which was, I suppose, chiefly meant against their own prince, (if occasion should be;) together with divers other points, importing their acknowledgment and abetting the pope's universal domination.

Greg. Decret. lib. ii. tit. 24. cap. 4. Concil. Rom. vi. apud Bin. p. 489.

These horrible oaths of bishops to the pope do seem to have issued from the same shop with the high Hildebrandine dictates: for the oath in the Decretals is ascribed to pope Gregory, (I suppose Gregory VII.) And in the sixth Roman synod under Gregory VII. there is an oath of like tenor exacted from the bishop of Aquileia; perhaps occasionally, which in pursuance of that example might be extended to all.

Decret. Greg. lib. i. tit. 6. cap. 4.

And that before that time such oaths were not imposed doth appear from hence; that when pope Paschal II. did require them from some great bishops, (the bishop of Palermo, and the archbishop of Poland,) they did wonder and boggle at it, as an uncouth novelty; nor doth the pope, in favour of his demand, allege any ancient precedent, but only proposeth some odd reasons for it. [l] *You have sig-*

[i] Papatum Romanum et regalia S. Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum contra omnem hominem.

[k] Hæreticos, schismaticos et rebelles eidem Domino nostro vel successoribus prædictis pro posse persequar et impugnabo.

[l] Significasti, frater charissime, regem et regni majores admiratione permotos, quod passim tibi ab apocrisiariis nostris tali conditione oblatum fuerit, si sacramentum, quod a nobis scriptum detulerant, jurares. *P. Pasch. II. Ep.* 6.

nified unto me, most dear brother, that the king and his nobles did exceedingly wonder, that an oath with such a condition should be every where offered you by my commissioners, and that you should take that oath, which I had written, and they tendered to you.

§. VI. All Romanists, in consistence with their principles, do seem obliged to hold this opinion concerning the pope's universal power. For, seeing many of their standing masters and judges of controversies have so expressly from their chair declared and defined it; all the row for many ages consenting to it and countenancing it; not one of them having signified any dissent or dislike of it: and considering that, if in any thing they may require or deserve belief, it is in this point; for in what are they more skilful and credible than about the nature of their own office? [m] *What,* saith Bellarmine wisely, *may they be conceived to know better than the authority of their own see?* Seeing it hath been approved by their most great and famous councils, which they hold universal, and which their adored synod of Trent doth allege for such, (the Laterane under pope Innocent III. that of Lyons under pope Innocent IV. the other Laterane under pope Leo X.) seeing it hath been current among their divines of greatest vogue and authority, the great masters of their school; seeing by so large a consent and concurrence, during so long a time, it may pretend (much better than divers other points of great importance) to be confirmed by tradition or prescription; why should it not be admitted for a doctrine

[m] Ipsis præcipue debet esse nota suæ sedis authoritas. *Bell.* iv. 3.

of the holy Roman church, *the mother and mistress of all churches?* How can they who disavow this notion be true sons of that mother, or faithful scholars of that mistress? How can they acknowledge any authority in their church to be infallible, or certain, or obliging to assent?

How can they admit the pope for authentic judge of controversies, or master of Christian doctrine, or in any point credible, who hath in so great a matter erred so foully, and seduced the Christian world; whom they desert in a point of so great consideration and influence on practice; whom they, by virtue of their dissent from him in this opinion, may often be obliged to oppose in his proceedings?

How can they deny, that bad doctrines might creep in, and obtain sway in the church, by the interest of the pope and his clients?

How can they charge novelty or heterodoxy on those who refuse some dictates of popes, of papal councils, of scholastic divines, which stand upon no better grounds than those on which this doctrine standeth?

Why hath no synod, of the many which have been held in all parts of Christendom, clearly disclaimed this opinion; but all have let it slip, or have seemed by silence to approve it?

Yea, how can the concord and unity of that church well consist with a dissent from this doctrine? For,

No man apprehending it false, seemeth capable with good conscience to hold communion with those who profess it: for, upon supposition of its falsehood, the pope and his chief adherents are the teachers and abettors of the highest violation of divine commands, and most enormous sins; of usurpation, tyranny, im-

posture, perjury, rebellion, murder, rapine, and all the villainies complicated in the practical influence of this doctrine.

It seemeth clear as the sun, that, if this doctrine be an error, it is one of the most pernicious heresies that ever was vented; involving the highest impiety, and producing the greatest mischief. For if he that should teach adultery, incest, simony, theft, murder, or the like crimes, to be lawful, would be a heretic; how much more would he be such that should recommend perjury, rebellion, regicide, (things inducing wars, confusions, slaughters, desolations, all sorts of injustice and mischief,) as duties!

How then can any man safely hold communion with such persons? May we not say with pope Symmachus, that [n] *to communicate with such is to consent with them?* with pope Gelasius, that *it is worse than ignorance of the truth to communicate with the enemies of truth?* and, that *he who communicateth with such an heresy is worthily judged to be removed from our society?*

§. VII. Yet so loose and slippery are the principles of the party which is jumbled in adherence to the pope, that divers will not allow us to take this tenent of infinite power to be a doctrine of their church; for divers in that communion do not assent to it.

For there is a sort of heretics (as Bellarmine and Baronius call them) sculking every where in the bosom of their church, all about Christendom, and

[n] An communicare non est consentire cum talibus? *P. Sym. I. Ep.* 7. Quasi non sit deterius, et non ignorasse veritatem, et tamen communicasse cum veritatis inimicis. *P. Gelas. I. Ep.* 1. Cuicunque hæresi communicans merito judicatur a nostra societate removendus. *Id. ibid.* Vide Ep. xiii. p. 642.

in some places stalking with open face, who restrain [o]*the pope's authority so far, as not to allow him any power over sovereign princes in temporal affairs; much less any power of depriving them of their kingdoms and principalities.*

[p] *They are all branded for heretics, who take from the church of Rome, and the see of St. Peter, one of the two swords, and allow only the spiritual.* This heresy Baronius hath nominated the *heresy of the politics.*

This heresy a great nation, otherwise sticking to the Roman communion, doth stiffly maintain, not enduring the papal sovereignty over princes in temporals to be preached in it.

There were many persons, yea, synods, who did oppose pope Hildebrand in the birth of his doctrine, condemning it for a pernicious novelty, and branding it with the name of heresy; as we before shewed.

Otto Frising. Sigebert. Abbas Ubsp. Occam, Marsilius Patav. &c.

Since the Hildebrandine age there have been in every nation (yea, in Italy itself) divers historians, divines, and lawyers, who have in elaborate tracts maintained the royal sovereignty against the pontifical.

This sort of heretics are now so much increased, that the Hildebrandine doctrine is commonly exploded. Which, by the way, sheweth, that the Roman party is no less than others subject to change

[o] Altera non tam sententia quam hæresis duo docet, primo, pontificem ut pontificem ex jure divino nullam habere temporalem potestatem, nec posse ullo modo imperare principibus secularibus, nedum eos regnis et principatu privare ——. *Bell.* V. 1.

[p] Hæresis errore notantur omnes qui ab ecclesia Rom. cathedra Petri e duobus alterum gladium auferunt, nec nisi spiritualem concedunt. *Baron.* anno 1053. §. 14. Hæresis Politicorum, *Baron.* an. 1073. §. 13.

its sentiments; opinions among them gaining and losing vogue, according to circumstances of time and contingencies of things.

§. VIII. Neither are the adherents to the Roman church more agreed concerning the extent of the pope's authority even in spiritual matters.

For, although the popes themselves plainly do claim an absolute supremacy in them over the church; although the stream of divines who do flourish in favour with them doth run that way; although, according to their principles, (if they had any principles clearly and certainly fixed,) that might seem to be the doctrine of their church: yet is there among them a numerous party, which doth not allow him such a supremacy, putting great restraints to his authority; (as we shall presently shew.) And as the other party doth charge this with heresy, so doth this return back the same imputation on that.

§. IX. That their doctrine is in this matter so various and uncertain, is no great wonder; seeing interest is concerned in the question, and principles are defective toward the resolution of it.

1. Contrary interests will not suffer the point to be decided, nor indeed to be freely disputed on either hand.

On one hand, the pope will not allow his prerogatives to be discussed; according to that maxim of the great pope Innocent III. [q] *When there is a question touching the privileges of the apostolic see, we will not that others judge about them.* Whence (as we before touched) the pope did per-

[q] Cum super privilegiis sedis apostolicæ causa vertatur, nolumus de ipsis per alios judicari. *Greg. Decr.* lib. ii. tit. i. cap. 12.

emptorily command his legates at Trent, in no case to permit any dispute about his authority.

On the other hand, the French will not permit the supremacy of their king in temporals, or the privileges of their church in spirituals, to be contested in their kingdom. Nor, we may suppose, would any prince admit a decision prejudicial to his authority and welfare, subjecting and enslaving him to the will of the Roman court. Nor (we may hope) would any church patiently comport with the irrecoverable oppression of all its rights and liberties by a peremptory establishment of papal omnipotency.

2. Nor is it easy for their dissensions to be reconciled upon theological grounds, and authorities to which they pretend deference. For, not only their schools and masters of their doctrine do in the case disagree, but their synods do notoriously clash.

§. X. Yea, even popes themselves have shifted their pretences, and varied in style, according to the different circumstances of time, and their variety of humours, designs, interests.

In time of prosperity and upon advantage, when they might safely do it, any pope almost would talk high, and assume much to himself: but when they were low, or stood in fear of powerful contradiction, even the boldest popes would speak submissly or moderately. As, for instance, pope Leo I. after the second Ephesine synod, when he had to do with Theodosius II. did humbly supplicate, and whine pitifully; but after the synod of Chalcedon, having got the emperor favourable, and most of the bishops complacent to him, he ranted bravely. And we may observe, that even pope Gregory VII. who did swagger so boisterously against the emperor Henry, was

yet calm and mild in his contests with our William the Conqueror; who had a spirit good enough for him, and was far out of his reach.

And popes of high spirit and bold face, (such as Leo I. Gelasius I. Nic. I. Gregory II. Gregory VII. Innocent III. Boniface VIII. Julius II. Paul IV. Sextus V. Paulus V. &c.) as they did ever aspire to screw papal authority to the highest peg; so would they strain their language in commendation of their see as high as their times would bear. But other popes of meeker and modester disposition (such as Julius I. Anastasius II. Gregory I. Leo II. Adrian VI. &c.) were content to let things stand as they found them, and to speak in the ordinary style of their times; yet so, that few have let their authority to go backward or decline.

We may observe, that the pretences and language of popes have varied according to several periods, usually growing higher as their state grew looser from danger of opposition or control.

In the first times, while the emperors were pagans, their pretences were suited to their condition, and could not soar high; they were not then so mad as to pretend to any temporal power, and a pittance of spiritual eminency did content them.

When the empire was divided, they could sometimes be more haughty and peremptory; as being in the west, shrouded under the wing of the emperors there, (who commonly did affect to improve their authority, in competition to that of other bishops,) and at distance from the reach of the eastern emperor. P. Nich. ad Imp. Mich. p. 511, 513.

The cause of Athanasius having produced the Sardican canons, concerning the revision of some causes

by the popes, by colour of them they did hugely enlarge their authority, and raise their style; especially in the west, where they had great advantages of augmenting their power.

When the western empire was fallen, their influence upon that part of the empire which came under protection of the eastern emperors rendering them able to do service or disservice to those emperors, they, according to the state of times, and the need of them, did talk more big or more tamely.

Pope Boniface III. having by compliance with the usurper Phocas obtained a declaration from him concerning the headship of the Roman church, did make a considerable step forward toward the height of papal greatness.

After that pope Gregory II. had withdrawn Italy from the oriental empire, and Rome had grown in a manner loose and independent from other secular powers; in the confusions of the west, the pope interposing to arbitrate between princes, trucking and bartering with them, as occasion served, for mutual aid and countenance, did grow in power, and answerably did advance his pretences.

The spurious Decretal Epistles of the ancient popes (which asserted to the pope high degrees of authority) being foisted into men's hands, and insensibly creeping into repute, did inspire the pope with confidence to invade all the ancient constitutions, privileges, and liberties of churches; and having got such interest every where, he might say what he pleased, no clergyman daring to check or cross him. Having drawn to himself the final decision of all causes, having got a finger in disposal of all preferments; having by dispensations, exemptions, and grants of

privileges, tied to him so many dependents, what might not he say or do?

Pope Gregory VII. being a man of untameable spirit, and taking advantage from the distractions and corruptions of his times, did venture to pull a feather with the emperor; and with success having mated him, did set up a peremptory claim to sovereignty over all persons in all causes.

In his footsteps his successors have trodden, being ever ready upon occasion to plead such a title, and to practise according to it. No pope would forego any power which had been claimed by his predecessors. And popes would ever be sure to have dancers after their pipe, numberless abettors of their pretences.

No wonder then that persons deferring much regard to the authority of popes, and accommodating their conceits to the dictates of them, (or of persons depending on them,) should in their opinions vary about the nature and extent of papal authority; it having never been fixed within certain bounds, or having in several ages continued the same thing.

§. XI. Wherefore intending by God's help to discuss the pretended authority of the pope, and to shew that he by no divine institution, and by no immutable right, hath any such power as he doth claim; by reason of this perplexed variety of opinions I do find it difficult to state the question, or to know at what distinct mark I should level my discourse.

§. XII. But seeing his pretence to any authority in temporals, or to the civil sword, is so palpably vain, that it hardly will bear a serious dispute, having nothing but impudence and sophistry to countenance

it; seeing so many in the Roman communion do reject it, and have substantially confuted it; seeing now most are ashamed of it, and very few (even among those sects which have been its chief patrons) will own it; seeing Bellarmine himself doth acknowledge it a novelty devised about 500 years ago in St. Bernard's time[r]; seeing the popes themselves, whatever they think, dare now scarce speak out, and forbear upon sufficient provocation to practise according to it; I shall spare the trouble of meddling with it, confining my discourse to the pope's authority in ecclesiastical affairs; the pretence whereto I am persuaded to be no less groundless, and no less noxious than the other to Christendom; the which being overthrown, the other, as superstructed on it, must also necessarily fall.

§. XIII. And here the doctrine which I shall contest against is that in which the cordial partisans of that see do seem to consent, which is most common and current, most applauded and countenanced in their theological schools; which the popes themselves have solemnly defined, and declared for standing law, or rule of jurisdiction; which their most authentic synods (whereby their religion is declared, and distinguished from others) have asserted or supposed; which the tenor of their discipline and practice doth hold forth; which their clergy by most solemn professions and engagements is tied to avow; which all the clients and confidents of Rome do zealously stand for, (more than for any other point of

[r] Primi qui temporalem potestatem summo pontifici ex Christi institutione tribuunt, videntur esse Hugo de S. Victore, Bernardus, &c. *Bell.* v. 5. The first that yield the pope temporal power by Christ's institution, seem to be Hugo, &c.

doctrine; and which no man can disclaim without being deemed an enemy or a prevaricator toward the apostolic see.

§. XIV. Which doctrine is this, That (in the words of the Florentine synod's definition) *the apostolical chair and the Roman high priest doth hold a primacy over the universal church; and that the Roman high priest is the successor of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, and the true lieutenant of Christ, and the head of the church; and that he is the father and doctor of all Christians; and that unto him,* in St. Peter, *full power is committed to feed, and direct, and govern the catholic church under Christ; according as is contained in the Acts of General Councils and in the Holy Canons.*

Ἔτι ὁρίζομεν τὴν ἁγίαν ἀποστολικὴν καθέδραν, &c. Concil Flor. defin. p. 854.

That (in the words of pope Leo X. approved by the Laterane synod) [s] *Christ, before his departure from the world, did in solidity of the rock institute Peter and his successors to be his lieutenants, to whom it is so necessary to obey, that who doth not obey must die the death.*

That to the pope, as sovereign monarch, by divine sanction of the whole church, do appertain royal prerogatives, (*regalia Petri*, the royalties of Peter, they are called in the oath prescribed to bishops.) Such as these which follow:

To be superior to the whole church, and to its representative, a general synod of bishops. To convocate general synods at his pleasure; all bishops being obliged to attend upon summons from him.

[s] Christus—migraturus ex mundo ad Patrem, in soliditate Petræ Petrum ejusque successores vicarios suos instituit, quibus ex libri Regum testimonio ita obedire necesse est, ut qui non obedierit, morte moriatur. *P. Leo X. in Conc. Later.* sess. xi. p. 151.

To preside in synods, so as to suggest matter, promote, obstruct, overrule the debates in them. To confirm or invalidate their determinations, giving like to them by his assent, or subtracting it by his dissent. To define points of doctrine, or to decide controversies authoritatively; so that none may presume to contest, or dissent from his dictates. To enact, establish, abrogate, suspend, dispense with ecclesiastical laws and canons. To relax or evacuate ecclesiastical censures by indulgence, pardon, &c. To avoid promises, vows, oaths, obligations to laws
Bell. iv. 22. by his dispensation. To be the fountain of all pastoral jurisdiction and dignity. To constitute, confirm, judge, censure, suspend, depose, remove, restore, reconcile bishops. To confer ecclesiastical dignities and benefices by paramount authority, in way of provision, reservation, &c. To exempt colleges, monasteries, &c. from jurisdiction of their bishops and ordinary superiors. To judge all persons in all spiritual causes, by calling them to his cognizance, or delegating judges for them, with a final and peremptory sentence. To receive appeals from all ecclesiastical judicatories; and to reverse their judgments, if he findeth cause. To be himself unaccountable for any of his doings, exempt from judgment, and liable to no reproof. To erect, transfer, abolish episcopal sees. To exact oaths of fealty and obedience from the clergy. To found religious orders; or to raise a spiritual militia for propagation and defence of the church. To summon and commissionate soldiers by croisade, &c. to fight against infidels, or persecute infidels.

Some of these are expressed, others in general terms couched in those words of pope Eugenius, telling

the Greeks what they must consent unto. [t] *The pope,* said he, *will have the prerogatives of his church; and he will have appeals to him; and to feed all the church of Christ, as shepherd of the sheep. Beside these things, that he may have authority and power to convoke general synods, when need shall be; and that all the patriarchs do yield to his will.*

That the pope doth claim, assume, and exercise a sovereignty over the church endowed with such prerogatives, is sufficiently visible in experience of fact, is apparent by the authorized dictates in their canon law, and shall be distinctly proved by competent allegations, when we shall examine the branches of this pretended authority.

In the mean time it sufficeth to observe, that in effect all clergymen do avow so much, who *bona fide* and without prevarication do submit to take the oaths and engagements prescribed to them of course by papal appointment. For this surely, according to the pope's meaning, (by which their obligation is to be measured,) is designed in the profession ordained by pope Pius IV. wherein every beneficed clergyman is enjoined to say, [u] *And I do promise and swear true obedience to the Roman pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, and the vicar of Jesus*

[t] Θέλει τὰ προνόμια τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ θέλει ἔχειν τὴν ἔκκλητον, καὶ ποιμαίνειν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὥσπερ ποιμὴν τῶν προβάτων· πρὸς τούτοις, ἵνα ἔχῃ ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν συγκροτεῖν σύνοδον οἰκουμενικὴν, ὅτι δεήσεις· καὶ πάντας τοὺς πατριάρχας ὑπείκειν τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ. Conc. Flor. p. 846.

[u] Romanoque pontifici, B. Petri successori, ac Jesu Christi vicario, veram obedientiam spondeo ac juro. *Bull. Pii IV. super forma juram.*

Christ. Which profession was appointed in pursuance of a sanction made by the Trent council, that all such persons [x] *should vow and swear to abide in obedience to the Roman church;* and consequently, how hard soever its yoke should be, they would not shake it off: which inferreth most absolute sovereignty of that church, or of the pope, who ruleth the roast in it.

But what that *true obedience* doth import, or how far the papal authority in the pope's own sense, and according to the public spirit of that church, doth stretch, is more explicitly signified in the oath which all bishops at their consecration, and all metropolitans at their instalment, are required to take; the which, as it is extant in the Roman pontifical[y], set out by order of pope Clement VIII. doth run in these terms.

[z] I N. elect *of the church of N.* from hencefor-

[x] Provisi de beneficiis—in Romanæ ecclesiæ obedientia se permansuros spondeant ac jurent. *Conc. Trid.* sess. xxiv. cap. 12.

[y] Pontif. Rom. Antwerp. anno 1626. p. 59, 86.

[z] Ego N. electus *ecclesiæ N.* ab hac hora in antea fidelis *et obediens* ero B. Petro *apostolo,* sanctæque Romanæ ecclesiæ, et domino nostro, *domino N.* papæ N. suisque successoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in consilio, *aut consensu,* vel facto, ut vitam perdant, aut membrum; seu capiantur mala captione; *aut in eos manus quomodolibet ingerantur; vel injuriæ aliquæ inferantur, quovis quæsito colore.* Consilium vero quod mihi credituri sunt, per se, *aut nuncios suos,* seu literas, ad eorum damnum, *me sciente,* nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum *et regalia Sancti Petri* adjutor eis ero ad defendendum et retinendum, salvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum apostolicæ sedis in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. *Jura, honores, privilegia, et auctoritatem sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, domini nostri papæ et successorum prædictorum, conservare, defendere, augere, promovere curabo. Neque ero in consilio, vel facto,*

ward will be faithful *and obedient* to St. Peter *the apostle*, and to the holy Roman church, and to our lord, *the lord N.* pope N. and to his successors, canonically coming in. I will neither advise, *consent*, or do any thing that they may lose life or member,

seu tractatu in quibus contra ipsum dominum nostrum, vel eandem Romanam ecclesiam aliqua sinistra vel præjudicialia personarum, juris, honoris, status et potestatis eorum machinentur. Et si talia a quibuscunque tractari vel procurari novero, impediam hoc pro posse, et quanto citius potero significabo eidem domino nostro, vel alteri per quem possit ad ipsius notitiam pervenire. Regulas sanctorum Patrum, decreta, ordinationes, seu dispositiones, reservationes, provisiones et mandata apostolica totis viribus observabo, et faciam ab aliis observari. Hæreticos, schismaticos, et rebelles eidem domino nostro vel successoribus prædictis pro posse persequar et impugnabo. Vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditione. Apostolorum limina singulis trienniis personaliter per me ipsum visitabo, *et domino nostro ac successoribus præfatis rationem reddam de toto meo pastorali officio ac de rebus omnibus ad meæ ecclesiæ statum, ad cleri, et populi disciplinam, animarum denique quæ meæ fidei traditæ sunt, salutem quovis modo pertinentibus, et vicissim mandata apostolica humiliter recipiam et quam diligentissime exequar. Quod si legitimo impedimento detentus fuero præfata omnia adimplebo* per certum nuncium *ad hoc speciale mandatum habentem de gremio mei capituli, aut alium in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutum, seu alias personatum habentem; aut, his mihi deficientibus, per diœcesanum sacerdotem; et clero deficiente omnino per aliquem alium presbyterum secularem vel regularem spectatæ probitatis et religionis de supradictis omnibus plene instructum. De hujusmodi autem impedimento docebo per legitimas probationes ad sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinalem proponentem in congregatione sacri concilii per supradictum nuncium transmittendas. Possessiones vero ad mensam meam pertinentes non vendam, nec donabo neque impignorabo, nec de novo infeudabo vel aliquo modo alienabo, etiam cum consensu capituli ecclesiæ meæ, inconsulto Romano pontifice. Et si ad aliquam alienationem devenero, pœnas in quadam super hoc edita constitutione contentas eo ipso incurrere volo.* Sic me Deus adjuvet et hæc sancta Dei evangelia.

or that their persons may be seized, *or hands anywise laid upon them, or any injuries offered to them, under any pretence whatsoever.* The counsel which they shall intrust me withal, by themselves, *their messengers,* or letters, I will not *knowingly* reveal to any to their prejudice. I will help them to defend and keep the Roman papacy, *and the royalties of St. Peter,* saving my order, against all men. The legate of the apostolic see, going and coming, I will honourably treat and help in his necessities. *The rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the holy Roman church, of our lord the pope, and his foresaid successors, I will endeavour to preserve, defend, increase, and advance. I will not be in any counsel, action, or treaty, in which shall be plotted against our said lord, and the said Roman church, any thing to the hurt or prejudice of their persons, right, honour, state, or power; and if I shall know any such thing to be treated or agitated by any whatsoever, I will hinder it to my power; and as soon as I can will signify it to our said lord, or to some other, by whom it may come to his knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the apostolic decrees, ordinances, or disposals, reservations, provisions, and mandates, I will observe with all my might, and cause to be observed by others. Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our said lord, or his foresaid successors, I will to my power persecute and oppose.* I will come to a council when I am called, unless I be hindered by a canonical impediment. I will by myself in person visit the threshold of the apostles every three years; *and give an account to our lord and his foresaid successors of all my pastoral office,*

of all things anywise belonging to the state y church, to the discipline of my clergy and e, and lastly to the salvation of souls com- d to my trust; and will in like manner humbly ve and diligently execute the apostolic com- ls. And if I be detained by a lawful impedi- , I will perform all the things aforesaid by a in messenger *hereto specially empowered, a ber of my chapter, or some other in ecclesias- dignity, or else having a parsonage; or in ult of these, by a priest of the diocese; or in ult of one of the clergy,* [*of the diocese,*] *by other secular or regular priest of approved rity and religion, fully instructed in all things e-mentioned. And such impediment I will out by lawful proofs to be transmitted by the aid messenger to the cardinal proponent of oly Roman church in the congregation of the d council. The possessions belonging to my I will neither sell, nor give away, nor mort- , nor grant anew in fee, nor anywise alienate, ot even with the consent of the chapter of my ch, without consulting the Roman pontiff. And shall make any alienation, I will thereby incur enalties contained in a certain constitution put about this matter.* So help me God and these Gospels of God.

ich is the oath prescribed to bishops, the which rth the most serious attention of all men, who ld understand how miserably slavish the condi- of the clergy is in that church, and how incon- nt their obligation to the pope is with their duty eir prince.

nd in perusing it we may note, that the clauses

in a different character are in the more ancient oath extant in the Gregorian Decretals: by which it appeareth how the pope doth more and more enlarge his power, and straiten the bands of subjection to him. And it is very remarkable that the new oath hath changed those words, *regulas sanctorum patrum* into *regalia Sancti Petri*, i. e. *the rules of the holy fathers* into *the royalties of St. Peter.*

Greg. Dec. lib. ii. tit. 24. cap. 4.

§. XV. I know there are within the Roman communion great store of divines, who do contract the papal sovereignty within a much narrower compass, refusing to him many of those prerogatives, yea, scarce allowing to him any of them.

There are those who affirm the pope, in doctrine and discipline, subject to the church, or to a general synod representing it. Which opinion thwarteth a proposition, in Bellarmine's opinion, *even almost an article of faith:* but to be even with him, they do hold his proposition to be quite heretical: [z] *The pope is simply and absolutely above the universal church; —this proposition is almost an article of faith,* saith Bellarmine: the cardinal of Lorrain on the contrary, [a] *But I,* saith he, *cannot deny but that I am a Frenchman, and bred up in the church of Paris, which teaches that the Roman pontiff is subject to a council, and they who teach the contrary are there branded as heretics.*

[z] Summus pontifex simpliciter et absolute est supra ecclesiam universam; —— hæc propositio est fere de fide. *Bell. de Conc.* ii. 17.

[a] Ego vero negare non possum quin Gallus sim, et Parisiensis ecclesiæ alumnus, in qua Rom. pontificem subesse concilio tenetur, et qui docent ibi contrarium, ii tanquam hæretici notantur. *Card. Loth. apud Laun. Ep.* i. 1.

There are those who affirm the pope, if he undertake points of faith without assistance of a general synod, may teach heresy; (which opinion, as Bellarmine thought, doth *closely border on heresy:*) and those who conceive that popes may be and have been heretics; whence Christians sometimes are not obliged to admit their doctrine, or observe their pleasure.

Quæ sententia videtur omnino erronea et hæresi proxima. *Bell.* iv. 2.

There are those who maintain the pope, no less than other bishops, subject to the canons, or bound to observe the constitutions of the church; that he may not infringe them, or overrule against them, or dispense with them: and that to him attempting to do so obedience is not due.

There are those who maintain, that the pope cannot subvert or violate the rights and liberties of particular churches, settled in them agreeably to the ancient canons of the church universal.

There are those who assert to general councils a power of reforming the church, without or against the pope's consent.

There are those who, as Bellarmine telleth us, do allow the pope to be no more in the ecclesiastical republic than as the duke of Venice in his senate, or as the general of an order in his congregation; and that he therefore hath but a very limited and subordinate power.

Bell. de Conc. ii. 14.

There are consequently those who conceive the pope notoriously erring, or misdemeaning himself, to the prejudice of the Christian state, may be called to an account, may be judged, may be corrected, may be discarded by a general synod.

Such notions have manifestly prevailed in a good part of the Roman communion, and are maintained

by most divines in the French church; and they may be supposed every where common, where there is any liberty of judgment, or where the inquisition doth not reign.

There have been seasons wherein they have so prevailed, as to have been defined for catholic truths in great synods, and by them to have been applied to practice. For

An. 1409. Conc. Pis. Sess. 16, 17. In the first great synod of Pisa it was declared, that councils may *reform the church sufficiently both in head and members:* and accordingly that synod did assume to judge two popes (Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII.) contending for the papacy, (whereof one was the true pope,) and deposing them both, did substitute Alexander V. [b] *who for one year,* (as Antoninus reporteth,) *according to the common opinion, did hold the seat of Peter.*

Primo declarat quod ipsa synodus, &c. Sess. 4, 5. The synod of Constance declared, that *the synod lawfully assembled in the Holy Ghost, making a general council representing the catholic church militant, hath immediately power from Christ; to which every one, of whatever state or dignity he be, although it be papal, is bound to obey in those things which belong to faith, and the extirpation of (the said) schism, and the general reformation of the church of God in head and members.*

The which doctrine they notably put in practice, exercising jurisdiction over popes, and for errors, misdemeanours, or contumacies, discarding three, (of whom it is hard if one were not true pope,) and choosing another, who afterwards did pass for a right pope, and himself did confirm the acts of that

[b] Qui anno uno sedem Petri tenuit, secundum communem opinionem. *Anton. de Concil. Pis.* cap. v. §. 3.

council. (So that this semi-heresy hath at least the authority of one pope to countenance it.) [c] *Our most holy lord the pope said in answer thereunto, that he would maintain and inviolably observe all and every of those things that were conciliarly determined, concluded, and decreed, by the present council, in matters of faith.*

The synod of Basil declared the same point, [d] *that councils are superior to popes, to be a truth of catholic faith, which whoever doth stiffly oppose is to be accounted a heretic:* [e] *Nor* (say they) *did any skilful man ever doubt the pope to be subject to the judgment of general synods in things concerning faith.* [f] *In virtue of which doctrine, and by its irresistible authority,* the synod did sentence and reject pope Eugenius as criminal, heretical, and contumacious.

These synods, although reprobated by popes in counter-synods, are yet by many Roman catholic divines retained in great veneration; and their doctrine is so current in the famous Sorbonne, that (if we may believe the great cardinal of Lorrain) the contrary is there reputed *heretical.* (Concil. Later. &c. Ego vero negare non possum, &c.

[c] Sanctiss. Dominus noster papa dixit, respondendo ad prædicta, quod omnia et singula determinata, conclusa et decreta in materiis fidei per præsens concilium conciliariter tenere, et inviolabiliter observare volebat. *Conc. Const.* sess. xlv. p. 1119.

[d] Veritas de potestate concilii supra papam——est veritas fidei catholicæ——cui pertinaciter repugnans est censendus hæreticus. *Conc. Bas.* sess. xxxiii. (p. 95.)

[e] Nec unquam aliquis peritorum dubitavit, summum pontificem in his quæ fidem concernunt judicio earundem generalium synodorum esse subjectum. *Concil. Bas.* sess. xlv. p. 117.

[f] Vigore cujus, ac ineffabili et inexpugnabili authoritate ——. Sess. xxxviii. p. 101.

§. XVI. Yet notwithstanding these oppositions, the former opinion averring the pope's absolute sovereignty, doth seem to be the genuine doctrine of the Roman church, if it hath any.

Nam adhuc videmus ab ecclesia tolerari, qui eam sententiam sequuntur—. *Bell.* iv. 2.

For those divines, by the pope and his intimate confidents, are looked upon as a mongrel brood, or mutinous faction; which he by politic connivance doth only *tolerate*, because he is not well able to correct or suppress them. He is afraid to be violent in reclaiming them to his sense, lest he spend his artillery in vain, and lose all his power and interest with them.

Nor indeed do those men seem to adhere to the Roman party out of entire judgment or cordial affection; but in compliance with their princes, or upon account of their interest, or at best with regard to peace and quiet. They cannot conveniently break with the pope, because his interest is twisted with their own, so as not easily to be disentangled.

For how can they heartily stick to the pope, whenas their opinion doth plainly imply him to be an usurper and a tyrant, (claiming to himself, and exercising authority over the church, which doth not rightfully belong to him;) to be a rebel and traitor against the church, (invading and possessing the sovereignty due to it; for such questionless the duke of Venice would be, should he challenge and assume to himself such a power over his commonwealth, as the pope hath over Christendom;) to be an impostor and seducer, pretending to infallible conduct, which he hath not.

How can they honestly condemn those who (upon such grounds) do shake off such yokes, refusing to comply with the pope, till he correct his errors, till

he desist from those usurpations and impostures, till he restore to the church its rights and liberties?

How are the doctrines of those men consistent or congruous to their practice? For they call the pope monarch of the church, and universal pastor of Christians, by God's appointment, indefectibly; yet will they not admit all his laws, and reject doctrines which he teacheth, particularly those which most nearly touch him, concerning his own office and authority. They profess themselves his loyal subjects, yet pretend liberties which they will maintain against him. They hold that all are bound to entertain communion with him, yet confess that he may be heretical, and seduce into error. They give him the name and shadow of a supremacy, but so that they can void the substance and reality thereof[g].

In fine, where should we seek for the doctrine of the Roman church, but at Rome, or from Rome itself? where these doctrines are heterodoxies.

§. XVII. We shall not therefore have a distinct regard to the opinion of these semi-Romanists; nor consider them otherwise, than to confirm that part of truth which they hold, and to confute that part of error which they embrace; allowing, at least in word and semblance, more power to the pope than we can admit as due to him. Our discourse shall be levelled at him as such as he pretendeth himself to be, or as assuming to himself the forementioned powers and prerogatives.

§. XVIII. Of such vast pretences we have reason

[g] Manifestum autem schismatis argumentum est, cum quis se communioni subtrahit apostolicæ sedis. *Balus. not. ad Agobard.* p. 112. It is a manifest argument of schism, when any man withdraws himself from communion with the apostolic see.

to require sufficient grounds. He that demandeth assent to such important assertions, ought to produce clear proofs of them: he that claimeth so mighty power, should be able to make out a good title to it; for, *No man may take this* (more than pontifical) *honour to himself, but he that is called by God, as was Aaron.* [h] *They are worthily to be blamed, who tumultuously and disorderly fall upon curbing or restraining those who by no law are subject to them.*

Heb. v. 4.

We cannot well be justified from a stupid easiness, in admitting such a lieutenancy to our Lord, if we do not see exhibited to us manifest and certain patents assuring its commission to us. We should love the church better than to yield up its liberty to the will of a pretender, upon slight or no ground. Their boldly claiming such a power, their having sometime usurped such a power, will not excuse them or us[i]. Nor will precarious assumptions, or subtle distinctions, or blind traditions, or loose conjectures serve for probations in such a case.

§. XIX. Such demands they cannot wholly balk: wherefore for satisfaction to them, not finding any better plea, they hook in St. Peter; affirming that on him by our Lord there was instated a primacy over his brethren, all the apostles and the disciples of our Lord, importing all the authority which they claim; and that from him this primacy was devolved

[h] Jure culpandi sunt, qui turbide atque inordinate in eos coercendos insiliunt, qui nulla sibi lege subjecti sunt. *Aug. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 17.

[i] Nemo sibi et professor et testis est. *Tertul.* v. 1. *adv. Marc.* None can be both a claimer and a witness for himself.

by succession to the bishops of Rome, by right indefectible for all future ages.

Which plea of theirs doth involve these main suppositions,

I. *That St. Peter had a primacy over the apostles.*

II. *That St. Peter's primacy with its rights and prerogatives was not personal, but derivable to his successors.*

III. *That St. Peter was bishop of Rome.*

IV. *That St. Peter did continue bishop of Rome, after his translation, and was so at his decease.*

V. *That the bishops of Rome* (*according to God's institution, and by original right derived thence*) *should have an universal supremacy and jurisdiction over the Christian church.*

VI. *That in fact the Roman bishops continually from St. Peter's time have enjoyed and exercised this sovereign power.*

VII. *That this power is indefectible and unalterable.*

The truth and certainty of these propositions we shall in order discuss; so that it may competently appear, whether those who disclaim these pretences are (as they are charged) guilty of heresy and schism; or they rather are liable to the imputations of arrogancy and impiety who do obtrude and urge them.

A

TREATISE

OF THE

POPE'S SUPREMACY.

MATT. x. 2.

Now the names of the twelve apostles were these; the first, Simon, who is called Peter. Πρῶτος Σίμων.

AMONG the modern controversies there is scarce any of greater consequence than that about universal supremacy, which the bishop of Rome claimeth over the Christian church; the assertion whereof on his side dependeth upon divers suppositions; namely these.

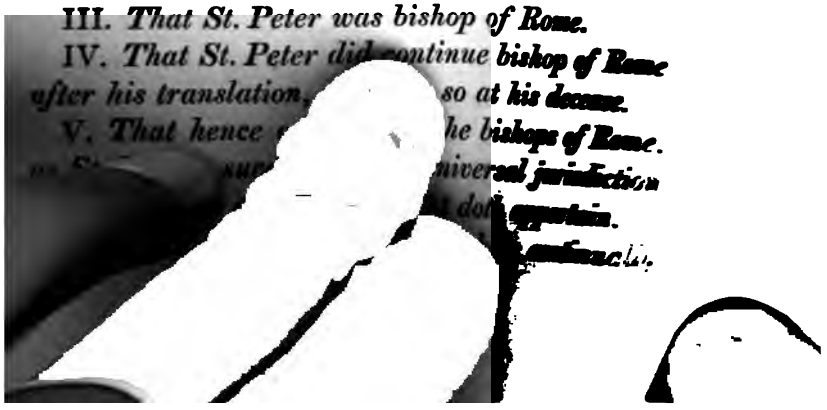
I. *That St. Peter by our Lord's appointment had a primacy, implying a sovereignty of authority and jurisdiction over the apostles.*

II. *That the rights and prerogatives of this sovereignty were not personal, but derivable, and transmitted to successors.*

III. *That St. Peter was bishop of Rome.*

IV. *That St. Peter did continue bishop of Rome after his translation, so at his decease.*

V. *That hence he bishops of Rome.*



from St. Peter's time have enjoyed and exercised this power.

VII. *That this power is indefectible; such as by no means can be forfeited or fail.*

In order to the discussion and resolution of the first point, I shall treat upon the primacy of St. Peter; endeavouring to shew what primacy he was capable of, or might enjoy; what he could not pretend to, nor did possess.

SUPPOSITION I.

The first supposition of those who claim universal jurisdiction to the pope over the church is, *That St. Peter had a primacy over the apostles.*

IN order to the resolution of this point, we may consider that there are several kinds of primacy, which may belong to a person in respect of others: for there are,

1. *A primacy of worth, or personal excellency.*
2. *A primacy of reputation and esteem.*
3. *A primacy of order, or bare dignity and precedence.*
4. *A primacy of power or jurisdiction.*

To each of these what title St. Peter might have, let us in order examine.

I. As for the first of these, (*a primacy of worth, or merit,* as some of the ancients call it,) we may well grant it to St. Peter, admitting that probably he did exceed the rest of his brethren in personal endowments and capacities, (both natural and moral,) qualifying him for the discharge of the apostolical office in an eminent manner; particularly that in quickness of apprehension, in boldness of spirit,

in readiness of speech, in charity to our Lord, and zeal for his service, in resolution, activity, and industry he was transcendent, may seem to appear by the tenor of the evangelical and apostolical histories; in the which we may observe him upon all occasions ready to speak first, and to make himself *the mouth*, as the fathers speak, of the apostles, in all deliberations nimble at propounding his advice, in all undertakings forward to make the onset; being παντα χοῦ θερμὸς, *always hot* and eager, always *prompt* and vigorous, as St. Chrysostom often affirmeth concerning him: [a]these things are apparent in his demeanour, and it may not be amiss to set down some instances.

When our Lord observing the different apprehensions men had concerning him, asked the apostles, *But whom say ye that I am?* up starteth he, προηδὰ καὶ προλαμβάνεται, *he skippeth forth, and preventeth the rest*, crying, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.* [b]The other apostles were not ignorant of the point; for they at their conversion did take Jesus for the Messias, which (even according to the common notion of the Jews) did imply his being the Son of God; Nathanael (that is, St. Bartholomew, as is supposed) had in terms confessed it; the whole company, upon seeing our Lord

Matt. xvi. 15, 16.

John i. 42, 46. Matt. xxvi. 63. John i. 50. Matt. xiv. 33.

[a] Ἐντερίστροφος γὰρ ἀεί πως ἦν ἄνθρωπος, κεκεντρωμένος οὐ μετρίως εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ δρᾶσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν προθυμίαν. Cyrill. in Joh. xxi. 15. He was a very active and stirring man, exceedingly spurred on with much promptness and alacrity in doing and speaking. Παντα χοῦ εὑρίσκεται ἀπὸ πόθου ὁρμῶν. Chrys. in Joh. Or. xii. (13, 24.) Διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμφαίνει θερμότητα. Chrys. tom. v. Or. 59.

[b] Licet cæteri apostoli sciant, Petrus tamen respondet pro cæteris. *Ambr. in Luc.* lib. vi. cap. 9.

walk on the sea, had avowed it; St. Peter before that in the name of them all had said, Ἡμεῖς πεπιστεύκαμεν, καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν, *We have believed, and have known, that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.* They therefore had the same faith, but he, from a special alacrity of spirit, and expedition in utterance, was more forward to declare it; [c] *He was more hot,* saith St. Gregory Nazianzen, *than the rest at acknowledging Christ.*

John vi. 69.

When our Saviour walked on the sea, who but he had the faith and the courage to venture on the waters towards him?

Matt. xiv. 28.

When our Lord was apprehended by the soldiers, presently up was his spirit, and out went his sword in defence of him.

John xviii. 10.

When our Lord predicted, that upon his coming into trouble all the disciples would be offended, and desert him, he was ready to say, *Though all men shall be offended because of thee, yet will I never be offended;* and, *Though I should die with thee, yet will I not deny thee:* such was his natural courage and confidence.

Matt. xxvi. 33, 35. John xiii. 37.

When our Lord was discoursing about his passion, he suddenly must be advising in the case, and urging him *to spare himself;* upon which St. Chrysostom biddeth us to *consider,* [d] *not that his answer was unadvised, but that it came from a genuine and fervent affection.*

Matt. xvi. 22.

And at the transfiguration, he fell to proposing about making an abode there, *not knowing what he said;* so brisk was he in imagination and speech.

Μὴ εἰδὼς ἃ λέγει. Mark ix. 6.

[c] Θερμότερος τῶν ἄλλων εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν Χριστοῦ. Greg. Naz. Or. 34.

[d] Μὴ τοῦτο ἐξετάσωμεν, ὅτι ἀπερίσκεπτος ἡ ἀπόκρισις· ἀλλ' ὅτι γνησίου πόθου ἦν καὶ ζέοντος. Tom. v. Or. 59.

Upon the good woman's report that our Lord was risen from the dead, he first ran to the sepulchre, and so (as St. Paul implieth) did obtain the first sight of our Lord after the resurrection[e]; such was his zeal and activity upon all occasions. Luke ix. 33. Luke xxiv. xii. 34. John xx. 3.

At the consultation about supplying the place of Judas, he *rose up*, proposed, and pressed the matter. Acts i. 15.

At the convention of the apostles and elders about resolving *the debate* concerning observance of Mosaical institutions, he first rose up, and declared his sense. Acts xv. 7.

In the promulgation of the gospel, and defence thereof before the Jewish rulers, he did assume the conduct, and constantly took upon him to be the speaker; the rest standing by him, implying assent, and ready to avow his word; *Peter*, saith St. Luke, *standing with the rest, lift up his voice, and said unto them*; so *did they utter a common voice*, saith St. Chrysostom, *and he was the mouth of all.* Κοινὴν προεβάλλοντο φωνὴν, καὶ πάντων αὐτὸς ἦν τὸ στόμα.

[f] That in affection to our Lord, and zeal for his service, St. Peter had some advantage over the rest, that question, *Simon Peter, dost thou love me more than these?* may seem to imply: (although the

[e] Καὶ ὅτι ὤφθη Κηφᾷ, εἶτα τοῖς δώδεκα. 1 Cor. xv. 5. And that he appeared to Cephas, after that to the twelve.

[f] Aug. in Joh. Tract. 123. Ὁ μανικὸς ἐραστὴς τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Chrys. tom. v. Or. 24. An extreme lover of Christ. Sæpe diximus nimii ardoris, amorisque quam maximi fuisse Petrum in Dominum. *Hier. in Matt.* xvi. 22. We have often said that Peter was transported with too much heat, and extraordinary great love of our Lord. Ipse enim Petrus in apostolorum ordine primus, in Christi amore promptissimus, sæpe unus respondet pro omnibus. *Aug. Serm.* xiii. *de verb. Dom. in Matt.* i. For Peter himself being first in the order of the apostles, and most prompt and forward in the love of Christ, answered oftentimes alone for all the rest.

words πλεῖον τούτων may bear other interpretations, whereby the seeming invidiousness of the question, according to that sense, will be removed.) However, that he had a singular zeal for promoting our Lord's service, and propagation of the gospel, therein outshining the rest, seemeth manifest in the history, and may be inferred from the peculiar regard our Lord apparently did shew to him.

Upon these premises we may well admit that St. Peter had a primacy of worth; or that in personal accomplishments he was most eminent among the twelve apostles; (although afterward there did spring up one, who hardly in any of these respects would yield to him; who could confidently say, *that he did not come behind the very chief apostles*; and of whom St. Ambrose saith, [g] *Neither was Paul inferior to Peter——being well to be compared even to the first, and second to none:* and St. Chrysostom, [h] *For what was greater than Peter, and what equal to Paul?*) This is the primacy which Eusebius attributeth to him, when he calleth him [i] *the excellent and great apostle, who for his virtue was the prolocutor of all the rest.*

1 Cor. xv. 10. 2 Cor. xi. 23, 5. xii. 11.

II. As to *a primacy of repute;* which St. Paul meaneth, when he speaketh of the οἱ δοκοῦντες, *those which had a special reputation,* of those *who seemed to be pillars,* of the ὑπὲρ λίαν ἀπόστολοι, the *supereminent apostles;* this advantage cannot be refused him; being a necessary consequent of those emi-

Gal. ii. 2, 6. ii. 9. 2 Cor. xi. 5. xii. 11.

[g] Nec Paulus inferior Petro——cum primo quoque facile conferendus, et nulli secundus. *Ambr. de Sp. S.* ii. 12.

[h] Τί γὰρ Πέτρου μεῖζον; τί δὲ Παύλου ἴσον. Chrys. tom. v. Or. 167.

[i] Τὸν καρτερὸν καὶ μέγαν τῶν ἀποστόλων, τὸν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα τῶν λοιπῶν ἁπάντων προήγορον. Euseb. Hist. ii. 14.

nent qualities resplendent in him, and of the illustrious performances achieved by him, beyond the rest.

This may be inferred from that advantageous renown which he hath had propagated from the beginning to all posterity.

This at least those elogies of the fathers (styling him the chief, prince, head of the apostles) do signify. ὁ κορυφαῖος τῶν ἀποστόλων Πίστεως. Ath. Disp. cont. Arium, p. 121.

This also may be collected from his being so constantly ranked in the first place, before the rest of his brethren.

III. As to *a primacy of order, or bare dignity*, importing that commonly, in all meetings and proceedings, the other apostles did yield him the precedence, the προηγορία, or privilege of speaking first, (whether in propounding matters for debate, or in delivering his advice,) in the conduct and moderation of affairs; that this was stated on him, may be questioned; for that this were a kind of womanish privilege; and that it doth not seem to befit the gravity of such persons, or their condition and circumstances, to stand upon ceremonies of respect; for that also our Lord's rules do seem to exclude all semblance of ambition, all kinds of inequality and distance between his apostles; for that this practice doth not seem constantly and thoroughly to agree to his being endowed with this advantage; especially seeing all that practice which favoureth it may fairly be assigned to other causes; for that also the fathers' authority (if that be objected, as a main argument of such a primacy) in points of this nature, not bordering on essentials of faith, is of no great strength; they in such cases speaking out of their own ingeny and conjecture; and commonly indulg-

ing their imaginations no less freely than other men.

But yet this primacy may be granted, as probable upon divers accounts of use and convenience; it might be useful to preserve order, and to promote expedition; or to prevent confusion, distraction, and dilatory obstruction in the management of things; yea, to maintain concord, and to exclude that ambition or affectation to be foremost, which is natural to men.

For seeing all could not go, speak, or act first, all could not guide affairs, it was expedient that one should be ready to undertake it, knowing his cue; [k] *See* (saith St. Chrysostom, noting on Acts ii. 14. where St. Peter speaketh for the rest) *the concord of the apostles; they yield unto him the speech, for they could not all speak:* and, [l] *One,* saith St. Jerome, *is chosen among the twelve, that a head being appointed, an occasion of schism might be removed.*

Cyp. Ep. 73. de Unit. Eccl. &c.

St. Cyprian hath a reason for it somewhat more subtle and mystical, supposing our Lord did confer on him a preference of this kind to his brethren, (who otherwise in power and authority were equal to him,) that he might intimate and recommend unity to us; and the other African doctors (Optatus and St. Austin) do commonly harp on the same notion: I can discern little solidity in this conceit, and as little harm.

In typo unitatis—— *Aug. de Bapt.* iii. 17.

However, supposing this primacy, (at least in respect to the fathers, who generally seem to counte-

[k] Σπόπαι τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν ὁμόνοιαν, αὐτοὶ παραχωροῦσιν αὐτῷ τῆς ῥημηγορίας, οὐ γὰρ ἔδει πάντας φθέγγεσθαι. Chrys. in Act. ii. 14.

[l] Inter duodecim unus eligitur, ut capite constituto schismatis tolleretur occasio. *Hier. in Jovin.* i. cap. 14.

nance it,) divers probable reasons may be assigned why it should especially be conferred on St. Peter[m].

1. It is probable, that St. Peter was first in standing among the apostles; I mean not that he was the first disciple, or first converted to faith in Christ; but first called to the apostolical office; [n]or first nominated by our Lord, when out of all his disciples *he chose twelve, and called them apostles; Simon, whom he called Peter, and Andrew his brother.* He was one of the first believers at large; he was perhaps the first that distinctly believed our Lord's divinity; he was probably the very first apostle; [o]as the fittest person in our Lord's eye for that employment. [p]*He*, saith St. Hilary, *did first believe, and is the prince* (or first man) *of the apostleship.* [q]*He*, saith St. Cyprian, *was the first whom the Lord chose.* [r]*He*, saith St. Basil, *was by judgment preferred before all the disciples.* He

Luke vi. 14. Matt. iv. 18. Mark i. 16. Luke v. 3.

[m] Petrus—natura unus homo erat, gratia unus Christianus, abundantiore gratia unus idemque primus apostolus. *Aug. in Joh. Tract.* 123. Peter was by nature one man, by grace one Christian, by a more abundant grace one and the same prime apostle. Ipse enim Petrus in apostolorum ordine primus, in Christi amore promptissimus, sæpe unus respondet pro omnibus. *Aug. de verbis Dom. sup. Matt.* i. *Serm.* 13. For Peter himself being the first in the order of the apostles, the most forward in the love of Christ, he alone ofttimes answers for all the rest.

[n] [Προτίθησι δὲ Πέτρον καὶ Ἀνδρέαν, διότι καὶ πρωτόκλητοι. Theoph. in Matt. x.]

[o] Γινώσκων τίς ἐν πρώτοις ἄξιος τάττεσθαι, ἐξελέξατο τὸν Πέτρον ἀρχηγὸν εἶναι——Epiph. Hær. li. 17. p. 440.

[p] Primus credidit, et apostolatus est princeps. *Hil. in Matt. Can.* 7.

[q] Quem primum Dominus elegit. *Cypr. Ep.* 71. p. 127.

[r] Ὁ πάντων τῶν μαθητῶν προκριθείς. Bas. de Judicio Dei, tom. ii. p. 268.

by other ancients is called [s]*the firstfruits of the apostles.* And according to this sense St. Jerome, I suppose, doth call him and his brother Andrew, *principes apostolorum*, that is, (according to frequent usage of the word *princeps* in Latin,) *the first of the apostles.*

Hier. in Jovin. 1.

So that as in divers churches, (perhaps when time was, in all,) anciently, priority in ordination did ground a right to precedence, as it is in ours, with some exception; so might St. Peter, upon this account of being first ordained apostle, obtain such a primacy.

2. St. Peter also might be the first in age; which among persons otherwise equal is a fair ground of preference; for he was a married man; and that before he was called, as is intimated in St. Luke; and may be inferred from hence, that he would not have married after that he *had left all*, and devoted himself to follow our Lord. Upon which account of age St. Jerome did suppose that he was preferred before the beloved disciple; [t]*Why*, saith he, *was not St. John elected, being a bachelor? it was deferred to age, because Peter was elder, that a youth, and almost a boy, might not be preferred before men of good age.*

Luke iv. 38. v. 7.

Matt. xix. 27.

I know that Epiphanius[u] affirmeth St. Andrew to have been the elder brother; but it doth not appear

[s] Ἀπαρχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων. Modest. apud Phot. Cod. 275. Clem. ad Jac.

[t] Sed cur non Joannes electus est virgo? ætati delatum est, quia Petrus senior erat; ne adhuc adolescens et pene puer progressæ ætatis hominibus præferretur. *Hier. in Jovin.* i. 14.

[u] Μικροτέρου ὄντος τοῦ Πέτρου τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἡλικίας. Epiph. Hær. li. 17. p. 440. Peter being the younger in age.

whether he saith it from conjecture, or upon any other ground. And his authority, although we should suppose it bottomed on tradition, is not great; tradition itself in such matters being very slippery, and often one tradition crossing another.

3. The most eminent qualifications of St. Peter (such as we before described) might procure to him this advantage.

They might breed in him an honest confidence, pushing him forward on all occasions to assume the former place, and thence by custom to possess it; for *qui sibi fidit, dux regit examen*——it being in all action, as in walking, where he that naturally is most vigorous and active doth go before the rest. Hor. Ep. i. 19.

They might induce others to a voluntary concession thereof[x]; for to those who indisputably do excel in good qualities or abilities, honest and meek persons easily will yield precedence, especially on occasions of public concernment; wherein it is expedient, that the best qualified persons should be first seen.

They probably might also move our Lord himself to settle, or at least to insinuate this order; assigning the first place to him, whom he knew most willing to serve him, and most able to lead on the rest in his service.

It is indeed observable, that upon all occasions our Lord signified a particular respect to him, before the rest of his colleagues; for to him more frequently than to any of them he directed his discourse; unto him, by a kind of anticipation, he granted or promised those gifts and privileges which Matt. xvi. 16.

[x] Αὐτοὶ παραχωρῶσιν αὐτῷ, &c. Chrys. in Act. ii. 14. They yield unto him, &c.

Matt. xvii. 1. he meant to confer on them all; him he did assume as spectator and witness of his glorious transfigura-
Matt. xxvi. 37. tion; him he picked out as companion and attendant
John xiii. 6. on him in his grievous agony; his feet he first wash-
1 Cor. xv. 5. ed; to him he did first discover himself after his
John xxi. resurrection, (as St. Paul implieth,) and with him then he did entertain most discourse, in especial manner recommending to him the pastoral care of his church: by which manner of proceeding our Lord may seem to have constituted St. Peter the first in order among the apostles, or sufficiently to have hinted his mind for their direction, admonishing them by his example to render unto him a special deference.

4. The fathers commonly do attribute his priority to the merit of his faith and confession, wherein he
Hil. in Mat. Can. xiv. p. 566. did outstrip his brethren. [y]*He obtained supereminent glory by the confession of his blessed faith,* saith St. Hilary. [z]*Because he alone of all the rest professeth his love,* (John xxi.) *therefore he is preferred above all,* saith St. Ambrose.

Matt. x. 2. Mark iii. 17. Luke vi. 14. Acts i. 13. John xxi. 2. 5. Constantly in all the catalogues of the apostles St. Peter's name is set in the front; and when actions are reported, in which he was concerned jointly with others, he is usually mentioned first, which seemeth not done without careful design, or special reason.

Upon such grounds it may be reasonable to allow St. Peter a primacy of order; such a one as the ringleader hath in a dance, as the primipilar centurion had in the legion, or the prince of the senate

[y] Supereminentem beatæ fidei suæ confessione gloriam promeruit. *Hil. de Trin.* lib. vi. p. 121.

[z] Ideo quia solus profitetur amorem suum (John xxi.) ex omnibus, omnibus antefertur. *Ambr. in Luc.* cap. ult.

had there, in the Roman state; at least, as among earls, baronets, &c. and others coordinate in degree, yet one hath a precedence of the rest.

IV. As to a primacy importing superiority in power, command, or jurisdiction; this by the Roman party is asserted to St. Peter, but we have great reason to deny it, upon the following considerations.

1. For such a power (being of so great importance) it was needful that a commission from God, its founder, should be granted in downright and perspicuous terms; that no man concerned in duty grounded thereon, might have any doubt of it, or excuse for boggling at it; [a] it was necessary, not only for the apostles, to bind and warrant their obedience, but also for us, because it is made the sole foundation of a like duty incumbent on us; which we cannot heartily discharge without being assured of our obligation thereto, by clear revelation, or promulgation of God's will in the holy scripture; for it was of old a current, and ever will be a true rule, which St. Austin in one case thus expresseth, [b] *I do believe that also on this side there would be most clear authority of the divine oracles, if a man could not be ignorant of it without damage of his*

[a] It was a reasonable demand, which was made to our Saviour, *Tell us by what authority thou doest these things, or who is he that gave thee this authority?* (Luke xx. 2.) and the reasonableness of it our Lord did often avow, declaring that if by his doctrine and works he had not vouched the divinity of his authority, it had been no sin to disbelieve or reject him, (John v. 31, 36. x. 25, 37. xv. 22, 24.)

[b] Credo etiam hinc divinorum eloquiorum clarissima authoritas esset, si homo sine dispendio promissæ salutis ignorare non posset. *Aug. de Pec. Mer. et Rem.* ii. 36.

salvation; and Lactantius thus, [c] *Those things can have no foundation, or firmness, which are not sustained by any oracle of God's word.*

But apparently no such commission is extant in scripture; the allegations for it being, as we shall hereafter shew, nowise clear, nor probably expressive of any such authority granted by God; but on the contrary divers clearer testimonies are producible derogating from it.

2. If so illustrious an office was instituted by our Saviour, it is strange that nowhere in the evangelical or apostolical history (wherein divers acts and passages of smaller moment are recorded) there should be any express mention of that institution; there being not only much reason for such a report, but many pat occasions for it: the time when St. Peter was vested with that authority; the manner and circumstances of his instalment therein; the nature, rules, and limits of such an office, had surely well deserved to have been noted, among other occurrences relating to our faith and discipline, by the holy evangelists; no one of them, in all probability, could have forborne punctually to relate a matter of so great consequence, as the settlement of a monarch in God's church, and a sovereign of the apostolical college; (from whom so eminent authority was to be derived to all posterity, for compliance wherewith the whole church for ever must be accountable;) particularly it is not credible that St. Luke should
Luke i. 1. quite slip over so notable a passage, who *had*, as he telleth us, *attained a perfect understanding of all*

[c] Nullum fundamentum aut firmitatem possunt habere, quæ nullis divinarum vocum fulciuntur oraculis. *Lact.* vii. 2.

things, and had undertaken to write in order the things that were surely believed among Christians in his time; of which things this, if any, was one of the most considerable.

3. The time of his receiving institution to such authority can hardly be assigned. For was it when he was constituted by our Lord an apostle? Then indeed probably he began to obtain all the primacy and preeminence he ever had; but no such power doth appear then conferred on him, or at any time in our Saviour's life; at least, if it was, it was so covertly and indiscernibly, that both he himself and all the apostles must be ignorant thereof, who a little before our Lord's passion did more than once earnestly contest about superiority. And it is observable, that whereas our Lord before his passion did carefully teach and press on the apostles the chief duties which they were to observe in their behaviour toward each other; the maintenance of peace, of charity, of unity, of humility toward one another; yet of paying due respect and obedience to this superior he said nothing to them.

Matt. x. 1.

Mark ix. 50. John xiii. 34. xv. 12. xvii. 21. xiii. 14.

The collation of that power could not well be at any time before the celebration of our Lord's Supper, because before that time St. Peter was scarce an ecclesiastical person; at least he was no priest, as the convention of Trent under a curse doth require us to believe[d]; for it were strange, that an unconsecrated person, or one who was not so much as a

[d] Si quis dixerit, illis verbis, *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem*, Christum non instituisse apostolos sacerdotes——anathema sit. *Conc. Trid.* sess. xxii. can. 2. If any one shall say that in those words, *Do this in remembrance of me*, Christ did not ordain his apostles priests——let him be accursed.

priest, should be endowed with so much spiritual power.

Ἐντυλάμενος τῶν ἀποστόλων——. Acts i. 2. John xx. 21. Mat. xxviii. 19. Luke xxiv. 49. Mark xvi. 15.

After his resurrection, our Lord did give divers common instructions, orders, and commissions to his apostles, but it doth not appear that he did make any peculiar grant to St. Peter; for as to the pretence of such an one drawn out of the appendix to St. John's Gospel, or grounded on the words *Pasce oves*, we shall afterward declare that to be invalid.

4. If St. Peter had been instituted sovereign of the apostolical senate, his office and state had been in nature and kind very distinct from the common office of the other apostles; as the office of a king from the office of any subject; as an ordinary, standing, perpetual, successive office, from one that is only extraordinary, transitory, temporary, personal, and incommunicable; (to speak according to distinctions now in use, and applied to this case;) whence, probably, as it was expedient to be, it would have been signified by some distinct name, or title, characterizing it, and distinguishing it from others; as that of arch-apostle, arch-pastor, high priest, sovereign pontiff, pope, his holiness, the vicar of Christ, or the like; whereby it might have appeared that there was such an officer, what the nature of his office was, what specialty of respect and obedience was due to him: but no such name or title (upon any occasion) was assumed by him, or was by the rest attributed to him, or in history is recorded concerning him; the name of an apostle being all that he took on him, or by others was given to him.

5. There was indeed no office above that of an apostle known to the apostles, or to the primitive

hurch; this, saith St. Chrysostom, was [e] *the greatest authority*, and *the top of authorities;* there was, saith he, none *before an apostle, none superior, none equal to him:* this he asserteth of all the apostles, this he particularly applieth to St. Paul; this he demonstrateth from St. Paul himself, who purposely enumerating the chief officers instituted by God in his church, doth place apostles in the highest rank; *Our Lord*, saith St. Paul, *gave some apostles, some* Eph. iv. 11. *prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers;* and God hath set some in *his church, first* 1 Cor. xii. *apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers;* 28. πρῶτον ἀποστόλους; why not first a pope, an universal pastor, an œcumenical judge, a vicar of Christ, a head of the catholic church? Could St. Paul be so ignorant, could he be so negligent or so envious, as to pass by, without any distinction, the supreme officer, if such a one then had been? As put case, that one should undertake to recite the officers in any state, or republic, would he not do strangely, if he should pretermit the king, the duke, the consul, the major thereof? Would not any one, confiding in the skill, diligence, and integrity of such a relator, be induced from such an omission to believe there was no such officer there? St. Chrysostom therefore did hence very rationally infer, that the apostolical office was the supreme in the Christian state, having no other superior to it.

[e] Ἀρχὴ μεγίστη· κορυφὴ τῶν ἀρχῶν. Chrys. tom. viii. p. 114. Εἶδες ὑψηλὸν καθήμενον τὸν ἀπόστολον, καὶ οὐδένα πρὸ ἐκείνου ὄντα, οὔτε ὑστέρων. Ibid. Τῶν δὲ ἀποστόλων ἴσος οὐδεὶς γέγονεν. Chrys. tom. v. Or. 33. Αὐτοῦ τοῦ Παύλου ἀκούσαμεν ἀριθμοῦντος τὰς ἀρχὰς, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑψηλοτέρῳ χωρίῳ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν καθίζοντος. Chrys. tom. viii. ubi supra. We have heard Paul himself reckoning up powers or authorities, and placing the apostolical in the highest place.

St. Peter therefore was no more than an apostle; and as such he could have no command over those who were in the same highest rank coordinate to him, and who as apostles could not be subject to any.

6. Our Lord himself, at several times, declared against this kind of primacy, instituting equality among his apostles, prohibiting them to affect, to seek, to assume, or admit a superiority of power one above another.

Luke xxii. 14, 24. Τίς αὐτῶν δοκεῖ εἶναι μείζων.

There was (saith St. Luke, *among the twelve*, at the participation of the holy supper) *a strife among them, who of them should be accounted the greatest*, or who had the best pretence to superiority: this strife our Lord presently did check and quash; but how? not by telling them, that he already had decided the case in appointing them a superior, but rather by assuring them, that he did intend none such to be; that he would have no monarchy, no exercise of any dominion or authority by one among them over the rest: but that notwithstanding any advantages one might have before the other, (as greater in gifts, or as preceding in any respect,) they should be one as another, all humbly condescending to one another, each being ready to yield help and service to one another; *The kings*, said he,

So doth St. Clemens interpret μείζων, alluding to this place.

Luke xxii. 25, 26.

[1] Ἵνα τις πιστὸς, ἵνα δυνατὸς γνῶσιν ἐξενέγκῃ, ἵνα σοφὸς ἐν διακρίσει λόγων, ἵνα γενηται ὁ ἔργοις, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ταπεινοφρονεῖν ὀφείλει, ὅσῳ δοκεῖ μᾶλλον μείζων εἶναι· καὶ ζητεῖν τὸ κοινωφελὲς πᾶσιν, μὴ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ. Clem. ad Corinth. i. 48. apud Clem. Alex. Strom. vi. p. 647. Let a man be faithful, let him be powerful in declaring knowledge, let him be wise in discovering reasons, let him be strenuous in works, by so much the more ought he to be humble-minded, by how much the more he seems to be greater than others; and to seek the common benefit of all, and not of himself.

of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority over them are called benefactors: but ye shall not be so; but he that is greater among you, let him be as the younger; ὁ μείζων. *and he that is leader, as he that doth minister;* ὁ ἡγούμενος. that is, whatever privilege any of you obtaineth, let it not be employed in way of command, but rather of compliance and subserviency, as occasion shall require; let him not pretend to be a superior, but rather behave himself as an inferior: thus our Lord did smother the debate, by removing from among them whatever greatness any of them did affect or pretend to; forbidding that any of them should κυριεύειν, or ἐξουσιάζειν, exercise any dominion or authority over the rest, as worldly princes did over their subjects.

Again, upon another occasion, (as the circumstances of the place do imply,) when two of the apostles (of special worth and consideration with our Lord, St. James and St. John, the sons of Zebedee) did affect a preeminence over the rest, requesting of our Lord, *Grant unto us that we may sit, one on thy right hand, and the other on thy left hand, in thy glory,* (or *in thy kingdom,* as St. Matthew hath it; that is, in that new state, which they conceived our Lord was ready to introduce;) which request doth not seem to import any great matter of authority; nor probably did they desire so much, as our adversaries do give to St. Peter; yet our Lord doth not only reject their suit, but generally declareth, that none of them were capable of such a preferment in his kingdom; which therein differed from worldly dominion, because in it there was no room for such an ambition; especially in

Mark x. 37. Matt. xx. 25.

that state of things wherein the apostles were to be placed; which was a state of undergoing persecutions, not of enjoying dignity, or exercising command; all the preferment which they reasonably could aspire to being to be dispensed in the future state, (whereof they were not aware,) according to God's preparation, in correspondence to the patience and industry any of them should exert in God's service; (upon which account St. Chrysostom saith,) [g] *it was a clear case that St. Paul should obtain the preference.*

It was indeed (as our Lord intimateth) incongruous for those, who had forsaken all things for Christ, who had embraced a condition of disgrace, who were designed, by self-denial, humility, neglect of temporal grandeur, wealth, and honour, by undergoing persecution, and undertaking conformity to our Lord, (*being baptized with the baptism with which he was baptized,*) to propagate the faith of a crucified Master, to seek or take on them authoritative dignity; [h] for among them there could not well be any need of commanding or being commanded; it was more fit, that all of them should conspire to help and serve one another, in promoting the common design and service of their Lord, with mutual condescension and compliance; which was the best way of recommending themselves to his acceptance, and obtaining from him answerable reward. Such was the drift of our Lord's discourse; whereunto

[g] Εὔδηλον ὅτι τῆς ἀνωτάτω ἀπολαύσεται τιμῆς καὶ προεδρίας. Chrys. tom. v. Or. 33.

[h] Τότε ἡ ἐπιστασία ἦν οὐ τιμή. ἀλλὰ πρόνοια τῶν ἀρχομένων, &c. Chrys. in Act. i. 6. Then the government was not an honour, but a provident care of the governed, &c.

as in the other case) he did annex the prohibition of exercising dominion; *Ye know*, saith he, *that the princes of nations exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them: but it shall not be so among you; but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be first among you, let him be your servant;* Ὃς ἐὰν θέλῃ, whoever among you hath a mind to special grandeur and preeminence, let him understand, that there is no other to be attained, beside that which resulteth from the humble performance of charitable offices to his brethren: the which whoever shall best discharge, he alone will become greatest and highest in the eye of God. Matt. xx. 25, 26, 27.

Again, at another time, the apostles dreaming of a secular kingdom to be erected by our Lord, *disputed among themselves who should be the greatest;* and for satisfaction presumed to inquire of our Lord about it; when, as they surely were very ignorant of St. Peter's being their head, so there was a fair occasion as could be of our Lord's instructing them in that point, and enjoining their duty towards him; but he did not so, but rather taught him, together with the rest, not to pretend to any such thing, as preferment above the rest; *He sitting down, called the twelve, and said unto them, If any one desire to be first, the same shall be last of all, and servant of all.* How could he (considering the occasion and circumstances of that speech) in plainer terms establish equality, or discountenance any claim to superiority among them? Had St. Peter then advanced such a plea, as they now affirm of right belonging to him, would he not thereby have Mark ix. 34. Luke ix. 46. Matt. xviii. 1. Mark ix. 35.

depressed and debased himself to the lowest degree?

To impress this rule, our Lord[1] then *calling a little child, did set him in the midst of them,* telling them, that *except they were converted,* (from such ambitious pretences,) *and became like little children,* (wholly void of such conceits,) *they could not enter into the kingdom of heaven;* that is, could not in effect be so much as ordinary good Christians; adjoining, that *whosoever should humble himself as did that little child,* (not affecting, or assuming more than such an innocent did,) *should be greatest in the kingdom of heaven;* in real worth, and in the favour of God, transcending the rest; so that St. Peter, claiming superiority to himself, would have forfeited any title to eminency among Christians.

Again, as to the power which is now ascribed to St. Peter by the party of his pretended successors, we may argue from another place; where our Saviour prohibiting his disciples to resemble the Jewish Scribes and Pharisees in their ambitious desires and practices, their affectations of preeminence, their assuming places and titles importing difference of rank and authority, he saith, *But be ye not called Rabbi: for there is one Master* (one Guide, or Governor) *of you, even Christ; but ye are brethren.* How more pregnantly could he have declared the nature of his constitution, and the relation of Christians

Matt. xxiii. 8. εἷς καθηγητής.

[1] Καὶ τοῖς περὶ πρωτείων φιλονεικοῦσι γνωρίμοις μετὰ ἁπλότητος τὴν ἰσότητα παρεγγυᾷ, λέγων ὡς τὰ παιδία αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι δεῖν. Clem. Alex. Strom. v. (p. 660. [663.]) And to those familiar friends striving for the preeminence, he commends equality together with simplicity, saying, that they ought to become as little children.

one to another established therein, to exclude such differences of power, whereby one doth in way of domination impose his opinion or his will on others!

Ye are all fellow-scholars, fellow-servants, and fellow-children of God; it therefore doth not become you to be anywise imperious over one another; but all of you humbly and lovingly to conspire in learning and observing the precepts of your common Lord; the doing which is backed with a promise and a threat suitable to the purpose; *He that exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that will abase himself shall be exalted;* the which sentences are to be interpreted according to the intent of the rules foregoing.

If it be said, that such discourse doth impugn all ecclesiastical jurisdiction; I answer, that indeed thereby is removed all such haughty and harsh rule, which some have exercised over Christians; that αὐθεντία, (*arbitrary power;*) that ἐξουσία ἀνεύθυνος, (*absolute, uncontrollable authority;*) that τυραννικὴ προνομία, (*tyrannical prerogative,*) of which the Fathers complain; that κατακυριεύειν τῶν κλήρων, (*domineering over their charges,*) which St. Peter forbiddeth. [k] *We,* saith St. Chrysostom, *were designed to teach the word, not to exercise empire or absolute sovereignty; we do bear the rank of advisers, exhorting to duty.*

Chrys. in 1 Tim. iii. 1. in Eph. Or. 11. Isid. Pel. Ep. iv. 219. ii. 125. Greg. Naz. Or. 28. 1 Pet. v. 3.

A bishop, saith St. Jerome, differeth from a king, in that a bishop *presideth over those that are willing,* the king *against their will*[l]; (that is, the bi-

[k] Εἰς διδασκαλίαν λόγου προεχειρίσθημεν, οὐκ εἰς ἀρχὴν, οὐδὲ εἰς αὐθεντίαν· συμβούλων τάξιν ἐπέχομεν παραινούντων. Chrys. in Eph. Or. 11.

[l] Ille enim nolentibus præest, hic volentibus. *Hier. Ep.* 3. *ad*

shop's governance should be so gentle and easy, that men hardly can be unwilling to comply with it; but should obey, as St. Peter exhorteth, (οὐκ ἀναγκαστῶς, ἀλλ' ἑκουσίως, *not by constraint, but of their own accord*;) and, [m] *Let*, saith he, *the bishops be content with their honour; let them know themselves to be fathers, not lords; they should be loved, not feared.*

1 Pet. v. 2, 3.

And, [n] *Thou* (saith St. Bernard to pope Eugenius) *dost superintend, the name of* bishop *signifying to thee not dominion, but duty.*

At least those precepts of our Lord do exclude that power which is ascribed to St. Peter over the apostles themselves, the which indeed is greater than in likelihood any Pharisee did ever affect; yea in many respects doth exceed any domination which hath been claimed or usurped by the most absolute monarch upon earth; for the power of St. Peter in their opinion was the same which now the Roman bishop doth challenge to himself over the pastors and people of God's church, by virtue of succession to him, (St. Peter's power being the base of the papal, and therefore not narrower than its superstructure;) but what domination comparable to that hath ever been used in the world?

What emperor did ever pretend to a rule so wide in extent, (in regard either to persons or matters,) or so absolute in effect?

Nepot. Ὁ μέντοι ἑκόντων ἐφεῖλων ἄρχειν, &c. Chrys. in Tit. i. 7. He ought to rule them so as they may be willing to be ruled, &c.

[m] Sed contenti sint honore suo; patres se sciant esse non dominos——. *Hier.* Ep. 62. *ad Theoph.* cap. 3. Amari parens, et episcopus debet, non timeri. *Ibid.* cap. 1.

[n] Inde denique superintendis, sonante tibi episcopi nomine non dominium, sed officium. *Bern. de Consid.* ii. 6.

Who ever, beside his holiness, did usurp a command, not only over the external actions, but the most inward cogitations of all mankind; subjecting the very minds and consciences of men to his dictates, his laws, his censures?

Who ever thundered curses and damnations on all those who should presume to dissent from his opinion, or to contest his pleasure?

Who ever claimed more absolute power, in making, abolishing, suspending laws, or imposing upon men what he pleased, under obligation of conscience, and upon extremest penalties?

What prince ever used a style more imperious, than is that which is usual in the papal bulls; [o] *Let it be lawful for no man whatever to infringe this expression of our will and command, or to go against it with bold rashness.*

What Domitian more commonly did admit the appellation of *lord*, than doth the pope? [p] *Our most holy lord*, is the ordinary style attributed to him by the Fathers of Trent, as if they were his slaves, and intended to enslave all Christendom to him.

Who ever did exempt his clients and dependents in all nations from subjection to civil laws, from undergoing common burdens and taxes, from being judged or punished for their misdemeanours and crimes?

Who ever claimed a power to dispose of all things one way or other, either directly or indirectly? to dispose even of kingdoms, to judge sovereign princes,

[o] Nulli hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ voluntatis et mandati infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire.

[p] Sanctissimus dominus noster. *Concil. Trid.* sess. xxii. cap. 11, &c.

and to condemn them, to depose them from their authority, absolving their subjects from all allegiance to them, and exposing their kingdoms to rapine?

To whom but a pope were ever ascribed prerogatives like those of judging all men, and himself being liable to no judgment, no account, no reproof or blame; so that, as a papal canon assureth us, *let a pope be so bad, as by his negligence and maladministration to carry with him innumerable people to hell, yet no mortal man whatever must presume here to reprove his faults; because he being to judge all men, is himself to be judged of no man, except he be catched swerving from the faith*; which is a case they will hardly suffer a man to suppose possible.

Si papa suæ, &c. *Grat. Dist.* xl. cap. 6.

To whom but to a pope was such power attributed by his followers, and admitted by himself, that he could hear those words applying to him, *All power is given to thee in heaven and in earth?*

Concil. Lat. sub Leone X. sess. xi. p. 133. (in Or. Archiep. Patrac.)

[q]Such power the popes are wont to challenge, and when occasion serveth do not fail to execute, as successors of St. Peter; to whom therefore consequently they ascribe it: and sometimes in express terms; as in that brave apostrophe of pope Gregory VII. (the spirit of which pope hath possessed his successors generally;) [r]*Go to therefore*, (said he, directing his speech to St. Peter and St. Paul,) *most holy princes of the apostles, and what I have said confirm by your authority; that now at length all men may understand, whether ye can bind and loose; that*

[q] Hac itaque fiducia fretus, &c. *Excommun. Henrici R. in Concil. Rom.* iii. *sub Greg. VII. apud Bin.* tom. vii. p. 484.

[r] Agite apostolorum sanctissimi principes, &c. *Plat. in Greg. VII.* In Concil. Rom. vi. apud Bin. p. 491.

so ye can take away and give on earth, empires, ingdoms, and whatever mortal men can have.

Now if the assuming and exercising such powers not that κατακυριεύειν, and κατεξουσιάζειν, that exalt- one's self, that being called rabbi, father, master, hich our Lord prohibiteth, what is so? what then in those words signify? what could our Lord mean? The authority therefore which they assign to St. eter, and assume to themselves from him, is voided y those declarations and precepts of our Lord; the hich it can hardly be well conceived that our Lord ould have proposed, if he had designed to consti- te St. Peter in such a supremacy over his disciples nd church.

7. Surveying particulars, we shall not find any eculiar administration committed to St. Peter, nor ny privilege conferred on him, which was not also ranted to the other apostles.

Was St. Peter an ambassador, a steward, a min- ter, a vicar, (if you please,) or surrogate of Christ? o were they, by no less immediate and express war- ant than he; for, *As the Father sent me, so also I end you*, said our Lord presently before his depar- ure; by those words, as St. Cyprian remarketh, *granting an equal power to all the apostles:* and, *We*, saith St. Paul, *are ambassadors for Christ;* 2 Cor. v. 20. *we pray you in Christ's stead, be reconciled to God:* and, *So let a man esteem us, as the ministers* 1 Cor. iv. 1. *of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God.* 2 Cor. vi. 4.

Was St. Peter a rock, on which the church was Matt. xvi. o be founded? Be it so; but no less were they all; 18.

[a] Et quamvis apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam pa- em potestatem tribuat et dicat, Sicut, &c. *Cypr. de Un. Eccl.* . 195.

Rev. xxi. 10, 14. for the wall of Jerusalem, which *came down from heaven*, had *twelve foundations, on which were inscribed the names of the twelve apostles of the* Eph. ii. 20. *Lamb*; and, *We*, saith St. Paul, *are all built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Christ himself being the chief corner stone*; whence [t] *equally*, saith St. Jerome, *the strength of the church is settled upon them.*

1 Pet. ii. 5. Was St. Peter an architect of the *spiritual house*, (as himself calleth the church?) so were also they; 1 Cor. iii. 10. for *I*, saith St. Paul, *as a wise masterbuilder, have laid the foundation.*

Matt. xvi. 19. Were *the keys* of the church (or *of the kingdom of heaven*) committed to him? so also were they unto them: they had a power to open and shut it by effectual instruction and persuasion, by dispensation of the sacraments, by exercise of discipline, by exclusion of scandalous and heretical persons; whatever faculty the keys did import, the apostles did use it in the foundation, guidance, and government of the church; and did (as the Fathers teach) impart it to those whom they did in their stead constitute to feed and govern the church.

Had St. Peter a power given him of binding and loosing effectually? so had they, immediately granted by our Saviour, in as full manner, and couched in Matt. xvi. 19. xviii. 18. the same terms; *If thou shalt bind on earth, it shall be bound in heaven*, said our Lord to him; and, *Whatsoever things ye shall bind on earth, they shall be bound in heaven*, said the same divine mouth to them [u].

[t] Ex æquo super eos ecclesiæ fortitudo solidatur. *Hier. in Jovin.* i. 14.

[u] Ὅπε γε καὶ τοῖς ἀπ' ἐκείνων τὸ ἀρχιερατικὸν κατὰ διαδοχὴν περιβεβλη-

Had he a privilege to remit and retain sins? it
s then by virtue of that common grant or pro-
se; *Whose soever sins ye remit, they shall be* John xx.
mitted; and whose soever sins ye retain, they 23.
e retained.

Had he power and obligation to feed the sheep of
rist, (all or some?) so had they indefinitely and
mediately: so had others by authority derived
m them; who were nominated *pastors;* who had Eph. iv. 11.
s charge laid on them: *Take heed unto your-* Acts xx. 28.
ves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy
host hath made you overseers, to feed the church
God, which he hath purchased with his own
od; whom he doth himself exhort, *Feed the* 1 Pet. v. 2.
ck of God which is among you, taking the over-
ght thereof: let feeding signify what it can, in-
uction, or guidance, or governance, or all of them
gether, (*Regio more impera,* if you please, as
llarmine will have it,) it did appertain to their
arge; to teach was a common duty, to lead and
rule were common functions; St. Peter could not,
r would not appropriate it to himself; it is his
n exhortation, when he taketh most upon him,
e mindful of the commandment (or precept) *of us* 2 Pet. iii. 2.
e apostles of the Lord and Saviour.

Was his commission universal, or unlimited? so
as theirs, by the same immediate authority; for,
ll power (said he to them, when he gave his last Mat. xxviii.
arge) *is given to me in heaven and in earth; go* 19.
erefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them,

ως ἄξίωμα, τὴν αὐτὴν προσεῖναι τοῦ δεσμεῖν καὶ λύειν ἐξουσίαν πιστεύο-
. Phot. Cod. 280. p. 1600. Those who, by succession from
m, (viz. the apostles,) were endowed with episcopal authority,
believe to have the same power of binding and loosing.

and teaching them to observe all things whatsoever
Mark xvi. 15. *I commanded you;* and, *Go ye into all the world,*
Luke xxiv. 47. *and preach the gospel to every creature.*

They, as St. Chrysostom speaketh, [x] *were all in common intrusted with the whole world, and had the care of all nations.*

Was he furnished with extraordinary gifts, with special graces, with continual directions and assistances for the discharge of the apostolical office? so
Luke xxiv. 49. were they; for the *promise* was common of sending
John xvi. 13, 14, 26. the Holy Spirit, *to lead them into all truth,* and *clothing them with the power from on high;* and of endowing them with power to perform all sorts of miraculous works; our Lord before his departure
John xx. 22. *breathed into them, and said, Receive ye the Holy*
Acts ii. 4. *Ghost; All of them,* saith St. Luke, *were filled with the Holy Ghost;* all of them with confidence
Acts xv. 28. and truth could say, *It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us;* all of them did abundantly partake of that character which St. Paul respected,
2 Cor. xii. 12. when he did say, *The signs of an apostle were wrought among you, in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds.*

Did St. Peter represent the church as receiving privileges in its behalf; as the Fathers affirm [y]? so did they, according to the same Fathers; [z] *If therefore* (saith St. Austin, citing the famous place, *Sicut me misit Pater*) *they did bear the person of the*

[x] Πάντες κοινῇ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐμπιστευθέντες. Chrys. tom. viii. p. 115. tom. v. Orat. 47. in 2 Cor. xi. 28.

[y] Cui totius ecclesiæ figuram gerenti, &c. *Aug.* Ep. 165.

[z] Ergo si personam gerebant ecclesiæ, et sic eis hoc dictum est, tanquam ipsi ecclesiæ diceretur, pax ecclesiæ dimittit peccata, &c. *Aug. de Bapt. cont. Don.* iii. 18.

church, and this was said to them, as if it were said to the church itself, then the peace of the church remitteth sins.

What singular prerogative then can be imagined appertaining to St. Peter? what substantial advantage could he pretend to beyond the other apostles? Nothing surely doth appear; whatever the patrons of his supremacy do claim for him is precariously assumed, without any fair colour of proof; he for it is beholding, not to any testimony of holy scripture, but to the invention of Roman fancy: we may well infer with cardinal Cusanus; [a] ***We know that Peter did not receive more power from Christ than the other apostles; for nothing was said to Peter which was not also said to the other: therefore,*** addeth he, ***we rightly say, that all the apostles were equal to Peter in power.***

8. Whereas St. Peter himself did write two catholic Epistles, there doth not in them appear any intimation, any air or savour of pretence to this arch-apostolical power. It is natural for persons endowed with unquestionable authority, (howsoever otherwise prudent and modest,) to discover a spice thereof in the matter or in the style of their writing; their mind, conscious of such advantage, will suggest an authoritative way of expression; especially when they earnestly exhort, or seriously reprove, in which cases their very authority is a considerable motive to assent or compliance, and strongly doth impress any other arguments; but no critic perusing those Epi-

[a] Scimus quod Petrus nihil plus potestatis a Christo recepit aliis apostolis; nihil enim dictum est ad Petrum, quod aliis etiam dictum non est. Ideo recte dicimus omnes apostolos esse æquales cum Petro in potestate. *Card. Cus. de Conc. Cath.* ii. 13.

stles would smell a pope in them. The speech of St. Peter, although pressing his doctrine with considerations of this nature, hath no tang of such authority.

1 Pet. v. 1. *The elders*, saith he, *which are among you, I exhort, who also am an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed:* by such excellent but common advantages of his person and office, he presseth on the clergy his advices.

Had he been what they make him, he might have said, I, the peculiar vicar of Christ, and sovereign of the apostles, do not only exhort, but require this of you: this language had been very proper, and no less forcible: but nothing like this, nothing of the spirit and majesty of a pope, is seen in his discourse; there is no *pagina nostræ voluntatis et mandati*, which now is the papal style; when he speaketh highest, it is in the common name of the

τῆς ἐντολῆς. 2 Pet. iii. 2. apostles, *Be mindful*, saith he, *of the command* (that is, of the doctrine and precepts) *of us, the apostles of the Lord and Saviour.*

9. In the apostolical history, the proper place of exercising this power, ([b] *wherein*, as St. Chrysostom saith, *we may see the predictions of Christ, which he uttered in the Gospels, reduced to act, and the truth of them shining in the things themselves,*) no footstep thereof doth appear.

We cannot there discern, that St. Peter did assume any extraordinary authority, or that any deference by his brethren was rendered to him, as to their

[b] Καὶ γὰρ τὰς προῤῥήσεις ἃς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις ὁ Χριστὸς προανεφώνει, ταύτας εἰς ἔργον ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ἰδεῖν, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων διαλάμπουσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Chrys. in Act. 1.

governor or judge. No instance there doth occur of his laying commands on any one apostle, or exercising any act of jurisdiction upon any one; but rather to the contrary divers passages are observable, which argue, that he pretended to no such thing, and that others did not understand any such thing belonging to him.

His temper indeed and zeal commonly did prompt him to be most forward in speaking and acting upon any emergency for the propagation or maintenance of the gospel; [c] and the memory of the particular charge which our Lord departing had lately put on him, strongly might instigate him thereto; regard to his special gifts and sufficiency did incline the rest willingly to yield that advantage to him; and perhaps because, upon the considerations before touched, they did allow some preference in order to him; but in other respects, as to the main administration of things, he *is but one among the rest*, not taking upon him in his speech or behaviour beyond others. All things are transacted by common agreement, and in the name of all concurring; no appeal in cases of difference is made singly to him; no peremptory decision or decree is made by him; no orders are issued out by him alone, or in a special way; in ecclesiastical assemblies he acteth but as one member; in deliberations he doth only propound

"Ετερός τις τῶν ἀπ' ἰσότιμου τοῦ χοροῦ. Chrys. de Sacerd. Or. 4.

[c] Ὡς θερμὸς, καὶ ὡς ἐμπιστευθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ ποιμνίον, καὶ ὡς τῶν χορῶν πρῶτος ἀεὶ πρότερος ἄρχεται τοῦ λόγου. Chrys. in Act. i. 15. As being a man hot and earnest, and as intrusted with the flock by Christ, and as the foreman of the company, he ever begins to speak. Εἰκότως ταῦτα ἐγένετο διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς——. In Act. i. 26. Probably so it fell out by reason of the signal virtue of the man.

his opinion, and passeth a single vote; his judgment and practice are sometime questioned, and he is put to render an account of them: he doth not stand upon his authority, but assigneth reasons to persuade his opinion, and justify his actions; yea sometimes he is moved by the rest, receiving orders and employment from them: [d] these things we may discern by considering the instances which follow.

Acts i. 15—26. In the designation of a new apostle, to supply the place of Judas, he did indeed suggest the matter, and lay the case before them; he first declared his ver. 23. καὶ ἔστησαν δύο. sense; but the whole company did choose two, and referred the determination of one to lot, or to God's arbitration.

Acts vi. 2. At the institution of deacons, *the twelve did call the multitude of disciples*, and directed them *to elect* the persons; and the proposal being *acceptable* to them, it was done accordingly; [e] *they chose Stephen*, &c. whom *they set before the apostles, and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them.*

Acts xv. 2. Γενομένης στάσεως, καὶ συζητήσεως οὐκ ὀλίγης. In that important transaction about the observance of Mosaical institutions, *a great stir and debate being started*, which St. Paul and St. Barnabas by disputation could not appease, what course was then taken? did they appeal to St. Peter, as to the supreme dictator and judge of controversies? Not Acts xv. 2. so; but *they sent to the apostles and elders at Jerusalem, to inquire about the question:* when

[d] Ὅρα δὲ αὐτὸν μετὰ κοινῆς πάντα ποιοῦντα γνώμης· οὐδὲν αὐθεντικῶς, οὐδὲ ἀρχικῶς. Chrys. in Act. i. 16. Behold him doing all things by common consent; nothing authoritatively nor imperiously.

[e] Acts vi. 5. καὶ ἤρεσεν ὁ λόγος ἐνώπιον παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους· καὶ ἐξελέξαντο Στέφανον, &c.

those great messengers were arrived there, *they were received by the church, and the apostles, and elders;* and having made their report, *the apostles and elders did assemble to consider about that matter.* In this assembly, *after much debate* passed, and that many had freely uttered their sense, St. Peter *rose up,* with apostolical gravity, declaring what his reason and experience did suggest conducing to a resolution of the point; whereto his words might indeed be much available, grounded, not only upon common reason, but upon special revelation concerning the case; whereupon St. James, alleging that revelation, and backing it with reason drawn from scripture, with much authority pronounceth his judgment; [f] *Therefore,* saith he, *I judge,* (that is, saith St. Chrysostom, *I authoritatively say,*) *that we trouble not them, who from among the Gentiles are turned to God; but that we write unto them,* &c. And the result was, that according to the proposal of St. James, it was by general consent determined to send a decretal letter unto the Gentile Christians, containing a canon, or advice directive of their practice in the case; [g] *It then seemed good to* (or was decreed by) *the apostles and elders, with the whole church, to send*—and the letter ran thus, *The apostles, and elders, and brethren, to the brethren of the Gentiles.*——Now in all this action, (in this leading precedent for the management of things in ecclesiastical synods and consistories,) where

Acts xv. 4. Ver. 6. Ver. 7. Acts xv. 13—18.

[f] Διὸ ἐγὼ κρίνω. Acts xv. 19. Τί ἐστι κρίνω ἐγώ; ἀντὶ τοῦ μετ' ἐξουσίας λέγω τοῦτο εἶναι. Chrys.

[g] Τότε ἔδοξε τοῖς, &c. Acts xv. 22. Τὰ δόγματα τὰ κεκριμένα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. Acts xvi. 4. Κρίναντες ἡμεῖς ἐπιστείλαμεν. Acts xxi. 25.

can the sharpest sight descry any mark of distinction or preeminence which St. Peter had in respect to the other apostles? Did St. Peter there anywise behave himself like his pretended successors upon such occasions? what authority did he claim or use before that assembly, or in it, or after it? did he summon or convocate it? No; they met upon common agreement. Did he preside there? No; but rather St. James, [h]*to whom,* (saith St. Chrysostom,) *as bishop of Jerusalem, the government was committed.* Did he offer to curb or check any man, or to restrain him from his liberty of discourse there? No; *there was much disputation,* every man frankly speaking his sense. Did he more than use his freedom of speech becoming an apostle, in arguing the case and passing his vote? No; for in so exact a relation nothing more doth appear. Did he form the definitions, or pronounce the decree resulting? No; St. James rather did that; for (as an ancient author saith) [i]*Peter did make an oration, but St. James did enact the law.* Was, beside his suffrage in the debate, any singular approbation required from him, or did he by any bull confirm the decrees? No such matter; these were devices of ambition, creeping on and growing up to the pitch where they now are. In short, doth any thing correspondent to papal pretences appear assumed by

[h] Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τότε ἐπεσκόπευεν ἐν ἀρχῇ τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, καὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἰουδαίων πιστευσάντων προειστήκει πάντων. Chrys. tom. v. Or. 59. Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἦν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος——ἐν δυναστείᾳ ἦν. Chrys. in loc. For he had the government committed to him——he was empowered.

[i] Πέτρος δημηγορεῖ, ἀλλ' Ἰάκωβος νομοθετεῖ. Hesych. apud Phot. Cod. 275.

St. Peter, or deferred to him? If St. Peter was such a man as they make him, how wanting then was he to himself, how did he neglect the right and dignity of his office, in not taking more upon him, upon so illustrious an occasion, the greatest he did ever meet with? How defective also were the apostolical college, and the whole church of Jerusalem, in point of duty and decency, yielding no more deference to their sovereign, the vicar of their Lord! Whatever account may be framed of these defailances, the truth is, that St. Peter then did know his own place and duty better than men do know them now; and the rest as well understood how it became them to demean themselves. St. Chrysostom's reflections on those passages are very good; that indeed then [k] *there was no fastuousness in the church*, and *the souls of those primitive Christians were clear of vanity;* the which dispositions did afterward spring up and grow rankly to the great prejudice of religion, begetting those exorbitant pretences which we now disprove.

Again, when St. Peter, being warned from heaven thereto, did receive Cornelius, a Gentile soldier, unto communion; divers good Christians, who were ignorant of the warrantableness of that proceeding, (as others commonly were, and St. Peter himself was, before he was informed by that special revelation,) did not fear διακρίνεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν, *to contest with him* about it; not having any notion (as it seemeth) of his supreme unaccountable authority, (not to say of that infallibility, with which the canonists and Jesuits have invested him;) unto

Acts x. 28. Καὶ ἐμοὶ ὁ θεὸς ἔδειξε— Acts xi. 12.

Acts xi. 2. Bell. de Pont. Rom. iv. 3, 4. Acts xi. 18.

[k] Οὕτως οὐδεὶς τύφος ἦν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· οὕτως καθαρὰ δόξης ἦν αὐτῶν ἡ ψυχή. Chrys. ibid.

whom St. Peter rendereth a fair account, and maketh a satisfactory apology for his proceedings[l]; not browbeating those audacious contenders with his authority, but gently satisfying them with reason. But if he had known his power to be such, as now they pretend it to be, he should have done well to have asserted it, even out of good-will and charity to those good brethren[m]; correcting their error, and checking their misdemeanour; shewing them what an enormous presumption it was so to contend with their sovereign pastor and judge.

Further; so far was St. Peter from assuming command over his brethren, that he was upon occasion ready to obey their orders; as we may see by that passage, where, upon the conversion of divers persons in Samaria, it is said, that *the apostles hearing it, did send to them Peter and John, who going down, prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost.* The apostles sent him: that, had he been their sovereign, would have been somewhat unseemly and presumptuous; for subjects are not wont to send their prince, or soldiers their captain; to be sent being a mark of inferiority, as our Lord himself did teach; *A servant,* said he, *is not greater than his lord; nor he that is sent greater than he that sent him.* St. Luke therefore

Acts viii. 14.

John xiii. 16.

[l] Ὅρα τὸ ἄτυφον καὶ ἀκενόδοξον,—ὅρα πῶς ἀπολογεῖται, καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῖ τῷ τοῦ διδασκάλου ἀξιώματι κεχρῆσθαι. Chrys. See how free he is from pride and vainglory; see how he excuses himself, and thinks himself not worthy to have the honour of a master.

[m] Ita ut Petrus quoque timens ne culparetur ab ipsis. *Iren.* iii. 12, 15. p. 200. *N.* In the matter at Antioch, St. Peter did comply with St. James and the Judaizers, which did not beseem such authority.

ould at least have so expressed this passage, that e apostles might have seemed to keep their dis-nce, and observed good manners: if he had said, ey beseeched him to go, that had sounded well; it *they sent him* is harsh, if he were *dominus ster papa*, as the modern apostles of Rome do yle their Peter. The truth is, then, among Chris-ns there was little standing upon punctilios; pri-te considerations and pretences to power then ok small place; each one was ready to comply ith that which the most did approve; the com-unity did take upon it to prescribe unto the great-t persons, as we see again in another instance, here the brethren at Antioch did [n]*appoint Paul d Barnabas* (the most considerable persons among em) *to go up unto Jerusalem.* They were then *generous, so merciful, so full of charity, as, ra-er than to cause or foment any disturbance, to cede, or go whither the multitude pleased, and what was commanded by it.*

10. In all relations which occur in scripture, about ntroversies incident of doctrine or practice, there no appeal made to St. Peter's judgment, or allega-n of it as decisive; no argument is built on his thority: dissent from his opinion, or disconformity his practice, or disobedience to his orders, are not

[n] Ἔταξαν ἀναβαίνειν Παῦλον καὶ Βαρνάβαν. Acts xv. 2. xiii. 2. Τίς ἐν ὑμῖν γενναῖος; τίς εὔσπλαγχνος; τίς πεπληροφορημένος ἀγάπης; εἰ-τω, εἰ δι' ἐμὲ στάσις, καὶ ἔρις, καὶ σχίσματα, ἐκχωρῶ, ἄπειμι οὗ ἐὰν λησθε, καὶ ποιῶ τὰ προστασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους. Clem. ad Cor.

Who among you is noble and generous? who has bowels compassion? who is full of charity? Let him say, If for my e there be sedition, and strife, and divisions, I will depart, and whither you would have me, and do what shall be enjoined by the multitude.

mentioned as ground of reproof, as aggravation
any error, any misdemeanour, any disorder; whic
were very strange, if then he was admitted or know
to be the universal prince and pastor of Christian
or the supreme judge and arbitrator of controversi
among them: for then surely the most clear, con
pendious, and effectual way to confute any error,
check any disorder, had been to allege the authorit
of St. Peter against it: who then could have with
stood so mighty a prejudice against his cause?
now a question doth arise about any point of do
trine, instantly the parties (at least some one
them, which hopeth to find most favour) hath r
course to the pope to define it; and his judgmen
with those who admit his pretences, proveth suf
ciently decisive, or at least greatly swayeth in pr
judice to the opposite party. If any heresy, or an
opinion disagreeing from the current sentiments,
broached, the pope presently doth roar, that h
voice is heard through Christendom, and thunde
eth it down: if any schism or disorder springeth u
you may be sure that Rome will instantly meddle
quash it, or to settle matters as best standeth wit
its principles and interests: such influence hath th
shadow of St. Peter's authority now: but no suc
regard was then had to poor pope Peter himsel
he was not so busy and stirring in such cases: th
apostles did not send heretics to be knocked dow
by his sentence, nor schismatics to be scourged b
his censure; but were fain to use the long way
disputation, striving to convince them by testimoni
of scripture, and rational discourse. If they did u
authority, it was their own; which they *challeng*
as given to them by Christ for edification, or upc

2 Cor. xiii. 10. x. 8. xii. 21.

account of the more than ordinary gifts and graces of the divine Spirit, conferred on them by God. 1 Cor. iv. 2 Thess. i 14.

11. St. Peter nowhere doth appear intermeddling as a judge or governor paramount in such cases; yea, where he doth himself deal with heretics and disorderly persons, confuting and reproving them, (as he dealeth with divers notoriously such,) he proceedeth not as a pope decreeing, but as an apostle warning, arguing, and persuading against them. 1 Cor. vii. 25, 40. 1 Thess. i 8.

It is particularly remarkable how St. Paul, reproving the factions which were among Christians at Corinth, doth represent the several parties, saying, *I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, I am of Cephas, I am of Christ.* Now supposing the case then had been clear and certain, (and if it were not so then, how can it be so now?) that St. Peter was sovereign of the apostles, is it not wonderful that any Christian should prefer any apostle or any preacher before him? as if it were now clear and generally acknowledged that the pope is truly what he pretendeth to be, would any body stand in competition with him, would any glory in a relation to any other minister before him? 1 Cor. i. 1 iii. 21.

It is observable how St. Clemens reflecteth on this contention: ° *Ye were,* saith he, *less culpable for that partiality; for ye did then incline to renowned apostles, and to a man approved by them: but now,* &c.

If it be replied, that Christ himself did come into the comparison; I answer, that probably no man was so vain, as to compare him with the rest, nor indeed

° Ἀλλ' ἡ πρόσκλισις ἐκείνη ἧττον ἁμαρτίαν ὑμῖν προσήνεγκεν· προσεκλίθητε γὰρ ἀποστόλοις μεμαρτυρημένοις, καὶ ἀνδρὶ δεδοκιμασμένῳ παρ' αὐτοῖς· νυνὶ δὲ, &c. Clem. ad Corinth. 47.

could any there pretend to have been baptized by him, (which was the ground of the emulation in respect of the others;) but those who said they were of Christ, were the wise and peaceable sort, who by saying so declined and disavowed faction; whose behaviour St. Paul himself in his discourse commendeth and confirmeth, shewing that all indeed
1 Cor. iii. 5. were *of Christ*, the apostles being only his ministers, to work faith and virtue in them. [p] *None*, saith St. Austin, *of those contentious persons were good, except those who said, But I am of Christ.*

We may also here observe, that St. Paul, in reflecting upon these contentions, had a fair occasion of intimating somewhat concerning St. Peter's supremacy, and aggravating their blameable fondness, who compared others with him.

12. The consideration of the apostles proceeding in the conversion of people, in the foundation of churches, and in administration of their spiritual affairs, will exclude any probability of St. Peter's jurisdiction over them.

They went about their business, not by order or license from St. Peter, but according to special in-
Ἐκτιμφθίν-τις ὑπὸ τοῦ πνύμ. ἁγ. Acts xiii. 4. 2. xvi. 6, 9. Gal. ii. 2. κατ' ἀποκάλυψιν. 2 Pet. iii. 5. 1 Cor. vii. 17. xi. 34. xvi. 1. Tit. i. 5. Isid. Pel. 1 Thess. ii. 7, 11.
stinct and direction of God's Spirit, (*being sent forth by the Holy Ghost; going by revelation,*) or according to their ordinary prudence, and the habitual *wisdom given unto them;* by those aids (without troubling St. Peter or themselves more) they founded societies, they ordained pastors, they framed rules and orders requisite for the edification and good government of churches, reserving to themselves a kind of paramount inspection and jurisdiction over them;

[p] Falsum est quod illi boni erant, exceptis eis qui dicebant, Ego autem Christi. *Aug. cont. Crescon.* i. 27.

which in effect was only πατρικὴ ἐπιμέλεια, *a paternal care* over them; which they particularly claimed to themselves upon account of spiritual parentage, for that they had begotten them to Christ; *If,* saith St. Paul to the Corinthians, *I am not an apostle to others, I am however so to you:* why so? because he had converted them, and could say, *As my beloved sons I warn you: for though ye have ten thousand instructors in Christ, yet ye have not many fathers: for in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the gospel.* This paternal charge they did exercise without any dependence or regard to St. Peter, none such appearing, it not being mentioned that they did ever consult his pleasure, or render him an account of their proceedings; but it rather being implied in the reports of their actions, that they proceeded absolutely, by virtue of their universal office and commission of our Lord.

1 Cor. ix. 2 Acts xviii. 1.

1 Cor. iv. 14, 15. Gal. iv. 19

If it be alleged, that St. Paul went to Jerusalem to St. Peter; I answer, that it was *to visit him* out of respect and love; or to confer with him for mutual edification and comfort; or at most to obtain approbation from him and the other apostles, which might satisfy some doubters, but not to receive his commands or authoritative instructions from him; it being, as we shall afterwards see, the design of St. Paul's discourse to disavow any such dependence on any man whatever. So doth St. Chrysostom note, [q] *What,* saith he, *can be more humble than this*

Gal. i. 18. ἱστορῆσαι.

[q] Τί ταύτης ταπεινοφρονέστερον γένοιτ' ἂν τῆς ψυχῆς; μετὰ τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα κατορθώματα μηδὲν Πέτρου δεόμενος, μηδὲ τῆς ἐκείνου φωνῆς, ἀλλ' ἰσότιμος ὢν αὐτῷ (πλέον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐρῶ τέως) ὅμως ἀνέρχεται ὡς πρὸς μεῖζονα, καὶ πρεσβύτερον· καὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας αὐτῷ τῆς ἐκεῖ γίνεται αἰτίας ἡ ἱστορία Πέτρου μόνη.——οὐχ ὡς μαθησόμενός τι παρ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ ὡς διόρ-

soul? after so many and so great exploits, having no need at all of Peter, or of his discourse, but being in dignity equal to him, (for I will now say no more,) he yet doth go up to him, as to one greater and ancienter; and a sight alone of Peter is the cause of his journey thither.—And, *He went*, saith he again, *not to learn any thing of him, nor to receive any correction from him, but for this only, that he might see him, and honour him with his presence.*

And indeed that there was no such deference of the apostles to St. Peter, we may hence reasonably presume, because it would then have been not only impertinent and needless, but inconvenient and troublesome. For,

13. If we consider the nature of the apostolical office, the state of things at that time, and the manner of St. Peter's life; in correspondence to those things, he will appear uncapable, or unfit, to manage such a jurisdiction over the apostles as they assign him.

The nature of the apostolical ministry was such, that the apostles were not fixed in one place of residence, but were continually moving about the
2Cor. xi. 25. world, or *in procinctu*, ready in their gears to move whither divine suggestions did call them, or fair occasion did invite them, for the propagation or furtherance of the gospel [r].

θωσίν τινα δεξάμενος, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο μόνον, ὥστε ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ τιμῆσαι τῇ παρουσίᾳ. Chrys. in Gal. i. 18.

[r] Ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ἤμελλον τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἀναδέξασθαι, οὐκ ἔδει συμπεπλέχθαι λοιπὸν ἀλλήλοις· ἡ γὰρ ἂν μεγάλη τοῦτο τῇ οἰκουμένῃ γέγονε ζημία. Chrys. in Joh. xxi. 23. For seeing they were to take upon them the inspection and superintendency of all the world, it

The state of things was not favourable to the apostles, who were discountenanced and disgraced, persecuted, and driven from one place to another, (as our Lord foretold of them;) Christians lay scattered about at distant places, so that opportunities of despatch for conveyance of instructions from him, or of accounts to him, were not easily found. 1 Cor. iv. 9. 2 Cor. iv. 8. vi. 4. xi. 25. Matt. xxiv. 9. Luke xxi. 12.

St. Thomas preaching in Parthia, St. Andrew in Scythia, St. John in Asia, Simon Zelotes in Britain, [s]St. Paul in many places; other apostles and apostolical men in Arabia, in Ethiopia, in India, in Spain, in Gaul, in Germany, *in the whole world, and in all the creation under heaven,* as St. Paul speaketh, could not well maintain correspondence with St. Peter; especially considering the manner of his life, which was not settled in any one known place, but moveable and uncertain; for he continually roved over the wide world, preaching the gospel, converting, confirming, and comforting Christian people, as occasion starting up did induce: how then could he conveniently dispense all about his ruling and judging influence? how in cases incident could direction be fetched from him, or reference be made to him by those subordinate governors, who could not easily know where to come at him, or whence to hear from him in any competent time? To send to him had been to shoot at rovers; affairs therefore which should depend on his resolution and Euseb. iii. 1. Niceph. ii. 38, 39, 40. Tertul. ad Jud. cap. 7. Col. i. 6, 23. Rom. x. 18.

behoved them not any longer to be mixed or conjoined together, for this had been a great loss and hinderance to the world.

[s] Ὁ τὴν οἰκουμένην σταδιεύσας, καὶ τῷ περὶ πίστεως δρόμῳ τὸν κόσμον μικρὸν ἀποφήνας. Bas. Seleuc. Or. 2. He that run his race through the whole universe, and by his so eager running for the faith made the world, as it were, too narrow for him.

orders must have had great stops; he could but very lamely have executed such an office; so that his jurisdiction must have been rather an extreme inconvenience and encumbrance, than anywise beneficial or useful to the church.

Gold and silver he had none, or a very small purse, to maintain dependents and officers to help him, (nuncios, legates *a latere*, secretaries, auditors, &c.) infinity of affairs would have oppressed a poor helpless man; and to bear such a burden as they lay on him no one could be sufficient.

14. It was indeed most requisite, that every apostle should have a complete, absolute, independent authority in managing the concerns and duties of his office; that he might not anywise be obstructed in the discharge of them; not clogged with a need to consult others, not hampered with orders from those who were at distance, and could not well descry what was fit in every place to be done.

The direction of him who had promised to be *perpetually present with them*, and by his Holy Spirit to guide, to instruct, to admonish them upon all occasions, was abundantly sufficient; they did not want any other conduct or aid beside that special light and powerful influence of grace, which they received from him; the which ἱκάνωσεν αὐτοὺς, *did*, as St. Paul speaketh, *render them sufficient ministers of the New Testament.*

Mat. xxviii. 20. John xvi. 13. xiv. 26.

2 Cor. iii. 5. Rom. xv. 15.

Accordingly their discourse and practice do thoroughly savour of such an independence; nor in them is there any appearance of that being true, which Bellarmine dictateth, that [t]*the apostles de-*

[t] ——a quo illi tanquam a capite et imperatore suo pendebant. *Bellarm. de Pont.* i. 16.

pended on St. Peter, as on their head and commander.

15. Particularly the discourse and behaviour of St. Paul towards St. Peter doth evidence, that he did not acknowledge any dependence on him, any subjection to him.

St. Paul doth often purposely assert to himself an independent and absolute power, inferior or subordinate to none other, insisting thereon for the enforcement or necessary defence of his doctrine and practice; (*I have become a fool in glorying; ye have compelled me*, saith he;) alleging divers pregnant arguments, to prove and confirm it, drawn from the manner of his call, the characters and warrants of his office, the tenor of his proceedings in the discharge of it, the success of his endeavours, the approbation and demeanour toward him of other apostles. 2 Cor. xii. 11. Rom. xi. 13.

As for his call and commission to the apostolical office, he maintaineth, (as if he meant designedly to exclude those pretences, that other apostles were only called *in partem solicitudinis* with St. Peter,) that he was *an apostle, not from men, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father*; that is, that he derived not his office immediately or mediately from men, or by the ministry of any man, but immediately had received the grant and charge thereof from our Lord; as indeed the history plainly sheweth, in which our Lord telleth him, that he did [u]*constitute him an officer, and a chosen instrument to him, to bear his name to the Gentiles.* Bell. i. 9, 14, 16. Οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου. Gal. i. 1.

Hence he so often is careful and cautious to ex-

[u] Προχειρίσασθαί σε ὑπηρέτην, &c. Act. ix. 15. xxii. 21. xxvi. 16.

press himself an apostle by [x]*the will* and special *grace*, or favour and appointment, and command of God; and particularly telleth the Romans, that *by Christ he had received grace and apostleship.*

For the warrant of his office, he doth not allege the allowance of St. Peter, or any other, but those special gifts and graces which were conspicuous in him, and exerted in miraculous performances;

2 Cor. xii. 12. *Truly*, saith he, *the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs, and wonders,*

Rom. xv. 18, 19. 1 Cor. ii. 4. *and mighty deeds*; and, *I will not dare to speak of any of those things which Christ hath not wrought by me, to make the Gentiles obedient, by word and deed, through mighty signs and wonders, by the power of the Spirit of God.*

To the same purpose he allegeth his successful

1 Cor. ix. 1, 2. industry in converting men to the gospel; *Am I not an apostle?* saith he; *are ye not my work in the Lord? If I am not an apostle to others, I am surely one to you: for the seal of mine apostleship*

1 Cor. xv. 10. 2 Cor. xi. 23. *are ye in the Lord.* And, *By the grace of God I am what I am: and his grace which was on me became not in vain; but I laboured more abundantly than they all.*

In the discharge of his office, he immediately, (after that he had received his call and charge from our Saviour,) without consulting or taking license from any man, did vigorously apply himself to the

Gal. i. 16, 17. work; *Immediately*, saith he, *I conferred not with flesh and blood: neither went I up to Jerusalem to*

[x] Διὰ θελήματος Θεοῦ. 1 Cor. i. 1. 2 Cor. i. 1. Eph. i. 1. Col. i. 1. 2 Tim. i. 1. Χάριτι. Rom. i. 5. 1 Cor. xv. 10. Eph. iii. 7. 1 Tim. i. 12. Κατ' ἐπιταγήν. 1 Tim. i. 1.

them that before me were apostles: so little did he take himself to be accountable to any man.

In settling order, and correcting irregularities in the church, he professed to act merely by his own authority, conferred on him by our Lord; *There-fore,* saith he, *being absent,* I write these things, *that being present I may not use severity, according to the authority which the Lord hath given me for edification, not for destruction.* 2 Cor. xiii 10. x. 8.

Such being the privileges which he did assert to himself with all confidence, he did not receive for it any check from other apostles; but the chief of them, *knowing the grace that was given unto him, gave unto him the right hand of fellowship;* in token of their acknowledgment and allowance of his proceedings. Gal. ii. 9.

Upon these considerations (plainly signifying his absolute independence in the reception and execution of his office) he doth more than once affirm (and in a manner *boast*) himself *to be inferior in nothing to the very chief apostles:* in nothing; that is, in nothing pertinent to the authority or substantial dignity of his place; for as to his personal merit, he professeth himself *much less than the least of the apostles;* but as to the authenticness and authority of his office, he deemed himself equal to the greatest; *being by the grace of God what he was; a minister of the Gospel, according to the gift of the grace of God, which was given him according to the effectual working of his power.* 2 Cor. xi. 5 xii. 11. 1 Cor. xv. 9. Eph. iii. 8 1 Cor. xv. 10. Eph. iii. 7.

When he said he was *behind none,* he could not forget St. Peter; when he said *none of the chief,* he could not but especially mean him; (he did indeed, as St. Chrysostom saith, intend *to compare* Πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον συκρίνων τὴν σύγκρισιν. 2 Cor. xi. 5

himself with St. Peter;) when he said *in nothing*, he could not but design that which was most considerable, the authority of his place; which in the context he did expressly mention. For when he objected to himself the semblance of fondness or arrogance in speaking after that manner, he declared that he did not speak rashly or vainly, but upon serious consideration, and with full assurance, finding it very needful or useful to maintain his authority, or to *magnify his office*, as he otherwhere speaketh.

Κατὰ προδίορθωσιν. 2 Cor. xii. 11. i. 16, 17.

Rom. xi. 13.

If things had been as now we are taught from the Roman school, it is strange that St. Paul should compare himself so generally, not excepting St. Peter; that he should express (nor by the least touch intimate) no special consideration for his, as they tell us, *ordinary pastor*; that he should not consider how liable such words were to be interpreted in derogation to St. Peter's due prerogatives.

Bell. de Pont. i. 11.

But it is no wonder that St. Paul, in St. Peter's absence, should thus stand on his own legs, not seeming to mind him, whenas in immediate transactions with him he demeaned himself as his fellow, yielding to him no respect or deference, as to his superior. For,

When St. Paul went to Jerusalem, to have conference with St. Peter and other apostles, who were chief in repute, he professeth that *they did not confer any thing to him*, so as to change his opinion, or divert him from his ordinary course of practice, which was different from theirs: this was (it seemeth) hardly proper or seemly for him to say, if St. Peter had been his sovereign: but he seemeth to say it on very purpose, to exclude any prejudice that

Gal. ii. 2.

might arise to his doctrine from their authority or repute; their authority being none over him, their repute being impertinent to the case; for *whatsoever*, addeth he, *they were, it maketh no matter to me; God respecteth no man's person:* the which might well be said of persons greater in common esteem, but not so well of one who was his superior in office; to whose opinion and conduct, as of his judge and pastor by God's appointment, he did owe a special regard. Gal. ii. 6.

Again, St. Paul at Antioch, *observing St. Peter out of fear* and policy to act otherwise than became the simplicity and sincerity of Christians, to the prejudice of *evangelical truth*, charity, and liberty, against his own judgment and former practice, drawing others by his pattern into the same unwarrantable course of behaviour, did *withstand him to the face*, did *openly reprove him before all, because he was blameable*; did, as pope Gelasius I. affirmeth[y], (to excuse another pope misbehaving himself,) *worthily confute him;* did (as St. Augustine often doth affirm and urge, in proof that greatest persons may sometimes err and fail) *correct him, rebuke him, chide him*[z]. Gal. ii. 12—14. Gal. ii. 11, 14.

[y] (Vid. P. Pelag. II. apud Bin. tom. iv. p. 308. in Epist. ad Eliam.) Nunquid ideo aut illa ejus sequenda sunt, quæ merito ejus co-apostolus ejus facta redarguit. *Gelas. I. de Anath.* (*apud Bin.* tom. iii. p. 645.)

[z] Apostolo Paulo monstrante et corrigente. *Aug. cont. Crescon.* i. 32. ii. 32. *Ep.* 19. *de Bapt. cont. Don.* ii. 1, 2. correptus, *cont. Don.* ii. 1. objurgavit, *Ep.* 8. —— qui de minore causa conversationis ambiguæ Petro ipsi non pepercit. *Tert.* v. 3. (*contra Marc.*) —— who for a smaller matter of doubtful conversation spared not Peter himself. Cum laudetur etiam Pauli minimi apostolorum sana ratio atque libertas, quod Petrum apostolorum primum addu-

Which behaviour of St. Paul doth not well consist with the *supposition, that St. Peter was his superior in office;* if that had been, Porphyrius with good colour of reason might have objected procacity to St. Paul in taxing his betters; for he then indeed had shewed us no commendable pattern of demeanour towards our governors, in so boldly opposing St. Peter, in so openly censuring him, in so smartly confuting him.

Hier. ad Aug. Ep. 11. in Prol. ad Gal.

More unseemly also it had been to report the business as he doth in writing to the Galatians; for to divulge the miscarriages of superiors, to revive the memory of them, to register them, and transmit them down to all posterity, to set forth our clashing and contests with them, is hardly allowable; if it may consist with justice and honesty, it doth yet little savour of gravity and modesty: it would have been more seemly for St. Paul to have privately and humbly remonstrated to St. Peter, than openly and downrightly to have reprehended him; at least it would have become him in cold blood to have represented his carriage more respectfully, consulting the honour of the universal pastor, whose reputation was like to suffer by such a representation of his proceedings. Pope Pelagius II. would have taught

ctum in hypocrisin, et non recta via incedentem ad veritatem evangelii fidenter improbans, in faciem illi restitit, eumque coram omnibus coram objurgavit. *Fac. Her.* viii. 6. Whereas the sound reason and freedom even of Paul, the least of the apostles, is commended, in that when Peter, the chief of the apostles, was carried away with dissimulation, and walked not in a right way, according to the truth of the gospel, he boldly disliked, and withstood him to the face, and reproved him openly before all.

St. Paul better manners; who saith, that [a] *they are not to be approved, but reprobated, who do reprove or accuse their prelates;* and pope Gregory would have taught him another lesson, namely, that [b] *the evils of their superiors do so displease good subjects, that however they do conceal them from others;* and, [c] *Subjects are to be admonished, that they do not rashly judge the life of their superiors, if perhaps they see them do blameably,* &c.

It is plain, that St. Paul was more bold with St. Peter, than any man now must be with the pope; for let the pope commit never so great crimes, yet should *no mortal,* saith the canon law, *presume to reprove his faults.* Grat. Dist xl. cap. 6.

But if St. Peter were not in office superior to St. Paul, but his colleague, and equal in authority, although preceding him in standing, repute, and other advantages; then St. Paul's free proceeding toward him was not only warrantable, but wholesome, and deserving for edification to be recited and recorded; as implying an example how colleagues upon occasion should with freedom and sincerity admonish their brethren of their errors and faults; St. Peter's carriage in patiently bearing that correption also affording another good pattern of equanimity in such cases; to which purpose [d] St. Cyprian (alleged

[a] Non sunt consentiendi, sed reprobandi, qui prælatos suos reprehendunt vel accusant. *Pelag. II. Ep.* 2.

[b] Bonis subditis sic præpositorum suorum mala displicent, ut tamen hæc ab aliis occultent. *Greg. M. Moral.* xxv. 15.

[c] Admonendi sunt subditi, ne præpositorum suorum vitam temere judicent, siquid eos fortasse agere reprehensibiliter vident, &c. *Greg Past.* part. iii. cap. 1. *Admon.* 5.

[d] Nam nec Petrus, quem primum Dominus elegit, &c. *Cypr. Ep.* 71. (*ad Quint.*)

Aug. de Bapt. cont. Don. ii. 2.

and approved by St. Austin) doth apply this p sage; *for*, saith he, *neither Peter, whom the Lo first chose, and upon whom he built his chur when Paul afterward contested with him abo circumcision, did insolently challenge, or ar gantly assume any thing to himself, so as to s that he did hold the primacy, and that rather tho who were newer and later apostles ought to ob him; neither despised he St. Paul, because he w before a persecutor of the church; but he admitt the counsel of truth, and easily consented to t lawful course which St. Paul did maintain; yiel ing indeed to us a document both of concord a patience, that we should not pertinaciously lo our own things, but should rather take those thin for ours which sometimes are profitably and whol somely suggested by our brethren and colleagu if they are true and lawful:* this St. Cyprian spea eth, upon supposition that St. Peter and St. Pa were equals, or (as he calleth them) colleagues a brethren, in rank coordinate; otherwise St. Cypri would not have approved the action; for he oft severely doth inveigh against inferiors taking up them to censure their superiors; [c] *What tumou* saith he, *of pride, what arrogance of mind, wh inflation of heart, is it, to call our superiors a bishops to our cognizance?* St. Cyprian therefo could not conceive St. Peter to be St. Paul's g vernor, or superior in power; he doth indeed plain enough in the forecited words signify, that in h judgment St. Peter had done *insolently and arr*

[c] Quis enim hic est superbiæ tumor, quæ arrogantia animi, q mentis inflatio ad cognitionem suam præpositos et sacerdo [illegible]? *Cypr. Ep.* 69.

gently, if he had assumed any *obedience* from St. Paul. St. Austin also doth in several places of his writings make the like application of this passage. Aug. cont. Don. de Bapt. ii. 1, 2. Ep. 19.

The ancient writer contemporary to St. Ambrose, and passing under his name, doth argue in this manner; [f] *Who dared resist Peter the first apostle, to whom the Lord did give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, but another such a one; who in assurance of his election knowing himself to be not unequal to him, might constantly disprove what he had unadvisedly done?*

It is indeed well known, that Origen, and after him St. Chrysostom and St. Jerome, and divers of the ancients beside, did conceive that St. Paul did not seriously oppose or tax St. Peter, but did only do it seemingly, upon confederacy with him, for promoting a good design. S. Cyril. cont. Jul. lib. ix. (p. 325.) Chrys. tom. v. Or. 59. οὐκ ἀπὸ ψυχῆς. Aug. Ep. 11. &c.

This interpretation, however strained and earnestly impugned by St. Austin, I will not discuss; but only shall observe, that it being admitted doth rather strengthen than weaken our discourse: for, if St. Peter were St. Paul's governor, it maketh St. Peter to have consented to an act in all appearance indecent, irregular, and scandalous; and how can we imagine that St. Peter would have complotted to the impairing his own just authority in the eye of a

[f] Nam quis eorum auderet Petro primo apostolo, cui claves regni cœlorum Dominus dedit, resistere, nisi alius talis, qui fiducia electionis suæ, sciens se non imparem, constanter improbaret quod ille sine consilio fecerat? *Ambr. in Gal.* ii. 9. Paulus Petrum reprehendit, quod non auderet, nisi se non imparem sciret. (*Hieron. vel alius quis ad Gal. citatus a Grat. Caus.* ii. qu. 7. cap. 33.) Paul reprehended Peter, which he would not have dared to do, had he not known himself to be equal to him.

great church? doth not such a condescension imply in him a disavowing of superiority over St. Paul, or a conspiracy with him to overthrow good order?

Chrys. tom. v. Or. 59. Καὶ γὰρ αὔξω τὴν κατηγορίαν, καὶ μείζονα ποιῶ, &c.

To which purpose we may observe, that St. Chrysostom, in a large and very elaborate discourse, wherein he professeth to endeavour *an aggravation* of the irregularity of St. Paul's demeanour, if it were serious; doth not lay the stress of that aggravation upon St. Paul's opposing his lawful governor, but his only so treating a co-apostle of such eminency: neither when to that end he designeth to reckon all the advantages of St. Peter beyond St. Paul, or any other apostle, doth he mention this, which was chiefly material to his purpose, that he was St. Paul's governor; which observations if we do carefully weigh, we can hardly imagine that St. Chrysostom had any notion of St. Peter's supremacy in relation to the apostles[g].

In fine, the drift of St. Paul, in reporting those passages concerning himself, was not to disparage the other apostles, nor merely to commend himself, but to fence the truth of his doctrine, and maintain the liberty of his disciples, against any prejudice that might arise from any authority that might be pretended in any considerable respects superior to his, and alleged against them; to which purpose he declareth by arguments and matters of fact, that his authority was perfectly apostolical, and equal to the greatest; even to that of St. Peter, the prime apostle;

[g] Ὡς οὐδέν μοι ὄφελος ἂν Πέτρου τὴν κατηγορίαν ἀποσκευασαμένου, ὁ Παῦλος φαίνηται θαρσαλέως καὶ ἀπερισκέπτως τοῦ συναποστόλου κατηγορῶν ——. So that it is no advantage to me, if, when Peter has confuted the charge, Paul appear to accuse his fellow apostle boldly and inconsiderately.

of St. John, the beloved disciple; of St. James, the bishop of Jerusalem; the judgment or practice of whom was no law to him, nor should be to them, further than it did consist with that doctrine which he, by an independent authority, and by special *revelation from Christ*, did preach unto them: he might, as St. Chrysostom noteth, have pretended *to some advantage over them*, in regard that he *had laboured more abundantly than they all;* but he forbeareth to do so, *being contented to obtain equal advantages*[h]. Gal. i. 12.

Well therefore, considering the disadvantage which this passage bringeth to the Roman pretence, might this history be called by Baronius *a history hard to be understood, a stone of offence, a rock of scandal, a rugged place, which St. Austin himself, under favour, could not pass over without stumbling.* Baron. An. li. §. 32—34, 35, &c.

It may also be considered, that St. Paul particularly doth assert to himself an independent authority over the Gentiles, coordinate to that which St. Peter had over the Jews[i]; the which might engage him so earnestly to contest with St. Peter, as by his practice seducing those who belonged to his charge; the which also probably moved him thus to assert his authority to the Galatians, as being Gentiles under his care, and thence obliged especially to regard his Rom. xi. 13.

[h] Καὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστα τῶν ἀποστόλων πλεονεκτήσας, περισσότερον γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐκοπίασα, φησὶν, ἀλλὰ τέως οὐ κατασκευάζει τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾷ τὰ ἴσα φέρων. Chrys. in Gal. i. 1.

[i] Plena authoritas Petro in Judaismi prædicatione data dignoscitur, et Pauli perfecta authoritas in prædicatione Gentium invenitur. *Ambr.* There is discerned a full authority given to Peter of preaching to the Jews, and in Paul there is found a perfect power and authority of preaching to the Gentiles.

Gal. ii. 7. authority. *They*, saith St. Paul, *knowing that I was intrusted with the gospel of uncircumcision, as Peter* was intrusted *with that of circumcision,— gave unto me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship:* the which words do clearly enough signify that he took himself, and that the other apostles took him to have, under Christ, an absolute charge, subordinate to no man, over the Gentiles; whence
2 Cor. xi. 28. he claimeth to himself, as his burden, *the care of all the churches:* he therefore might well contest for their liberty, he might well insist upon his authority among them.

Thus did St. Chrysostom understand the case; for [k] *Christ*, saith he, *committed the Jews to Peter, but set Paul over the Gentiles;* and, [l] *He*, saith that great Father, *further doth shew himself to be equal to them in dignity, and compareth himself, not only to the others, but even to the ringleader; shewing that each did enjoy equal dignity.*

It may also by any prudent considerer easily be discerned, that if St. Peter had really been as they assert him, so in authority superior to the other apostles, it is hardly possible that St. Paul should upon these occasions express nothing of it.

16. If St. Peter had been appointed sovereign of the church, it seemeth that it should have been requisite that he should have outlived all the apostles; for then either the church must have wanted a head, or there must have been an inextricable controversy

[k] Τοὺς μὲν οὖν Ἰουδαίους ἐπέτρεψε τῷ Πέτρῳ, τοῖς δὲ Ἕλλησι τὸν Παῦλον ἐπέστησεν ὁ Χριστός. Chrys. tom. 5. Or. 59.

[l] Δείκνυσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμότιμον ὄντα λοιπὸν, καὶ οὐ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἑαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ τῷ κορυφαίῳ συγκρίνει, δεικνὺς ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς ἕκαστος ἀπέλαυσεν ἀξίας. Chrys. in Gal. ii. 8.

about who that head was. St. Peter died long before St. John, (as all agree,) and perhaps before divers others of the apostles. Now, after his departure, did the church want a head? (then it might before and after have none; and our adversaries lose the main ground of their pretence.) Did one of the apostles become head? (which of them was it; upon what ground did he assume the headship, or who conferred it on him; who ever did acknowledge any such thing, or where is there any report about it?) Was any other person made head? (suppose the bishop of Rome, who only pretendeth thereto;) then did St. John and other apostles become subject to one in degree inferior to them? then what becometh of St. Paul's *first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers?* What do all the apostolical privileges come to, when St. John must be at the command of Linus, and Cletus, and Clemens, and of I know not who beside? Was it not a great absurdity for the apostles to truckle under the *pastors and teachers of Rome?*

1 Cor. xii. 28.

Eph. iv. 11.

The like may be said for St. James, if he (as the Roman church doth in its liturgics suppose) were an apostle who in many respects might claim the preeminence; who therefore, in the Apostolical Constitutions, is preferred before Clement bishop of Rome.

17. Upon the same grounds, on which a supremacy of power is claimed to St. Peter, other apostles might also challenge a superiority therein over their brethren; but to suppose such a difference of power among the rest is absonous; and therefore the grounds are not valid upon which St. Peter's supremacy is built.

I instance in St. James and St. John, who upon the same probabilities had (after St. Peter) a preference to the other apostles. For to them our Saviour declared a special regard; to them the apostles afterwards may seem to have yielded a particular deference; they, in merit and performances, seem to have surpassed; they (after St. Peter and his brother) were first called to the apostolical office; they (as St. Peter) were by our Lord new christened, (as it were,) and nominated ***Boanerges***, by a name signifying the efficacy of their endeavour in their Master's service; they, together with St. Peter, were assumed to behold the transfiguration; they were culled out to wait on our Lord in his agony; they also, with St. Peter, (others being excluded,) were taken to attest our Lord's performance of that great miracle of restoring the ruler's daughter to life; they, presuming on their special favour with our Lord, did pretend to the chief places in his kingdom.

Matt. iv. 21. Luke v. 10. Mark iii. 17. Matt. xvii. 1, 2. 2 Pet. i. 16. Matt. xxvi. 37. Mark xiv. 33. Matt. xx. 20, 21. Mark x. 35, 37.

To one of them it is expressed that our Saviour did bear a peculiar affection, he being *the disciple whom Jesus loved*, and *who leaned on his bosom:* to the other he particularly discovered himself after his resurrection, and first honoured him with the crown of martyrdom.

John xiii. 23. xxi. 7, 20. 1 Cor. xv. 7.

They in blood and cognation did nearest touch our Lord; being his cousin-germans; (which was esteemed by the ancients a ground of preferment;) as Hegesippus reporteth[m].

[m] Τοὺς δὲ ἀπολυθέντας ἡγήσασθαι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ὡς ἂν δὴ μάρτυρας ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γένους ὄντας τοῦ Κυρίου. Hegesipp. apud Euseb. iii. 20. They being dismissed, and sent away to govern the churches, as being both witnesses, and also kinsmen of our Lord.

Their industry and activity in propagation of the gospel was most eminently conspicuous.

To them it was peculiar, that St. James did first suffer for it, and St. John did longest persist in the faithful confession of it; whose writings in several kinds do remain as the richest magazines of Christian doctrine, furnishing us with the fullest testimonies concerning the divinity of our Lord, with special histories of his life, and with his divinest discourses; with most lively incitements to piety and charity; with prophetical revelations concerning the state of the church. He therefore was one of the στύλοι, chief pillars and props, of the Christian profession; one of ὑπὲρ λίαν ἀπόστολοι, *the superlative apostles.*

Acts xii. 2.

Gal. ii. 9. 2 Cor. xii. 11. xi. 5.

Accordingly in the rolls of the apostles, and in reports concerning them, their names usually are placed after St. Peter.

Mark iii. 17. Acts i. 13.

Hence also some of the Fathers do take them, as St. Peter was, to have been preferred by our Lord[n]: *Peter,* saith St. Gregory Nazianzen, *and James and John, who both were indeed, and were reckoned, before the others—so indeed did Christ himself prefer them;* and, *Peter, James, and John,* saith Clemens Alexandrinus, *did not, as being preferred*

[n] Λαβὼν τοίνυν τοὺς κορυφαίους. Chrys. in Matt. xvii. 1. Taking therefore the chief and principal. Διὰ τί τούτους παραλαμβάνει μόνους; ὅτι οὗτοι τῶν ἄλλων ἦσαν ὑπερέχοντες. Chrys. ibid. Wherefore taketh he these only with him? Because these were the chief and principal above the others. Πέτρος, καὶ Ἰάκωβος, καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὄντες καὶ ἀριθμούμενοι——αὕτη μὲν ἡ Χριστοῦ προτίμησις. Greg. Naz. Or. 26. Πέτρον φησὶ καὶ Ἰάκωβον, καὶ Ἰωάννην ὡς ἂν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου προτετιμημένους μὴ ἐπιδικάζεσθαι δόξης, ἀλλὰ Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπον Ἱεροσολύμων εἶλέσθαι. (Ruffinus reddit *apostolorum episcopum.*) *Clem. Alex. apud Euseb.* ii. 1.

by the Lord himself, contest for honour, but did choose James the Just, bishop of Jerusalem, (or, as Ruffinus reads, *bishop of the apostles.*)

Hence if by designation of Christ, by the concession of the apostolical college, by the prefulgency of his excellent worth and merit, or upon any other ground, St. Peter had the πρωτεῖα, or first place; the δευτερεῖα, or next place, in the same kind, by like means, upon the same grounds, seems to have belonged unto them; and if their advantage did imply difference, not in power, but in order only, (not authoritative superiority, but honorary precedence,) then can no more be allowed or concluded due to him.

18. The Fathers, both in express terms, and implicitly or by consequence, do assert the apostles to have been equal or coordinate in power and authority.

What can be more express than that of St. Cyprian; [o]*The other apostles were indeed that which Peter was, endowed with equal consortship of honour and power;* and again, [p]*Although our Lord giveth to all the apostles after his resurrection an equal power, and saith, As the Father sent me, so I send you?*

What can be more plain than that of St. Chrysostom; [q]*St. Paul sheweth, that each apostle did enjoy equal dignity?*

Chrys. in Gal. i. 8. How again could St. Chrysostom more clearly signify his opinion, than when comparing St. Paul

[o] Hoc erant utique et cæteri apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio prædíti et honoris et potestatis.

[p] ——quamvis apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat, ac dicat, &c. *Cypr. de Un. Eccl.*

[q] Δεικνὺς, ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς ἕκαστος ἀπέλαυσεν ἀξίας. Chrys. in Gal. ii. 8.

to St. Peter, he calleth St. Paul ἰσότιμον αὐτῷ, *equal in honour to him*, adding, πλέον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐρῶ τέως, *for I will not as yet say any thing more*, as if he thought St. Paul indeed the more honourable? Vide Tert. de Præscr. cap. 20.

How also could St. Cyril more plainly declare his sense to be the same, than when he called St. Peter and St. John ἰσοτίμους ἀλλήλοις, *equal to one another in honour*[r]?

Did not St. Jerome also sufficiently declare his mind in the case, when he saith of the apostles, that [s]*the strength of the church is equally settled upon them?*

Doth not Dionysius (the supposed Areopagite) call [t]*the decade of the apostles coordinate with their foreman*, St. Peter? in conformity, I suppose, to the current judgment of his age.

What can be more full than that of Isidore, (whose words shew how long this sense continued in the church;) [u]*The other apostles did receive an*

[r] Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης ἰσότιμοι ἀλλήλοις, καθὸ καὶ ἀπόστολοι καὶ ἅγιοι μαθηταί. Act. Con. Eph. part. i. p. 209. Peter and John were equal in honour one to another, as were also the apostles and holy disciples. Did Tertullian think St. Paul inferior to St. Peter, when he said, "It is well that Peter is even in martyrdom equalled "to Paul?" *Bene quod Petrus Paulo et in martyrio adæquatur.* Tert. de Præscr. 24.

[s] At dicis super Petrum fundatur ecclesia, licet id ipsum alio loco super omnes apostolos fiat, et ex æquo super eos ecclesiæ fortitudo solidetur. *Hieron. in Jovin.* i. 14. But you will say, the church is founded upon Peter, though the same thing in another place is affirmed of all the apostles, and that, &c.

[t] Ὁ τῶν μαθητῶν κορυφαῖος, μετὰ τῆς ὁμοταγοῦς αὐτῷ καὶ ἱεραρχικῆς δεκάδος. Dionys. de Eccl. Hier. cap. 5.

[u] Cæteri apostoli cum Petro par consortium honoris et potestatis acceperunt, qui etiam in toto orbe dispersi evangelium prædicaverunt, quibusque decedentibus successerunt episcopi, qui sunt

equal share of honour and power; who also being dispersed in the whole world did preach the gospel; and to whom departing the bishops did succeed, who are constituted through the whole world in the sees of the apostles?

By consequence the Fathers do assert this equality, when they affirm (as we before did shew) the apostolical office to be absolutely supreme; when also they affirm (as afterwards we shall shew) all the apostles' successors to be equal as such; and particularly that the Roman bishop, upon account of his succeeding St. Peter, hath no preeminence above his brethren; for, [x] *wherever a bishop be, whether at Rome, or at Eugubium; at Constantinople, or at Rhegium; at Alexandria, or at Thanis; he is of the same worth, and of the same priesthood: the force of wealth, and lowness of poverty, doth not render a bishop more high or more low; for that all of them are successors of the apostles.*

19. Neither is it to prudential esteem a despicable consideration, that the most ancient of the Fathers, having occasion sometimes largely to discourse of St. Peter, do not mention any such prerogatives belonging to him.

20. The last argument which I shall use against this primacy, shall be the insufficiency of those arguments and testimonies, which they allege to warrant and prove it.

If this point be of so great consequence as they make it; if, as they would persuade us, the subsist-

constituti per totum mundum in sedibus apostolorum. *Isid. Hisp. de Off.* ii. 5.

[x] Ubicunque fuerit episcopus, sive Romæ sive Eugubii, &c. *Hier. ad Evagr.* Ep. 85. Clem. ad Corinth. Iren. iii. 12. iii. 1, 3.

ence, order, unity, and peace of the church, together with the salvation of Christians, do depend on it[y]; if, as they suppose, many great points of truth do hang on this pin; if it be, as they declare, a main article of faith, and [z]*not only a simple error, but a pernicious heresy to deny this primacy;* then it is requisite, that a clear revelation from God should be producible in favour of it, (for upon that ground only such points can firmly stand;) then it is most probable, that God (to prevent controversies, occasions of doubt, and excuses for error about so grand a matter) would not have failed to have declared it so plainly, as might serve to satisfy any reasonable man, and to convince any froward gainsayer: but no such revelation doth appear; for the places of scripture which they allege do not plainly express it, nor pregnantly imply it, nor can it by fair consequence be inferred from them: no man unprepossessed with affection to their side would descry it in them; without thwarting St. Peter's order, and *wresting the scriptures,* they cannot deduce it from them. This by examining their allegations will appear. 2 Pet. iii. 16.

I. They allege those words of our Saviour, uttered by him upon occasion of St. Peter's confessing him to be the Son of God, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church.* Here, say they, St. Peter is declared the foundation, that is, the sole supreme governor of the church[a]. Matt. xvi. 18.

[y] Agitur de summa rei Christianæ, &c. *Bell. præf. ad lib. de Pontif. R.*

[z] Est enim revera non simplex error, sed perniciosa hæresis negare B. Petri primatum a Christo institutum. *Bell. de Pont. R.* i. 10.

[a] S. Romana ecclesia nullis synodicis constitutis cæteris eccle-

To this I answer:

1. Those words do not clearly signify any thing to their purpose; for they are metaphorical, and thence ambiguous, or capable of divers interpretations; whence they cannot suffice to ground so main a point of doctrine, or to warrant so huge a pretence; these ought to stand upon downright, evident, and indubitable testimony.

It is pretty to observe how Bellarmine proposeth this testimony; [b] *Of which words,* saith he, *the sense is plain and obvious, that it be understood, that under two metaphors the principate of the whole church was promised;* as if that sense could be so plain and obvious, which is couched under two metaphors, and those not very pat or clear in application to their sense.

2. This is manifestly confirmed from that the Fathers and divines, both ancient and modern, have much differed in exposition of these words.

Tostat. in Matth. xvi. qu. 67. [*Some,* saith Abulensis, *say, that this rock is Peter——others say, and better, that it is Christ ——others say, and yet better, that it is the confession which Peter maketh.*]

For some interpret *this rock* to be Christ himself,

1 Cor. iii. 11. of whom St. Paul saith, *Other foundation can no*

siis prælata est, sed evangelica voce Domini et Salvatoris nostri primatum obtinuit; *Tu es Petrus* (inquiens) &c. *P. Gelas.* i. Dist. 21. cap. 3. The holy church of Rome is not preferred before other churches by any synodical decrees, but has obtained the primacy by the voice of our Lord and Saviour in the gospel, saying, *Thou art Peter,* &c.

[b] Quorum verborum planus et obvius sensus est, ut intelligatur sub duabus metaphoris promissum Petro totius ecclesiæ principatum. *Bell. de Pont.* i. 10.

man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ.

St. Austin telleth us in his Retractations, that he often had expounded the words to this purpose, although he did not absolutely reject that interpretation which made St. Peter the rock; leaving it to the reader's choice which is the most probable[c].

Others (and those most eminent Fathers) do take the rock to be St. Peter's faith, or profession; [d] *Upon the rock,* saith the prince of interpreters, *that is, upon the faith of his profession;* and again, [e] *Christ said that he would build his church on Peter's confession;* and again, (he, or another ancient writer under his name,) [f] *Upon this rock, he said not upon Peter; for he did not build his church upon the man, but upon his faith.*

[g] *Our Lord,* said Theodoret, *did permit the first of the apostles, whose confession he did fix as a prop or foundation of the church, to be shaken.*

[c] Scio me postea sæpissime exposuisse, ut super hanc Petram intelligeretur quem confessus est Petrus; harum autem duarum sententiarum quæ sit probabilior eligat lector. *Aug. Retr.* i. 21. Vide Aug. in Joh. tr. 124. de Verb. Dom. in Matt. Serm. 13. Super hanc, inquit, Petram quam confessus es, ædificabo ecclesiam meam. *Aug. in Joh.* tr. 124. et de Verb. Dom. in Matt. Serm. 13. (tom. 10.) Super hanc Petram, id est, super me ædificabo ecclesiam meam. *Ans. in Matt.* xvi. 18.

[d] Τῇ Πέτρᾳ——τουτέστι τῇ πίστει τῆς ὁμολογίας. Chrys. in Matt. xvi. 18.

[e] —— τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἔφησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν οἰκοδομήσειν τὴν ἐκείνου. Chrys. in Joh. i. 50.

[f] Ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ Πέτρᾳ, οὐκ εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν πίστιν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν ᾠκοδόμησε. Chrys. tom. v. Or. 163. Super hanc igitur confessionis Petram ecclesiæ ædificatio est. *Hil. de Trin.* 6.

[g] —— ἀποστόλων τὸν πρῶτον, οὗ τὴν ὁμολογίαν οἷον τίνα κρηπῖδα,

[Whence Origen saith, that [h]*every disciple of Christ is the rock*, in virtue of his agreement with Peter in that holy confession.]

This sense even popes have embraced[i].

Others say, [k]that as St. Peter did not speak for himself, but in the name of all the apostles, and of all faithful people, representing the pastors and people of the church; so correspondently our Lord did declare, that he would build his church upon such faithful pastors and confessors.

Vide Rigalt. in Cypr. Ep. 27. 40. 70. 71. 73. 69.

Others do indeed by the rock understand St. Peter's person, but do not thereby expound to be meant his being supreme governor of the apostles, or of the whole church.

The divines, schoolmen, and canonists of the Roman communion, do not also agree in exposition of the words; and divers of the most learned among them do approve the interpretation of St. Chrysostom.

Now then, how can so great a point of doctrine

καὶ θεμέλιον τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατέπηξε, συνεχώρησε σαλευθῆναι. Theod. Ep. 77.

[h] Πέτρα γὰρ πᾶς ὁ Χριστοῦ μαθητὴς, &c. Orig. in Matt. xvi. p. 275.

[i] In vera fide persistite, et vitam vestram in petra ecclesiæ, hoc est in confessione B. Petri apostolorum principis solidate. *Greg. M.* Ep. iii. 33. Persist in the true faith, and establish and fix your life upon the rock of the church, that is, upon the confession of blessed Peter, the prince of the apostles. Super ista confessione ædificabo ecclesiam meam. *Felix III.* Ep. 5. Vide Nic. I. Ep. ii. 6. Joh. VIII. Ep. 76.

[k] Unus pro omnibus loquens, et ecclesiæ voce respondens. *Cypr.* Ep. 55. One speaking for all, and answering in the name of the church. Cui ecclesiæ figuram gerenti Dominus ait, *Super hanc* —. *Aug.* Ep. 165. To whom, representing the whole church, our Lord saith, *Upon this rock*, &c. Petrus ex persona omnium apostolorum profitetur. *Hier. in loc.* Peter professes in the person of all the apostles.

be firmly grounded on a place of so doubtful interpretation? How can any one be obliged to understand the words according to their interpretation, which persons of so good sense and so great authority do understand otherwise? With what modesty can they pretend that meaning to be clear, which so perspicacious eyes could not discern therein? Why may not I excusably agree with St. Chrysostom, or St. Austin, in understanding the place? May I not reasonably oppose their judgment to the opinion of any modern doctors, deeming Bellarmine as fallible in his conceptions as one of them? Why consequently may I not without blame refuse their doctrine, as built upon this place, or disavow the goodness of this proof?

3. It is very evident, that the apostles themselves did not understand those words of our Lord to signify any grant or promise to St. Peter of supremacy over them; for would they have *contended* for the chief place, if they had understood whose it of right was by our Lord's own positive determination? would they have *disputed* about a question, which to their knowledge by their Master was already stated? would they have troubled our Lord to inquire of him who should be the greatest in his kingdom, when they knew that our Lord had declared his will to make St. Peter viceroy? would the sons of Zebedee have been so foolish and presumptuous as to beg the place, which they knew by our Lord's word and promise fixed on St. Peter? [1]would St. Peter, among the rest, have fretted at that idle overture, whenas he knew the place by our Lord's

Luke xxii 24.

Mark ix. 33.

Matt. xvi 21.

[1] Matth. xx. 24. Ἀκούσαντες οἱ δέκα ἠγανάκτουν. And when the ten heard it, they were moved with indignation.

immutable purpose and infallible declaration assured to him? And if none of the apostles did understand the words to imply this Roman sense, who can be obliged so to understand them? yea who can wisely, who can safely so understand them? for surely they had common sense, as well as any man living now; they had as much advantage as we can have to know our Lord's meaning; their ignorance therefore of this sense being so apparent, is not only a just excuse for not admitting this interpretation, but a strong bar against it.

4. This interpretation also doth not well consist with our Lord's answers to the contests, inquiries, and petitions of his disciples, concerning the point of superiority: for doth he not (if the Roman expositions be good) seem upon those occasions, not only to dissemble his own word and promise, but to disavow them, or thwart them? can we conceive, that he would in such a case of doubt forbear to resolve them, clearly to instruct them, and admonish them of their duty?

5. Taking the rock, as they would have it, to be the person of St. Peter, and that on him the church should be built; yet do not the words *being a rock* probably denote government? for what resemblance is there between being a rock and a governor? at least what assurance can there be, that this metaphor precisely doth import that sense; seeing in other respects, upon as fair similitudes, he might be called so?

St. Austin saith, [m] *the apostles were foundations, because their authority doth support our weakness.*

[m] Quare sunt fundamenta apostoli et prophetæ, quia eorum auctoritas portat infirmitatem nostram. *Aug. in Ps.* lxxxvi.

St. Jerome saith, that they [n] *were foundations, because the faith of the church was first laid in them.*

St. Basil saith, that [o] *St. Peter's soul was called the rock, because it was firmly rooted in the faith, and did hold stiff, without giving way against the blows of temptation.*

Chrysologus saith, that [p] *Peter had his name from a rock, because he first merited to found the church by firmness of faith.*

These are fair explications of the metaphor, without any reference to St. Peter's government.

But however also admitting this, that being such a rock doth imply government and pastoral charge; yet do they (notwithstanding these grants and suppositions) effect nothing; for they cannot prove the words spoken exclusively in regard to other apostles, or to import any thing singular to him above or beside them: he might be a governing rock, so might others be; the church might be built on him, so it might be on other apostles; he might be designed a governor, a great governor, a principal governor, so might they also be; this might be without any violence done to those words.

And this indeed was; for all the other apostles in holy scripture are called foundations, and the church is said to be built on them.

[q] *If,* saith Origen, the father of interpreters, *you*

[n] In illis erant fundamenta, ibi primum posita est fides ecclesiæ. *Hier. in Ps.* lxxxvi.

[o] Πέτρα δὲ ὑψελὴ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου ὠνόμασται, διὰ τὸ παγίως ἐρριζῶσθαι τῇ πίστει, καὶ στερρῶς καὶ ἐνενδότως ἔχειν πρὸς τὰς ἐκ πειρασμῶν ἐναγομένας πληγάς. Bas. in Is. ii. p. 869.

[p] Petrus a petra nomen adeptus est, quia primus meruit ecclesiam fidei firmitate fundare. *Chrys.* Serm. 53.

[q] Εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἕνα ἐκεῖνον Πέτρον νομίζεις ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκοδομεῖσθαι

think the whole church to be only built on Peter alone, what will you say of John the son of thunder, and of each of the apostles? &c. largely to this purpose.

Eph. ii. 20. [r] *Christ*, as St. Jerome saith, *was the Rock, and he bestowed it upon the apostles, that they should be called rocks.* And, [s] *You say*, saith he again, *that the church is founded on Peter; but the same in another place is done upon all the apostles.*

The twelve apostles, saith another ancient author, *were the immutable pillars of orthodoxy, the rock of the church.*

[t] *The church*, saith St. Basil, *is built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles; Peter also was one of the mountains; upon which rock the Lord did promise to build his church.*

Cypr. Ep. 71, 73. St. Cyprian, in his disputes with pope Stephen, did more than once allege this place, yet could he not take them in their sense to signify exclusively; for he did not acknowledge any imparity of power among the apostles or their successors. He indeed plainly took these words to respect all the apostles and their successors; our Lord taking occasion to promise that to one, which he intended to impart to all for themselves and their successors; [u] *Our Lord*,

τὴν πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν μόνον, τί ἂν φήσαις περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ τῆς βροντῆς υἱοῦ, ἢ ἑκάστου τῶν ἀποστόλων, &c. Orig. in Matth. xvi. p. 275.

[r] Petra Christus est, qui donavit apostolis, ut ipsi quoque Petræ vocentur. *Hier. in Amos* ix. 12.

[s] Dicis super Petrum fundatur ecclesia, licet id ipsum in alio loco super omnes apostolos fiat. *Hier. in Jovin.* i. 14.

[t] Ἐκκλησία—ᾠκοδόμηται ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν· ἓν τῶν ὄρεων ἦν καὶ Πέτρος, ἐφ' ἧς καὶ πέτρας ἐπηγγείλατο ὁ Κύριος οἰκοδομήσειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Basil. in Isa. ii. p. 869.

[u] Dominus noster episcopi honorem, et ecclesiæ suæ rationem

saith he, *ordering the honour of a bishop, and the order of his church, saith to Peter, I say to thee, &c. Hence through the turns of times and successions, the ordination of bishops, and the manner of the church doth run on, that the church should be settled upon the bishops, and every act of the church should be governed by the same prelates:* as therefore he did conceive the church to be built, not on the pope singularly, but on all the bishops; so he thought our Lord did intend to build his church, not upon St. Peter only, but on all his apostles.

6. It is not said, that the apostles, or the apostolical office, should be built on him; for that could not be, seeing the apostles were constituted, and the apostolical office was founded, before that promise; the words only therefore can import, that according to some meaning he was a rock, upon which the church, afterward to be collected, should be built; he was [x] *a rock of the church to be built,* as Tertullian speaketh: the words therefore cannot signify any thing available to their purpose, in relation to the apostles.

7. If we take St. Peter himself for the rock, then (as I take it) the best meaning of the words doth import, that our Lord designed St. Peter for a prime instrument[y] (the first mover, the most diligent and

disponens, dicit Petro, Ego tibi dico——Inde per temporum et successionum vices episcoporum ordinatio, et ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut ecclesia super episcopos constituatur, et omnis actus ecclesiæ per eosdem præpositos gubernetur. *Cypr.* Ep. 27. *et de Unit. Eccl.*

[x] Latuit aliquid Petrum ædificandæ ecclesiæ Petram dictum. *Tertull. de Præscr.* cap. 22.

[y] Πέτρος ἐν ἀποστόλοις πρῶτος ἐκήρυξε τὸν Χρίστον. Chrys. Peter first of all the apostles preached Christ.

active at the beginning, the most constant, stiff, and firm) in the support of his truth, and propagation of his doctrine, or conversion of men to the belief of the gospel; the which is called building of the church; according to that of St. Ambrose, or some ancient homilist under his name, [z] *He is called a rock, because he first did lay in the nations the foundations of faith:* in which regard, as the other apostles are called foundations of the church, (the church being founded on their labours,) so might St. Peter signally be so called; who, as St. Basil saith, allusively interpreting our Saviour's words, [a] *for the excellency of his faith did take on him the edifying of the church.*

Both he and they also might be so termed, for that upon their testimonies concerning the life, death, and resurrection of Christ, the faith of Christians was grounded; as also it stands upon their convincing discourses, their holy practice, their miraculous performances; in all which St. Peter was most eminent; and in the beginning of Christianity displayed them to the edification of the church.

This interpretation plainly doth agree with matter of fact and history; which is the best interpreter of right or privilege in such cases; for we may reasonably understand our Saviour to have promised that, which in effect we see performed; so [b] *the event*

[z] Petra dicitur eo quod primus in nationibus fidei fundamenta posuerit. *Ambr. de Sanctis.* Serm. 2.

[a] Ὁ διὰ πίστεως ὑπεροχὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας δεξάμενος. Bas. contra Eunom. lib. 2. Petra ædificandæ ecclesiæ. *Tertull. de Præscr.* cap. 22.

[b] Sic enim exitus docet, in ipso ecclesia extructa est, id est per ipsum, &c. *Tert. de Pudic.* cap. 21.

sheweth, the church was built on him, that is by him, saith Tertullian.

But this sense doth not imply any superiority of power or dignity granted to St. Peter above his brethren; however it may signify an advantage belonging to him, and deserving especial respect; as St. Chrysostom notably doth set out in these words; [c] *Although John, although James, although Paul, although any other whoever may appear performing great matters; he yet doth surpass them all, who did precede them in liberty of speech, and opened the entrance, and gave to them, as to a river carried with a huge stream, to enter with great ease:* doing this, as, I say, it might signify his being a rock of the church, so it denoteth an excellency of merit, but not a superiority in power.

8. It may also be observed, that St. Peter, before the speaking of those words by our Lord, may seem to have had a primacy, intimated by the evangelists, when they report his call to the apostolical office; and by his behaviour, when in this confession, and before in the like, he undertook to be their mouth and spokesman; when, [d] *not being unmindful of his place,* saith St. Ambrose, *he did act a primacy; a primacy,* addeth that father, *of confession, not of honour; of faith, not of order:* his primacy there-

Matt. x. 2. John vi. 69

[c] Κἂν Ἰωάννης, κἂν Ἰάκωβος, κἂν Παῦλος, κἂν ἄλλος ὁστισοῦν μετὰ ταῦτα μέγα τι ποιῶν φαίνηται, ἁπάντων οὗτος πλεονεκτεῖ, ὁ πρωδοποιήσας αὐτῶν τῇ παῤῥησίᾳ, καὶ διανοίξας τὴν εἴσοδον, καὶ δοὺς αὐτοῖς καθάπερ ποταμῷ πολλῷ φερομένῳ ῥεύματι μετὰ πολλῆς ἀδείας ἐπεισελθεῖν, &c. Chrys. tom. v. Or. 59.

[d] Loci non immemor sui primatum egit;——primatum confessionis, non honoris; fidei, non ordinis. *Ambr. de Incarn.* cap. 4.

fore (such as he had) cannot well be founded on this place, he being afore possessed of it, and, as St. Ambrose conceived, exercising it at that time.

II. They allege the next words of our Lord, spoken in sequel upon the same occasion, *To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven;* that is, say they, *the supreme power over all the church*[f]; for he, say they, that hath the keys is master of the house.

To this testimony we may apply divers of the same answers which were given to the former; for,

1. These words are figurate, and therefore not clear enough to prove their assertion.

2. They do admit, and have received, various interpretations.

3. It is evident, that the apostles themselves did not understand these words as importing a supremacy over them; that St. Peter himself did not apprehend this sense; that our Lord, upon occasion inviting to it, did not take notice of his promise according thereto.

4. The words, *I will give thee,* cannot anywise be assured to have been exclusive of others, or appropriated to him. [g]*He said* (as a very learned man of the Roman communion noteth) *to Peter, I will give thee the keys; but he said not, I will give them to thee alone:* nothing therefore can be concluded from them to their purpose.

5. The Fathers do affirm, that all the apostles did receive the same keys.

[f] Per claves datas Petro intelligimus summam potestatem in omnem ecclesiam. *Bell. de Pont.* i. 3.

[g] Dixit Petro, Dabo tibi claves; at non dixit, Dabo tibi soli. *Rigalt. in Epist. Firmil.*

[h] *Are,* saith Origen, *the keys of the kingdom of heaven given by the Lord to Peter alone, and shall none other of the blessed ones receive them? But if this, I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, be common, how also are not all the things common which were spoken before, or are added as spoken to Peter?*

St. Jerome says in express words, that all [i] *the apostles did receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven.*

[k] *He,* saith Optatus, *did alone receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven,* (which were) *to be communicated to the rest;* that is, (as Rigaltius well expoundeth those words,) *which Christ himself would also communicate to the rest.*

Theophylact. [l] *Although it be spoken to Peter alone, I will give thee, yet it is given to all the apostles.*

It is part of St. John's character in St. Chrysostom, [m] *He that hath the keys of the heavens.*

[h] Ἆρα δὲ τῷ Πέτρῳ μόνῳ δίδονται ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου αἱ κλεῖδες τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἕτερος τῶν μακαρίων αὐτὰς λήψεται; εἰ δὲ κοινόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς ἑτέρους, τὸ δώσω σοι τὰς κλεῖδας τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ πάντα τότε προειρημένα, καὶ τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα ὡς πρὸς Πέτρον λελεγμένα; Orig. in Matt. xvi. p. 275.

[i] Quod Petro dicitur, apostolis dicitur. *Ambr. in Psal.* xxxviii. What is said to Peter, is said to the apostles. Licet id ipsum in alio loco super omnes apostolos fiat, et cuncti claves regni cœlorum accipiant. *Hier. in Jov.* i. 14. Though the same thing in another place is done upon all the apostles, and all receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven.

[k] Claves regni cœlorum communicandas cæteris solus accepit. *Opt.* lib. 7. Communicandas cæteris dixit, quas ipse Christus communicaturus erat et cæteris. *Rigalt. in Cypr. de Un. Eccl.*

[l] Εἰ γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Πέτρον μόνον εἴρηται τὸ δώσω σοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις δέδοται. Theoph. in loc.

[m] Ὁ τὰς κλεῖς ἔχων τῶν οὐρανῶν. Chrys. in Præf. Evang. Joh.

6. Indeed, whatever (according to any tolerable exposition, or according to the current expositions of the Fathers) those keys of the kingdom of heaven do import[n], (whether it be a faculty of opening it by doctrine, of admitting into it by dispensation of baptism and absolution, of excluding from it by ecclesiastical censure, or any such faculty signified by that metaphorical expression,) it plainly did belong to all the apostles, and was effectually conferred on them; yea, after them, upon all the pastors of the church in their several precincts and degrees; who in all ages have claimed to themselves the power of the keys; to be (as the *council of Compeigne* calleth all bishops) *clavigeri*, [o]the *key-bearers of the kingdom of heaven.*

So that in these words nothing singular was promised or granted to St. Peter; although it well may be deemed a singular mark of favour, that what our Lord did intend to bestow on all pastors, *that* he did anticipately promise to him; or, as the Fathers say, to the church and its pastors in him. In which respect we may admit those words of pope Leo I.[p]

[n] Claves intelligit verbum Dei, evangelium Christi. *Rigalt. in Cyp. Ep.* 73.

[o] Episcopi——quos constat esse vicarios Christi, et clavigeros regni cœlorum. *Conc. Comp. apud Bin.* tom. vi. p. 361.

[p] Transivit quidem in apostolos alios vis istius potestatis, sed non frustra uni commendatur quod omnibus intimetur. Petro ergo singulariter hoc creditur, quia cunctis ecclesiæ rectoribus Petri forma proponitur. *Leo I. in Nat. Petri et Pauli.* Serm. 2. The efficacy of this power passed indeed upon all the apostles; yet was it not in vain, that what was intimated to all, was commended to one. Therefore this is committed singly to Peter, because Peter's pattern and example is propounded to all the governors of the church.

7. Indeed divers of the Fathers do conceive the words spoken to St. Peter, not as a single person, but as a representative of the church, or as standing in the room of each pastor therein; unto whom our Lord designed to impart the power of the keys.

[q] *All we bishops,* saith St. Ambrose, *have in St. Peter received the keys of the kingdom of heaven.*

8. These answers are confirmed by the words immediately adjoined, equivalent to these, and interpretative of them; *And whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven;*—the which do import a power or privilege soon after expressly, and in the very same words, promised or granted to all the apostles; as also the same power in other words was by our Lord conferred on them all after the resurrection. Aug. supr. Matt. xviii 18. John xx. 23.

If therefore the keys of the kingdom of heaven

[q] In B. Petro claves regni cœlorum cuncti suscepimus sacerdotes. *Ambr. de Dign. Sac.* 1. Ecclesia quæ fundatur in Christo, claves ab eo regni cœlorum accepit, id est, potestatem ligandi solvendique peccata. *Aug.* tract. 124. *in Joh.* Vid. tract. 50. The church, which is founded upon Christ, received from him the keys of the kingdom of heaven, i. e. the power of binding and loosing sins. In typo unitatis Petro Dominus dedit potestatem ——. *Aug. de Bap.* iii. 17. Our Lord gave the power to Peter, as a type of unity. Ἐν προσώπῳ τοῦ κορυφαίου καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τῶν μαθητῶν ἡ ταυτη ἐξουσία δέδοται. Phot. Cod. 280. Such authority was given to the rest of the apostles in the person of him who was the chief. Non sine causa inter omnes apostolos ecclesiæ catholicæ personas sustinet Petrus; huic enim ecclesiæ claves regni cœlorum datæ sunt, cum Petro datæ sunt ——. *Aug. de Ag. Chr.* cap. xxx. in Ps. cviii. Not without cause does Peter among the rest of the apostles sustain the person of the catholic church; for to this church are the keys of the kingdom of heaven given, when they are given unto Peter.

do import supreme power, then each apostle had supreme power.

9. If we should grant (that which nowise can be proved) that something peculiarly belonging to St. Peter is implied in those words, it can only be this, that he should be a prime man in the work of preaching and propagating the gospel, and conveying the heavenly benefits of it to believers; which is an opening of the kingdom of heaven; according to what Tertullian excellently saith of him: [r] *So,* saith he, *the event teacheth, the church was built in him, that is, by him; he did initiate the key; see which, Ye men of Israel, hear these words, Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you,* &c. *He, in fine, in the baptism of Christ, did unlock the entrance to the kingdom of heaven,* &c.

10. It seemeth absurd, that St. Peter should exercise the power of the keys in respect to the apostles: for did he open the kingdom of heaven to them, who were by our Lord long before admitted into it?

11. In fine, our Lord (as St. Luke relateth it) did say to St. Peter, and probably to him first, *Fear not, from henceforth thou shalt catch men:* might it hence be inferred, that St. Peter had a peculiar or sole faculty of catching men? why might it not by as good a consequence as this, whereby they would appropriate to him this opening faculty? Many such instances might in like manner be used.

Luke v. 10. Matt. iv. 19.

[r] Sic enim exitus docet, in ipso ecclesia extructa est, id est, per ipsum; ipse clavem imbuit; vide quam, Viri Israelitæ, auribus mandate quæ dico, Jesum Nazarenum virum a Deo vobis destinatum, &c. Ipse denique primus in Christi baptismo reseravit aditum cœlestis regni, &c. *Tert. de Pud.* 21.

III. They produce those words of our Saviour to St. Peter, *Feed my sheep;* that is, in the Roman interpretation, *Be thou universal governor of my church.*

To this allegation I answer:

1. From words which truly and properly might have been said to any other apostle, yea, to any Christian pastor whatever, nothing can be concluded to their purpose, importing a peculiar duty or singular privilege of St. Peter.

2. From indefinite words a definite conclusion (especially in matters of this kind) may not be inferred: it is said, *Do thou feed my sheep;* it is not said, Do thou alone feed all my sheep: this is their arbitrary gloss, or presumptuous improvement of the text; without succour whereof the words signify nothing to their purpose, so far are they from sufficiently assuring so vast a pretence: for instance, when St. Paul doth exhort the bishops at Ephesus *to feed the church of God;* may it thence be collected, that each of them was an universal governor of the whole church, *which Christ had purchased with his own blood?* Acts xx. 28

3. By these words no new power is (assuredly at least) granted or instituted by our Lord[s]; for the apostles before this had their warrant and authority consigned to them, when our Lord did inspire them, and solemnly commissionate them, saying, *As the Father did send me, so I send you:* to which commission, these words (spoken occasionally, before a few of the disciples) did not add or derogate. John xx. 21.

[s] Κεχειροτόνητο μὲν ἤδη πρὸς τὴν θείαν ἀποστολὴν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἑτέροις μαθηταῖς Πέτρος. Cyril. in loc. Peter was ordained to the holy apostleship together with the rest of the disciples.

At most the words do only, as St. Cyril saith, *renew the former grant of apostleship*, after his great offence of denying our Lord[t].

4. These words do not seem institutive or collative of power, but rather only admonitive or exhortative to duty; implying no more, but the pressing a common duty, before incumbent on St. Peter, upon a special occasion, in an advantageous season, that he should effectually discharge the office which our Lord had committed to him.

Our Lord, I say, presently before his departure, when his words were like to have a strong impression on St. Peter, doth earnestly direct and warn him to express that special ardency of affection, which he observed in him, in an answerable care to perform his duty of feeding; that is, of instructing, guiding, edifying, in faith and obedience, those sheep of his; that is, those believers, who should be converted to embrace his religion, as ever he should find opportunity[u].

5. The same office certainly did belong to all the apostles, who, as St. Jerome speaketh, [v] *were the princes of our discipline, and chieftains of the Christian doctrine;* they at their first vocation had a commission and command *to go unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel, that were scattered abroad like sheep not having a shepherd;* they

Matt. x. 6. ix. 36.

[t] Διὰ δὲ τοῦ φᾶναι τὸν Κύριον *βόσκε τὰ ἀρνία μου*, ἀνανέωσις ὥσπερ τις τῆς ἤδη δοθείσης ἀποστολῆς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι νοεῖται. Cyril. ibid.

[u] Paulus apostolus boni pastoris implebat officium, quando Christum prædicabat. *Aug. in Joh.* tr. 47. Paul fulfilled the office of a good pastor, when he preached Christ.

[v] Principes disciplinæ nostræ, et Christiani dogmatis duces. *Hier. in Jovin.* i. 14.

before our Lord's ascension were enjoined *to teach all nations* the doctrines and precepts of Christ; to receive them into the fold, to feed them with good instruction, to guide and govern their converts with good discipline; hence, [w] *All of them*, as St. Cyprian saith, *were shepherds; but the flock did appear one, which was fed by the apostles with unanimous agreement.* Mat. xx 19, 20.

6. Neither could St. Peter's charge be more extensive, than was that of the other apostles; for they had a general and unlimited care of the whole church; that is, according to their capacity and opportunity, none being exempted from it, who needed or came into the way of their discharging pastoral offices for them.

[x] *They were œcumenical rulers*, as St. Chrysostom saith, *appointed by God, who did not receive several nations or cities, but all of them in common were intrusted with the world.*

Hence particularly St. Chrysostom calleth St. John, [y] *a pillar of the churches over the world;*

[w] Pastores sunt omnes, sed grex unus ostenditur, qui ab apostolis omnibus unanimi consensione pascatur. *Cypr. de Un. Eccl.*

[x] Ἄρχοντές εἰσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ χειροτονηθέντες οἱ ἀπόστολοι· ἄρχοντες οὐκ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις διαφόρους λαμβάνοντες, ἀλλὰ πάντες κοινῇ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐμπιστευθέντες. Chrys. tom. viii. p. 115.

[y] Ὁ στύλος τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν. Chrys. Præf. Comment. ad Joh. Καὶ γὰρ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπόστολος ἦν. Chrys. in 1 Cor. ix. 2. Οὗτος ὁ οὐκ οἰκίας μιᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολέων, καὶ δήμων, καὶ ἐθνῶν, καὶ ὁλοκλήρου τῆς οἰκουμένης φροντίδα ἔχων. Chrys. in 2 Cor. xi. 28. Τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀντιλαμβάνετο πάσης, καὶ διεκυβέρνα τὰς ἐκκλησίας. Chrys. tom. viii. p. 115. Ἡ οἰκουμένη πᾶσα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔβλεπεν, αἱ φροντίδες τῶν πανταχοῦ τῆς γῆς ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς ἦν ἐξηρτημέναι——. Chrys. tom. v. Or. 59. Ὁ Μιχαὴλ τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἐνεχειρίσθη· Παῦλος δὲ γῆν, καὶ θάλατταν, καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ τὴν ἀοίκητον. Chrys. tom. viii. p. 39.

and St. Paul, *an apostle of the world;* who *had the care, not of one house, but of cities and nations, and of the whole earth;* who *undertook the world, and governed the churches;* on whom *the whole world did look,* and *on whose soul the care of all the churches every where did hang; into whose hands were delivered the earth, and the sea, the inhabited and uninhabited parts of the world.*

And could St. Peter have a larger flock committed to him? could this charge, *Feed my sheep,* more agree to him, than to those, who no less than he were obliged to feed all Christian people every where?

7. The words indeed are applicable to all Christian bishops and governors of the church; according to that of St. Cyprian to pope Stephen himself; [z] *We being many shepherds do feed one flock, and all the sheep of Christ:* for they are styled pastors; they, in terms as indefinite as those in this text, are exhorted *to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood;* to them (as the Fathers commonly suppose) this injunction doth reach, our Lord, when he spake thus to St. Peter, intending to lay a charge on them all to express their love and piety toward him in this way, by feeding his sheep and people[a].

Acts xx. 28.

[z] Pastores multi sumus, unum tamen gregem, et oves Christi universas pascimus. *Cypr.* Ep. 67. *ad P. Steph.*

[a] Quanto magis debent usque ad mortem pro veritate certare, et usque ad sanguinem adversus peccatum, quibus oves ipsas pascendas, hoc est docendas regendasque committit. *Aug. in Joh.* tract. 123. How much more ought they to contend for the truth even unto death, and against sin even unto blood, to whom he committeth his sheep to be fed, that is, to be taught and governed.

[b] ***Which sheep***, saith St. Ambrose, ***and which flock, not only then St. Peter did receive, but also with him all we priests did receive it.***

[c] ***Our Lord***, saith St. Chrysostom, ***did commit his sheep to Peter, and to those which came after him;*** that is, to all Christian pastors, as the scope of his discourse sheweth.

[d] ***When it is said to Peter***, saith St. Austin, ***it is said to all, Feed my sheep.***

[e] ***And we***, saith St. Basil, ***are taught this*** (obedience to superiors) ***by Christ himself constituting St. Peter pastor after himself of the church, (for, Peter, saith he, dost thou love me more than these? Feed my sheep;) and conferring to all pastors and teachers continually afterward an equal power*** (of doing so;) ***whereof it is a sign, that all do in like manner bind and do loose as he.***

St. Austin compriseth all these considerations in those words[f].

[b] Quas oves, et quem gregem non solum tunc B. suscepit Petrus, sed et cum eo nos suscepimus omnes. *Ambr. de Sacerd.* 2.

[c] Τὰ πρόβατα, ἃ τῷ Πέτρῳ, καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐνεχείρισε. Chrys. de Sacerd. 1.

[d] Cum dicitur Petro, ad omnes dicitur, Pasce oves meas. *Aug. de Agone Christ.* 30.

[e] Καὶ τούτου παρ' αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ παιδευόμεθα, Πέτρον ποιμένα μεθ' ἑαυτὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας καθιστῶντος, Πέτρε, γὰρ φησὶ, φιλεῖς με πλέον τούτων; ποίμαινε τὰ πρόβατά μου· καὶ πᾶσι δὴ τοῖς ἐφεξῆς ποιμέσι καὶ διδασκάλοις τὴν ἴσην παρέχοντος ἐξουσίαν· καὶ τούτου σημεῖον τὸ δεσμεῖν ἅπαντας ὁμοίως, καὶ λύειν ὅσπερ ἐκεῖνος. Bas. Const. Mon. cap. 22.

[f] Et quidem, fratres, quod pastor est, dedit et membris suis; nam et Petrus pastor, et Paulus pastor, et cæteri apostoli pastores, et boni episcopi pastores. *Aug. in Joh.* tract. 47. And indeed, brethren, that which a pastor is, he gave also to his members; for both Peter was a pastor, and Paul a pastor, and the rest of the apostles were pastors, and good bishops are pastors.

How could these great masters more clearly express their mind, that our Lord in those words to St. Peter did inculcate a duty nowise peculiar to him, but equally together with him belonging to all guides of the church; in such manner, as when a master doth press a duty on one servant, he doth thereby admonish all his servants of the like duty? whence St. Austin saith, [g] that St. Peter in that case *did sustain the person of the church;* that which was spoken to him belonging to all its members, especially to his brethren the clergy.

[h] *It was,* saith Cyril, *a lesson to teachers, that they cannot otherwise please the Arch-pastor of all, than by taking care of the welfare of the rational sheep.*

8. Hence it followeth, that the sheep, which our Saviour biddeth St. Peter to feed, were not the apostles, who were his fellow-shepherds, designed to feed others, and needing not to be fed by him; but the common believers, or people of God, which St. Peter himself doth call *the flock of God; Feed,* saith he to his fellow-elders, *the flock of God, which is among you;* and St. Paul, *Take heed therefore*

1 Pet. v. 2.

Acts xx. 28.

[g] Ut ergo Petrus quando ei dictum est, Tibi dabo claves, in figura personam gestabat ecclesiæ, sic et quando ei dictum est, Pasce oves meas, ecclesiæ quoque personam in figura gestabat. *Aug. in Ps.* cviii. Οὐ πρὸς ἱερέας δὲ τοῦτο μόνον εἴρηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ἡμῶν τῶν καὶ μικρὸν ἐμπεπιστευμένων ποιμνίον. Chrys. in Matt. xxiv. Or. 77. This was not spoken to those priests only, but to every one of us, who have the care even of a little flock committed to us.

[h] Διδασκάλοις δὲ γνῶσις διὰ τῆς τῶν προκειμένων εἰσβέβηκε θεωρίας, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἑτέρως εὐαρεστήσειεν τῷ πάντων ἀρχιποιμένι, εἰ μὴ τῆς τῶν λογικῶν προβάτων εὐρωστίας, καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ εὖ εἶναι διαμονῆς ποιοῖντο φροντίδα. Cyril. ibid.

unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers.

9. Take feeding for what you please; for teaching, for guiding; the apostles were not fit objects of it, who were immediately taught and guided by God himself.

Hence we may interpret that saying of St. Chrysostom, which is the most plausible argument they can allege for them, that our Lord, in saying this, did commit to St. Peter *a charge* (or presidency) *over his brethren*[i]; that is, he made him a pastor of Christian people, as he did others; at least, if προστασία τῶν ἀδελφῶν be referred to the apostles, it must not signify authority over them, but at most a primacy of order among them; for that St. Peter otherwise should feed them, St. Chrysostom could hardly think, who presently after saith, that [k]*seeing the apostles were to receive the administration of the whole world, they ought not afterward to converse with one another; for that would surely have been a great damage to the world.*

10. But they, forsooth, must have St. Peter solely obliged to feed all Christ's sheep; so they did impose upon him a vast and crabbed province; a task very incommodious, or rather impossible for him to undergo. How could he in duty be obliged, how could he in effect be able, to feed so many flocks of Christian people scattered about in distant regions, through all nations under heaven? He, poor man, that had

[i] Ἐγχειρίζει τὴν προστασίαν τῶν ἀδελφῶν. Chrys. in Joh. xxi. 15. Τὴν προστασίαν ἐνεπιστεύθη τῶν ἀδελφῶν. In ver. 21.

[k] Ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ἔμελλον τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἀναδέξασθαι, οὐκ ἔδει συμπεπλέχθαι λοιπὸν ἀλλήλοις· ἢ γὰρ ἂν μεγάλη τοῦτο τῇ οἰκουμένῃ γέγονε ζημία. Ibid. ver. 23.

so few helps, that had no officers or dependents, nor wealth to maintain them, would have been much put to it to feed the sheep in Britain and in Parthia; unto infinite distraction of thoughts such a charge must needs have engaged him.

But for this their great champion hath a fine expedient; [1] *St. Peter*, saith he, *did feed Christ's whole flock, partly by himself, partly by others;* so that, it seemeth, the other apostles were St. Peter's curates, or vicars and deputies. This indeed were an easy way of feeding; thus, although he had slept all his time, he might have fed all the sheep under heaven; thus any man as well might have fed them. But this manner of feeding is, I fear, a later invention, not known so soon in the church; and it might then seem near as absurd to be a shepherd, as it is now (in his own account) to be a just man by imputation; that would be a kind of *putative* pastorage, as this *a putative righteousness.* However, the apostles, I dare say, did not take themselves to be St. Peter's surrogates, but challenged to themselves to be accounted *the ministers, the stewards, the ambassadors of Christ himself;* from whom immediately they received their orders, in whose name they acted, to whom they constantly refer their authority, without taking the least notice of St. Peter, or intimating any dependence on him.

1 Cor. iv. 1. 2 Cor. v. 20. x. 8. Gal. i. 1. Tit. i. 3, &c.

It was therefore enough for St. Peter that he had authority restrained to no place; but might, as he found occasion, preach the gospel, convert, confirm, guide Christians every where to truth and duty:

[1] Respondeo, S. Petrum partim per se, partim per alios universum Dominicum gregem ut sibi imperatum erat pavisse ——. *Bell. de Pont. R.* i. 16.

nor can our Saviour's words be forced to signify more.

In fine, this (together with the precedent testimonies) must not be interpreted so as to thwart practice and history; according to which it appeareth, that St. Peter did not exercise such a power, and therefore our Lord did not intend to confer such an one upon him.

IV. Further, in confirmation of their doctrine, they do draw forth a whole shoal of testimonies, containing divers prerogatives, as they call them, of St. Peter, which do, as they suppose, imply this primacy; so very sharpsighted indeed they are, that in every remarkable accident befalling him, in every action performed by him, or to him, or about him, they can descry some argument or shrewd insinuation of his preeminence; especially being aided by the glosses of some fanciful expositor. From the change of his name; from his walking on the sea; from his miraculous draught of fish; from our Lord's praying for him, that his faith should not fail, and bidding him to confirm his brethren; from our Lord's ordering him to pay the tribute for them both; from our Lord's first washing his feet, and his first appearing to him after the resurrection; from the prediction of his martyrdom; from sick persons being cured by his shadow; from his sentencing Ananias and Sapphira to death; from his preaching to Cornelius; from its being said *that he passed through all;* from his being prayed for by the church; from St. Paul's going to visit him; from these passages, I say, they deduce or confirm his authority. Now in earnest, is not this stout argument? Is it not egregious modesty for such a point to allege such proofs?

P. Leo IX. Ep. 1. Ad ejusdem primatus confirmationem, &c. *Bell.* i. 17.

Acts ix. 32.

What cause may not be countenanced by such rare fetches? Who would not suspect the weakness of that opinion, which is fain to use such forces in its maintenance? In fine, is it honest or conscionable dealing, so to wrest or play with the holy scripture, pretending to derive thence proofs, where there is no show of consequence?

To be even with them, I might assert the primacy of St. John, and to that purpose might allege his prerogatives, (which indeed may seem greater than those of St. Peter;) namely, that he was *the beloved disciple*, that he leaned on our Lord's breast; that St. Peter, not presuming to ask our Lord a question, desired *him* to do it, as having a more special confidence with our Lord; that St. John did higher service to the church, and all posterity, by writing not only more Epistles, but also a most divine Gospel, and a sublime prophecy concerning the state of the church[m]; that St. John did *outrun Peter, and came first to the sepulchre*, (in which passage such acute devisers would find out marvellous significancy;) that St. John was a virgin; that he did outlive all the apostles, (and thence was most fit to be universal pastor;) that St. Jerome, comparing Peter and John, doth seem to prefer the latter; for [n]*Peter*, saith he, *was an apostle, and John was*

John xiii. 24.

John xx. 4.

[m] Infinita futurorum mysteria continentem. *Hier.* Containing infinite mysteries of future things.

[n] Petrus apostolus est, et Joannes apostolus, maritus et virgo; sed Petrus apostolus tantum, Joannes et apostolus et evangelista et propheta, &c. *Hier. in Jovin.* i. 14. Et ut brevi sermone multa comprehendam, doceamque cujus privilegii sit Joannes, ——imo in Joanne virginitas; a Domino virgine mater virgo virgini discipulo commendatur. *Hier.* ibid.

an apostle; but Peter was only an apostle; John both an apostle and an evangelist, and also a prophet;—and, saith he, *that I may in brief speech comprehend many things, and shew what privilege belongeth to John—yea, virginity in John; by our Lord a virgin, his mother the virgin, is commended to the virgin disciple.* Thus I might by prerogatives and passages very notable infer the superiority of St. John to St. Peter, in imitation of their reasoning; but I am afraid they would scarce be at the trouble to answer me seriously, but would think it enough to say I trifled: wherefore let it suffice for me in the same manner to put off those levities of discourse.

V. They argue this primacy from the constant placing St. Peter's name before the other apostles, in the catalogues and narrations concerning him and them.

To this I answer:

1. That this order is not so strictly observed, as not to admit some exceptions; for St. Paul saith, that *James, Cephas, and John, knowing the grace given unto him*—so it is commonly read in the ordinary copies, in the text of ancient commentators, and in old translations; and, *Whether Paul, whether Apollos, whether Cephas,* saith St. Paul again; and, *As the other apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas;* and, *Philip,* saith St. John, *was of Bethsaida, the city of Andrew and Peter;* and Clemens Alexandrinus in Eusebius saith, that [o]*the Lord, after his resurrection, delivered the special knowledge to James the Just, and to John,*

Gal. ii. 9.

1 Cor. iii. 22.

1 Cor. ix. 5.

John i. 45.

[o] Ἰακώβῳ τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ Πέτρῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν παρέδωκε τὴν γνῶσιν ὁ Κύριος. Euseb. Hist. ii. 1.

and to Peter; postponing St. Peter, as perhaps conceiving him to have less of sublime revelations imparted to him: that order therefore is not so punctually constant.

Ἐγὼ Παῦλος καὶ ἐγὼ Πέτρος διατασσόμεθα—Const. Apost. viii. 33.

In the Apostolical Constitutions, St. Paul and St. Peter being induced jointly prescribing orders, they begin, *I Paul, and I Peter, do appoint:* so little ambitious or curious of precedence are they represented.

2. But it being indeed so constant, as not to seem casual, I further say, that position of names doth not argue difference of degree, or superiority in power; any small advantage of age, standing, merit, or wealth, serving to ground such precedence, as common experience doth shew.

3. We formerly did assign other sufficient and probable causes why St. Peter had this place. So that this is no cogent reason.

VI. Further, (and this indeed is far their most plausible argumentation,) they allege the titles and elogies given to St. Peter by the Fathers; who call him ἔξαρχον, (the prince,) κορυφαῖον, (the ringleader,) κεφαλὴν, (the head,) *πρόεδρον, (the president,) ἀρχηγὸν, (the captain,) προήγορον, (the prolocutor,) πρωτοστάτην, (the foreman,) προστάτην, (the warden,) ἔκκριτον τῶν ἀποστόλων, (the choice, or egregious apostle,) *majorem*, (the greater, or grandee among them,) *primum*, (the first, or prime apostle.)

*Chrys. tom. v. Or. 59. Chrys. in Joh. xxi. Cypr. cont. Jul. ix. (p. 325.) Aug. Ep. xi. 19.

To these and the like allegations I answer:

1. [p] If we should say, that we are not accountable for every hyperbolical flash or flourish occurring in

[p] The truth is, the best arguments of the papists in other questions are some flourishes of orators, speaking hyperbolically and heedlessly.

the Fathers, (it being well known, that they in their encomiastic speeches, as orators are wont, following the heat and gayety of fancy, do sometimes overlash,) we should have the pattern of their greatest controvertists to warrant us; for Bellarmine doth put off their testimonies by saying, that they do [q] *sometimes speak in way of excess, less properly, less warily, so as to need benign exposition*, &c. as bishop Andrews sheweth; and it is a common shift of cardinal Perron, whereof you may see divers instances alleged by M. Daillé. Tort. Tort. p. 338. Daill. de Us. P. lib. i. cap. 6. p. 158. (et p. 314.)

Which observation is especially applicable to this case; for that eloquent men do never more exceed in their indulgence to fancy, than in the demonstrative kind, in panegyrics, in their commendations of persons; and I hope they will embrace this way of reckoning for those expressions of pope Leo, sounding so exorbitantly, that St. Peter was by our Lord [r] *assumed into consortship of his individual unity;* and that *nothing did pass upon any from God, the fountain of good things, without the participation of Peter.*

2. We may observe, that such turgid elogies of St. Peter are not found in the more ancient Fathers; for Clemens Romanus, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Firmilian—— when they mention St. Peter, do speak more temperately and simply, according to the current no-

[q] Per excessum loqui. *Bell. de Miss.* ii. 10. minus proprie, iii. 4. benigna expositione opus habere. *de Amiss.* Gr. iv. 12. minus caute. *de Purg.* i. 11.

[r] Nunc enim in consortium individuæ unitatis assumptum id quod ipse erat voluit nominari. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 89. Nihil a bonorum fonte Deo in quenquam sine Petri participatione transire. *P. Leo. de Assumpt. sua.* Serm. 3.

tions and traditions of the church in their time; using indeed fair terms of respect, but not such high strains of courtship, about him. But they are found in the latter Fathers, who being men of wit and eloquence, and affecting in their discourses to vent those faculties, did speak more out of their own invention and fancy.

Whence, according to a prudent estimation of things in such a case, the silence or sparingness of the first sort is of more consideration on the one hand, than the speech, how free soever, of the latter is on the other hand: and we may rather suppose those titles do not belong to St. Peter, because the first do not give them, than that they do, because the other are so liberal in doing it.

Indeed if we consult the testimonies of this kind alleged by the Romanists, who with their utmost diligence have raked all ancient writings for them, it is strange that they cannot find any very ancient ones; that they can find so few plausible ones; that they are fain (to make up the number) to produce so many, which evidently have no force or pertinency; being only commendations of his apostolical office, or of his personal merits, without relation to others.

3. We say, that all those terms or titles, which they urge, are ambiguous, and applicable to any sort of primacy or preeminency; to that which we admit, no less than to that which we refuse; as by instances from good authors, and from common use, might easily be demonstrated; so that from them nothing can be inferred advantageous to their cause.

Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. ii. Cic. de clar. Orat. Cicero calleth Socrates, *prince of the philosophers;* and Sulpitius, *prince of all lawyers:* would

it not be ridiculous thence to infer, that Socrates was a sovereign governor of the philosophers, or Sulpitius of the lawyers? The same great speaker calleth Pompey [s]*prince of the city in all men's judgment:* doth he mean, that he did exercise jurisdiction over the city?

Tertullus calleth St. Paul, πρωτοστάτην, *a ring-leader of the sect of the Nazarenes;* and St. Basil calleth Eustathius Sebastenus, *foreman of the sect of the Pneumatomachi:* did Tertullus mean that St. Paul had universal jurisdiction over Christians? or St. Basil, that Eustathius was sovereign of those heretics? Acts xxiv. 5. Πρωτοστάτην τῆς τῶν πνευματομαχούντων αἱρέσεως. Bas. Ep. 74.

So neither did *prince of the apostles,* or any equivalent term, in the sense of those who assigned it to St. Peter, import authority over the apostles, but eminency among them in worth, in merit, in apostolical performances, or at most in order of precedence.

Such words are to be interpreted by the state of things, not the state of things to be inferred from them; and in understanding them we should observe the rule of Tertullian[t].

4. Accordingly the Fathers sometimes do explain those elogies signifying them to import the special gifts and virtues of St. Peter, wherein he did excel; so Eusebius calleth St. Peter *the most excellent and* Euseb. Hist. ii. 14.

[s] Quem omnium judicio longe principem esse civitatis videbat ——principem orbis terræ virum——. *Cic. pro Domo sua.*

[t] Malo te ad sensum rei quam ad sonum vocabuli exerceas. *Tert. adv. Prax.* cap. 3. I had rather you would apply yourself to the sense of the thing, than to the sound of the word. Οὐ γὰρ αἱ λέξεις τὴν φύσιν παραιροῦνται· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἡ φύσις τὰς λέξεις εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἕλκουσα μεταβάλλει. Athan. Orat. iii. adv. Ar. (p. 373.) For words do not take away the nature of things, but the nature rather changes the words, and draws them to itself.

great apostle, who for his virtue was prolocutor of the rest.

5. This answer is thoroughly confirmed from hence; that even those who give those titles to St. Peter, do yet expressly affirm other apostles in power and dignity equal to him.

Who doth give higher elogies to him than St. Chrysostom? yet doth he assert all the apostles to be supreme, and *equal in dignity;* and particularly he doth often affirm St. Paul to be ἰσότιμον, equal in honour to St. Peter, as we before shewed.

The like we declared of St. Jerome, St. Cyril, &c. And as for St. Cyprian, who did allow a primacy to St. Peter, nothing can be more evident than that he took the other apostles to be *equal to him in power and honour.*

The like we may conceive of St. Austin, who, having carefully perused those writings of St. Cyprian, and frequently alleging them, doth never contradict that his sentiment.

Even pope Gregory himself acknowledgeth St. Peter not to have been properly the head, but only [u]*the first member of the universal church; all being members of the church under one head.*

6. If pope Leo I. or any other ancient pope, do seem to mean further, we may reasonably except against their opinion, as being singular, and proceeding from partial affection to their see; such affection having influence on the mind of the wisest men; according to that certain maxim of Aristotle, *Every man is a bad judge in his own case.*

[u] Certe Petrus apostolus primum membrum S. et universalis ecclesiæ——sub uno capite omnes membra sunt ecclesiæ. *Greg. I.* Ep. iv. 38.

7. The ancients, when their subject doth allure them, do adorn other apostles with the like titles, equalling those of St. Peter, and not well consistent with them, according to that rigour of sense which our adversaries affix to the commendations of St. Peter.

The Epistle of Clemens Romanus to St. James, (an apocryphal but ancient writing,) calleth St. James our Lord's brother, [x] *the bishop of bishops;* the Clementine Recognitions call him *the prince of bishops;* Ruffinus, in his translation of Eusebius, *the bishop of the apostles;* [y] St. Chrysostom saith of him, that he *did preside over all the Jewish believers;* Hesychius, presbyter of Jerusalem, calleth him [z] *the chief captain of the new Jerusalem, the captain of priests, the prince of the apostles, the top among the heads,* &c.

The same Hesychius calleth St. Andrew [a] *the first-born of the apostolical choir, the first settled pillar of the church, the Peter before Peter, the foundation of the foundation, the firstfruits of the beginning,* &c.

St. Chrysostom saith of St. John, that he was

[x] Κλήμης Ἰακώβῳ——ἐπισκόπων ἐπισκόπῳ. Jacobum episcoporum principem sacerdotum princeps orabat. *Clem. Rec.* i. 68. Apostolorum episcopus. *Ruf. Euseb.* ii. 1.

[y] It is likely that Ruffinus did call him so, by mistaking that in the Apostolical Constitutions; Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Ἰακώβου. Apost. Const. viii. 10. Τῶν ἐξ Ἰουδαίων πιστευσάντων προειστήκει πάντων. Chrys. tom. v. Or. 59.

[z] Τὸν τῆς νέας Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀρχιστράτηγον, τῶν ἱερέων ἡγήμονα, τῶν ἀποστόλων τὸν ἔξαρχον, τὸν ἐν κεφαλαῖς κορυφὴν, &c. Hesych. Presb. apud Phot. Cod. 275. (p. 1525.)

[a] Ὁ τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων πρωτότοκος, ὁ πρωτοπαγὴς τῆς ἐκκλησίας τύλος, ὁ πρὸ Πέτρου Πέτρος, ὁ τοῦ θεμελίου θεμέλιος, ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπαρχὴ——. Hesych. apud Phot. Cod. 269.

[a] *a pillar of the churches through the world, he that had the keys of the kingdom of heaven*, &c.

But as occasion of speaking about St. Paul was more frequent, so the elogies of him are more copious, and indeed so high as not to yield to those of St. Peter.

[b] *He was*, saith St. Chrysostom, *the ringleader and guardian of the choir of all the saints.*

[c] *He was the tongue, the teacher, the apostle of the world. He had the whole world put into his hands, and took care thereof, and had committed to him all men dwelling upon earth.*

He was the light of the churches, the foundation of faith, the pillar and ground of truth.

[d] *He had the patronage of the world committed into his hands.*

[e] *He was better than all men, greater than the apostles, and surpassing them all.*

[a] Ὁ στῦλος τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν, ὁ τὰς κλεῖς ἔχων τῶν οὐρανῶν, &c. Chrys. in Joh. i. 1.

[b] Ὁ τῶν ἁγίων χοροῦ κορυφαῖος καὶ προστάτης. Chrys. in Rom. xvi. 24. Ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπόστολος. Chrys. in 1 Cor. ix. 2.

[c] Ἡ γλῶττα τῆς οἰκουμένης, τὸ φῶς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ὁ θεμέλιος τῆς πίστεως, ὁ στῦλος καὶ ἑδραίωμα τῆς ἀληθείας. Τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν ἐγκεχειρισμένος. He had the whole habitable world committed to his charge. Τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλος ἂν τοὺς τὴν γῆν οἰκοῦντας ἅπαντας ἐπιτραπείς. He was the teacher of the world, and had all the inhabitants of the earth committed to his trust.

[d] Τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης προστασίαν ἐγκεχειρισμένος. In Jud. Or. 6. Τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν προστασίαν ἐπιδέξασθαι. In 1 Cor. Or. 22. Οὐ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ φέρων ἔθηκεν ὁ Θεός; Tom. vii. p. 2. Did not God put into his hands the whole world? Ὁ πάσης οἰκουμένης κρατήσας. In 2 Tim. ii. 1. He had the charge of the whole world.

[e] Πάντων ἀνθρώπων κρείττων. De Sacerd. 4. Τίς οὖν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀμείνων; τίς δὲ ἕτερος, ἀλλ' ἢ ὁ σκηνοποιὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλος——εἰ τοίνυν μείζονα τῶν ἀποστόλων λαμβάνει στέφανον, τῶν δὲ

[f]*Nothing was more bright, nothing more illustrious than he.*

[g]*None was greater than he, yea none equal to him.*

Pope **Gregory** I. saith of St. Paul, that he [h]*was made head of the nations, because he obtained the principate of the whole church.*

These **characters** of St. Paul I leave them to interpret, **and** reconcile with those of St. Peter.

8. **That** the Fathers, by calling St. Peter prince, chieftain, &c. of the apostles, do not mean authority over **them**, may be argued from their joining St. Paul **with** him in the same appellations; who yet surely could have no jurisdiction over them; and his having any would destroy the pretended ecclesiastical monarchy.

St. Cyril calleth them together, [i]*patrons, or presidents of the church.*

ἀποστόλων ἴσος οὐδεὶς γέγονεν, οὗτος δὲ κἀκείνων μείζων, εὔδηλον ὅτι τῆς ἀνωτάτω ἀπολαύσεται τιμῆς καὶ προεδρίας. Tom. v. Or. 33. Who then was better than all other men? who else but that tent-maker, the teacher of the world?——If therefore he receive a greater crown than the apostles, and none perhaps was equal to the apostles, and yet he greater than they, it is manifest, that he shall enjoy the highest honour and preeminence.

[f] Παύλου λαμπρότερον οὐδὲν ἦν, οὐδὲ περιφανέστερον. Tom. v. Or. 47.

[g] Οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐκείνου μείζων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἴσος ἐστί. Tom. vi. Or. 9. Οὐδεὶς Παύλου ἴσος ἦν. 2 Tim. iii. 15. Ὁ πάνσοφος, ὁ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἄριστος ἀρχιτέκτων. Theod. Ep. 146. The most wise, and best architect, or chief builder of the churches. Ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος, ὁ τῶν πατέρων πατήρ. Just. M. Resp. ad Orthod. Qu. 119. The blessed apostle, the father of the fathers.

[h] Caput effectus est nationum, quia obtinuit totius ecclesiæ principatum. *Greg. M. in* 1 *Reg.* lib. 4. Videsis. Paulus apostolorum princeps. *Ep. Spalat. in Lat. Syn. sub P. Jul. II.* Sess. i. p. 25.

[i] Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος, οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προστάται. Cyril. Cat. 6.

St. Austin (or St. Ambrose or Maximus) calleth them, [k] *princes of the churches.*

The popes Agatho and Adrian (in their general synods) call them, [l] *the ringleading apostles.*

Nicol. I. Ep. 7. Plat. in Greg. VII. &c. The popes Nicholas I. and Gregory VII. &c. call them, *princes of the apostles.*

St. Ambrose, or St. Austin, or St. Maximus Taur. (choose you which,) doth thus speak of them; [m] *Blessed Peter and Paul are most eminent among all the apostles, excelling the rest by a kind of peculiar prerogative: but whether of the two be preferred before the other is uncertain; for I count them to be equal in merit, because they are equal in suffering,* &c.

[n] To all this discourse I shall only add, that if any of the apostles, or apostolical men, might claim a presidency or authoritative headship over the rest, St. James seemeth to have the best title thereto; for [o] *Jerusalem was the mother of all churches,* the fountain of the Christian law and doctrine, the *see* of our Lord himself, the chief Pastor.

Isa. ii. 3.

Luke xiv. 47.

[k] Ecclesiarum principes. *Aug. de Sanct.* 27.

[l] Κορυφαῖοι ἀποστόλων. P. Agatho, in 6 Syn. Act. iv. p. 35. P. Adrian in 7 Syn. Act. ii. p. 554.

[m] Beati Petrus et Paulus eminent inter universos apostolos, et peculiari quadam prærogativa præcellunt; verum inter ipsos quis cui præponatur incertum est, puto enim illos æquales esse meritis, quia æquales sunt passione, &c. *Ambr.* Serm. 66. *Aug. de Sanct.* 27. *Max. Taur.* Serm. 54.

[n] Hæ voces ecclesiæ, ex qua habuit omnis ecclesia initium. *Iren.* iii. 12. These are the words of the church, from whence every church had its beginning.

[o] Ecclesia in Hierusalem fundata totius orbis ecclesias seminavit. *Hieron. in Isa.* ii. The church founded in Jerusalem was the seminary of the churches throughout the whole world. Theod. v. 9. Vide Tert. de Præscr. cap. 20.

[p]He therefore, who, as the Fathers tell us, was by our Lord himself constituted bishop of that city, and the *first* of all bishops, might best pretend to be in special manner our Lord's vicar or successor; [q]*He*, saith Epiphanius, *did first receive the episcopal chair, and to him our Lord first did intrust his own throne upon earth.*

He accordingly did first exercise the authority of presiding and moderating in the first ecclesiastical synod, as St. Chrysostom in his notes thereon doth remark.

He therefore probably by St. Paul is first named in his report concerning the passages at Jerusalem; and to his orders it seemeth that St. Peter himself did conform; for it is said there, that *before certain came from St. James, he did eat with the Gentiles: but when they were come, he withdrew.* Gal. ii. 9. Gal. ii. 12.

Hence in the Apostolical Constitutions, in the prayer prescribed for the church, and for all the governors of it, the bishops of the principal churches being specified by name, St. James is put in the first place, before the bishops of Rome and of Antioch; [r]*Let us pray for the whole episcopacy under heaven, of those who rightly dispense the word of thy*

[p] Ἔπειτα ὤφθη Ἰακώβῳ, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ· αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτὸν λέγεται κεχειροτονηκέναι, καὶ ἐπίσκοπον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πεποιηκέναι πρῶτον. Chrys. in 1 Cor. Or. 11. After that he was seen of James, I suppose to his brother; for he is said to have ordained him, and made him the first bishop of Jerusalem.

[q] Πρῶτος οὗτος εἴληφε τὴν καθέδραν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, ᾧ πεπίστευκε Κύριος τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πρώτῳ. Epiph. Hær. 78.

[r] Ὑπὲρ πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν τῶν ὀρθοτομούντων τὸν λόγον τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας δεηθῶμεν· καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Ἰακώβου, καὶ τῶν παροικιῶν αὐτοῦ δεηθῶμεν· ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Κλήμεντος, &c. Const. Ap. viii. 10.

truth; and let us pray for our bishop James, wi all his parishes; let us pray for our bishop Cl mens, and all his parishes; let us pray for Eu dius, and all his parishes.—

Hereto consenteth the tradition of those ancie writers aforecited, who call St. James *the bishop bishops, the bishop of the apostles,* &c.

SUPPOSITION II.

I proceed to examine the next supposition of th church monarchists, which is, *That St. Peter primacy, with its rights and prerogatives, wa not personal, but derivable to his successors.*

AGAINST which supposition I do assert, tha admitting a primacy of St. Peter, of what kind c to what purpose soever, we yet have reason to dee it merely personal, and not (according to its ground and its design) communicable to any successors, nc indeed in effect conveyed to any such.

It is a rule in the canon law, that [s]*a person privilege doth follow the person, and is extin guished with the person;* and such we affirm tha of St. Peter; for,

1. His primacy was grounded upon personal act (such as his cheerful following of Christ, his faithfu confessing of Christ, his resolute adherence to Chris his embracing special revelations from God;) or upo personal graces, (his great faith, his special love t our Lord, his singular zeal for Christ's service;) c upon personal gifts and endowments, (his courag resolution, activity, forwardness in apprehension an in speech;) the which advantages are not transien

[s] Privilegium personale personam sequitur, et cum persona ex tinguitur. *Reg. Juris, 7 in Sexto.*

and consequently a preeminency built on them is not in its nature such.

2. All the pretence of primacy granted to St. Peter is grounded upon words directed to St. Peter's person, characterized by most personal adjuncts, as name, parentage, and which exactly were accomplished in St. Peter's personal actings; which therefore it is unreasonable to extend further. Matt. xvi. 17. John xxi. 15—17.

Our Lord promised to *Simon, son of Jona,* to build his church on him: accordingly in eminent manner the church was founded upon his ministry, or by his first preaching, testimony, performances. Matt. xvi. 17.

Our Lord promised to give him the keys of the heavenly kingdom: this power St. Peter signally did execute in converting Christians, and receiving them by baptism into the church, by conferring the Holy Ghost, and the like administrations.

Our Lord charged *Simon, son of Jonas,* to feed his sheep: this he performed by preaching, writing, guiding, and governing Christians, as he found opportunity: wherefore, if any thing was couched under those promises or orders singularly pertinent to St. Peter, for the same reason that they were singular, they were personal; for John xxi. 15.

These things being in a conspicuous manner accomplished in St. Peter's person, the sense of those words is exhausted; there may not with any probability, there cannot with any assurance, be any more grounded on them; whatever more is inferred must be by precarious assumption; and justly we may cast at those who shall infer it that expostulation of Tertullian, [s] *What art thou, who dost over-*

[s] Qualis es evertens atque commutans manifestam Domini intentionem personaliter hoc Petro conferentem? *Tertul. de Pud.* 21.

turn and change the manifest intention of our Lord, personally conferring this on Peter?

3. Particularly the grand promise to St. Peter of founding the church on him cannot reach beyond his person; because there can be no other foundations of a society, than such as are first laid; the successors of those who first did erect a society, and establish it, are themselves but superstructures.

4. The apostolical office, as such, was personal and temporary; and therefore, according to its nature and design, not successive or communicable to others in perpetual descendence from them.

It was, as such, in all respects extraordinary, conferred in a special manner, designed for special purposes, discharged by special aids, endowed with special privileges, as was needful for the propagation of Christianity and founding of churches.

To that office it was requisite that the person should have an immediate designation and commission from God; such as St. Paul so often doth insist upon for asserting his title to the office; *Paul, an apostle, not from men, or by man*—'*Not by men*, saith St. Chrysostom; *this is a property of the apostles.*

Gal. i. 1.

It was requisite that an apostle should be able to attest concerning our Lord's resurrection or ascension, either immediately, as the twelve, or by evident consequence, as St. Paul; thus St. Peter implied, at the choice of Matthias; *Wherefore of those men which have companied with us——must one be ordained to be a witness with us of the resurrection*; and, *Am I not*, saith St. Paul, *an apo-*

Acts i. 21, 22.

1 Cor. ix. 1. xv. 8.

' Τὸ δὲ οὐ δι' ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο ἴδιον τῶν ἀποστόλων. Chrys. in Gal. i. 1.

stle? have I not seen the Lord? according to that of Ananias, *The God of our fathers hath chosen thee, that thou shouldest know his will, and see that Just One, and shouldest hear the voice of his mouth; for thou shalt bear witness unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard.* Acts xxii. 14, 15.

It was needful also that an apostle should be endowed with miraculous gifts and graces, enabling him both to assure his authority and to execute his office; wherefore St. Paul calleth these *the marks of an apostle,* the *which were wrought by him among the Corinthians in all patience,* (or perseveringly,) *in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds.* 2 Cor. xii. 12. Rom. xv. 18.

It was also, in St. Chrysostom's opinion, proper to an apostle, that he should be able, according to his discretion, in a certain and conspicuous manner to impart spiritual gifts; as St. Peter and St. John did at Samaria; which to do, according to that Father, was *the peculiar gift and privilege of the apostles*[u].

It was also a privilege of an apostle, by virtue of his commission from Christ, *to instruct all nations* in the doctrine and law of Christ; he had right and warrant to exercise his function every where; [x]*His charge was universal and indefinite; the whole world was his province;* he was not affixed to any one place, nor could be excluded from any;

[u] Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ δῶρον μόνων τῶν δώδεκα—τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐξαίρετον. Chrys. in Act. viii. 18. De solis apostolis legitur, quorum vicem tenent episcopi, quod per manus impositionem Spiritum S. dabant. *P. Eugenius IV. in Instit. Arm.* It is recorded of the apostles alone, in whose room the bishops succeed, that they gave the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands.

[x] Ἐπειδὴ ἔμελλον τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἐπιδέξασθαι. Chrys. in Joh. xxi.

he was (as St. Cyril calleth him) [y]*an œcumenical judge*, and *an instructor of all the subcelestial world.*

Apostles also did govern in an absolute manner, according to discretion, as being guided by infallible assistance, to the which they might upon occasion
Acts xv. 28. appeal, and affirm, *It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and us.* Whence their writings have passed for inspired, and therefore canonical, or certain rules of faith and practice.

It did belong to them to found churches, to constitute pastors, to settle orders, to correct offences, to perform all such acts of sovereign spiritual power, in virtue of the same divine assistance, *according to the authority which the Lord had given them for edification;* as we see practised by St. Paul.

In fine, the [z]*apostleship was*, as St. Chrysostom telleth us, *a business fraught with ten thousand good things; both greater than all privileges of grace, and comprehensive of them.*

Now such an office, consisting of so many extraordinary privileges and miraculous powers, which were requisite for the foundation of the church, and the diffusion of Christianity, against the manifold difficulties and disadvantages which it then needs must encounter, was not designed to continue by derivation; for it containeth in it divers things, which apparently were not communicated, and which no

[y] Κριταὶ οἰκουμενικοὶ, καὶ τῆς ὑφ' ἡλίῳ καθηγηταί. Cyril. γλαφ. in Gen. vii.

[z] Τὴν ἀποστολὴν, πρᾶγμα μυρίων ἀγαθῶν γέμον, τῶν χαρισμάτων ἁπάντων καὶ μεῖζον, καὶ περιεκτικόν. Chrys. in Rom. i. Or. 1. tom. viii. p. 114.

nan without gross imposture and hypocrisy could hallenge to himself.

Neither did the apostles pretend to communicate t; they did indeed appoint standing pastors and eachers in each church; they did assume fellow-abourers or assistants in the work of preaching and overnance: but they did not constitute apostles, qual to themselves in authority, privileges, or gifts; or, [a] *Who knoweth not,* saith St. Austin, *that principate of apostleship to be preferred before any episcopacy?* and, [b] *The bishops,* saith Bellarmine, *have no part of the true apostolical authority*[c]?

Wherefore St. Peter, who had no other office mentioned in scripture, or known to antiquity, beside that of an apostle, could not have properly and adequately any successor to his office; but it naturally did expire with his person, as did that of the other apostles.

5. Accordingly, whereas the other apostles, as such, had no successors, the apostolical office not being propagated, the primacy of St. Peter (whatever it were, whether of order or jurisdiction, in regard to his brethren) did cease with him; for when there were no apostles extant, there could be *no head or prince of the apostles* in any sense.

6. If some privileges of St. Peter were derived to popes, why were not all? why was not pope Alex-

[a] Quis nescit illum apostolatus principatum cuilibet episcopatui præferendum? *Aug. de Bapt. cont. Don.* ii. 1.

[b] Episcopi nullam habent partem veræ apostolicæ auctoritatis. *Bell.* iv. 25.

[c] The apostles themselves do make the apostolate a distinct office from pastors and teachers, which are the standing offices in the church. Eph. iv. 11. 1 Cor. xii. 28.

ander VI. as holy as St. Peter? why was not pope Honorius as sound in his private judgment? why is not every pope inspired? why is not every papal epistle to be reputed canonical? why are not all popes endowed with power of doing miracles? why doth not the pope by a sermon convert thousands? (why indeed do popes never preach?) why doth not he cure men by his shadow? (he is, say they, himself his shadow:) what ground is there of distinguishing the privileges, so that he shall have some, not others? where is the ground to be found?

7. If it be objected, that the Fathers commonly do call bishops successors of the apostles; to assoil that objection we may consider, that whereas the apostolical office virtually did contain the functions of teaching and ruling God's people; the which, for preservation of Christian doctrine and edification of the church, were requisite to be continued perpetually in ordinary standing offices, these indeed were derived from the apostles, but not properly in way of succession, as by univocal propagation, but by ordination, imparting all the power needful for such offices; which therefore were exercised by persons during the apostles' lives concurrently, or in subordination to them; even as a dictator at Rome might create inferior magistrates, who derived from him, but not as his successors; for, as Bellarmine himself telleth us, [b] *there can be no proper succession, but in respect of one preceding; but apostles and bishops were together in the church.*

The Fathers therefore so in a large sense call all

[b] Non succeditur proprie nisi præcedenti, at simul fuerunt in ecclesia apostoli et episcopi ——. *Bell. de Pont. R.* iv. 25.

bishops successors of the apostles; not meaning that any one of them did succeed into the whole apostolical office, but that each did receive his power from some one (immediately or mediately) whom some apostle did constitute bishop, vesting him with authority to feed the particular flock committed to him in way of ordinary charge; according to the sayings of that apostolical person, Clemens Romanus; [c] *The apostles preaching in regions and cities, did constitute their first converts, having approved them by the Spirit, for bishops and deacons of those who should afterward believe;* and *having constituted the foresaid,* (bishops and deacons,) *they withal gave them further charge, that if they should die, other approved men successively should receive their office:* thus did the bishops supply the room of the apostles, [d] *each in guiding his particular charge,* all of them together, by mutual aid, conspiring to govern the whole body of the church.

8. In which regard it may be said, that not one single bishop, but all bishops together through the whole church, do succeed St. Peter, or any other apostle; for that all of them, in union together, have an universal sovereign authority, commensurate to an apostle.

9. This is the notion which St. Cyprian doth so much insist upon, affirming that the bishops do suc-

[c] Κατὰ χώρας καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν. Clem. ad Corinth. i. p. 54. Κατέστησαν τοὺς προειρημένους, καὶ μεταξὺ ἐπινομὴν ἐπιδεδώκασι, ὅπως ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσι, διαδέξωνται ἕτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν. Ibid. p. 57.

[d] Singulis pastoribus portio gregis adscripta est, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet——. *Cypr.* Ep. 55.

ceed St. Peter, and the other apostles, [c] *by vicarious ordination*; that [f] *the bishops are apostles*; that there is but [g] *one chair by the Lord's word built upon one Peter*; [h] *one undivided bishopric, diffused in the peaceful numerosity of many bishops, whereof each bishop doth hold his share*; [i] *one flock, whom the apostles by unanimous agreement did feed,* and *which afterwards the bishops do feed*; having *a portion thereof allotted to each, which he should govern.*

So the synod of Carthage, with St. Cyprian [k].

So also St. Chrysostom saith, that [l] *the sheep of Christ were committed by him to Peter, and to those after him,* that is, in his meaning, to all bishops.

[c] Præpositos, qui apostolis vicaria ordinatione succedunt——. *Ep.* 69, 42, 75.

[f] Apostolos, id est, episcopos et præpositos Dominus elegit. *Ep.* 65.

[g] Cathedra una super Petrum Domini voce fundata——. *Ep.* 40. et *Ep.* 73. et *de Unit. Eccl.*

[h] Episcopatus unus, episcoporum multorum concordi numerositate diffusus. *Ep.* 52. Episcopatus unus, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur. *De Unit. Eccl.*

[i] Et pastores sunt omnes, sed grex unus ostenditur, qui ab apostolis omnibus unanimi consensione pascatur. *De Unit. Eccl.* Nam etsi pastores multi sumus, unum tamen gregem pascimus, et oves universas, &c. *Ep.* 67. For though we are many pastors, yet we feed one flock, and all the sheep, &c.

[k] Manifesta est sententia Domini nostri Jesu Christi apostolos suos mittentis, et ipsis solis potestatem a patre sibi datam permittentis quibus nos successimus, eadem potestate ecclesiam Domini gubernantes. The mind and meaning of our Lord Jesus Christ is manifest in sending his apostles, and allowing the power given him of the Father to them alone, whose successors we are, governing the church of God by the same power.

[l] Τὰ πρόβατα——ἃ τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐνεχείρισε. Chrys. de Sacerd. 1.

10. Such, and no other power, St. Peter might devolve on any bishop ordained by him in any church which he did constitute or inspect; as in that of Antioch, of Alexandria, of Babylon, of Rome.

The like did the other apostles communicate, who had the same power with St. Peter in founding and settling churches; whose successors of this kind were equal to those of the same kind, whom St. Peter did constitute; enjoying in their several precincts an equal part of the apostolical power, as St. Cyprian often doth assert. Hier. ad Evagr.

11. It is in consequence observable, that in those churches, whereof the apostles themselves were never accounted bishops, yet the bishops are called successors of the apostles; which cannot otherwise be understood, than according to the sense which we have proposed; that is, because they succeeded those who were constituted by the apostles; according to those sayings of Irenæus and Tertullian, [m] *We can number those who were instituted bishops by the apostles and their successors;* and, [n] *All the churches do shew those, whom, being by the apostles constituted in the episcopal office, they have as continuers of the apostolical seed.*

So, although St. Peter was never reckoned bishop of Alexandria, yet because it is reported that he placed St. Mark there, the bishop of Alexandria is said to succeed the apostles [o].

[m] Habemus annumerare eos, qui ab apostolis instituti sunt episcopi, et successores eorum usque ad nos——. *Iren.* iii. 3.

[n] Proinde utique et cæteræ exhibent, quos ab apostolis in episcopatum constitutos apostolici seminis traduces habent. *Tert. de Præscr.* 32.

[o] Τέταρτος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν τῶν αὐτόθι λειτουργίαν κληροῦται

And because St. John did abide at Ephesus, inspecting that church, and *appointing bishops there*, the bishops of that see did *refer their origin to him* [p].

So many bishops did claim from St. Paul.

So St. Cyprian and Firmilian do assert themselves [q] *successors of the apostles*, who yet perhaps never were at Carthage or Cæsarea.

So the church of Constantinople is often in the Acts of the Sixth General Council, called *this great apostolic church*, being such churches as those of whom Tertullian saith, that [r] *although they do not produce any of the apostles or apostolical men for their author, yet conspiring in the same faith, are no less, for the consanguinity of doctrine, reputed apostolical.*

Hier. ad Evagr. Yea, hence St. Jerome doth assert a parity of merit and dignity sacerdotal to all bishops; because, saith he, *all of them are successors to the apostles;* having all a like power by their ordination conferred on them.

Bell. iv. 25, &c. 12. Whereas our adversaries do pretend, that in-

Πρῖμος. Eus. Hist. iv. 1. Primus is the fourth from the apostles who was the bishop of that place, or obtained the ministry there.

[p] Ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἁρμόσων, &c. Clem. Alex. apud Euseb. iii. 23. Ordo episcoporum ad originem recensus in Joannem stabit autorem. *Tert. in Marc.* iv. 5. Tert. de Præscr. xxxii.

[q] Unitatem a Domino et per apostolos nobis successoribus traditam. *Cypr.* Ep. 42. Adversarii nostri qui apostolis successimus. *Firmil. in Cypr.* Ep. 75.

[r] —— ab illis ecclesiis, quæ licet nullum ex apostolis, vel apostolicis auctorem suum proferant, ut multo posteriores, quæ denique quotidie instituuntur, tamen in eadem fide conspirantes, non minus apostolicæ deputantur, pro consanguinitate doctrinæ. *Tert. de Præscr.* 32.

deed the other apostles had an extraordinary charge as legates of Christ, which had no succession, but was extinct in their persons; but that St. Peter had a peculiar charge, as ordinary pastor of the whole church, which surviveth:

To this it is enough to rejoin, that it is a mere figment, devised for a shift, and affirmed precariously: having no ground either in holy scripture or in ancient tradition; there being no such distinction in the sacred or ecclesiastical writings; no mention occurring there of any office which he did assume, or which was attributed to him, distinct from that extraordinary one of an apostle; and all the pastoral charge imaginable being ascribed by the ancients to all the apostles in regard to the whole church, as hath been sufficiently declared.

13. In fine, if any such conveyance of power (of power so great, so momentous, so mightily concerning the perpetual state of the church, and of each person therein) had been made, it had been (for general direction and satisfaction, for voiding all doubt and debate about it, for stifling these pretended heresies and schisms) very requisite that it should have been expressed in some authentic record, that a particular law should have been extant concerning it, that all posterity should be warned to yield the submission grounded thereon.

Indeed a matter of so great consequence to the being and welfare of the church could scarce have scaped from being clearly mentioned somewhere or other in scripture, wherein so much is spoken touching ecclesiastical discipline; it could scarce have avoided the pen of the first Fathers, (Clemens, Ignatius, the Apostolical Canons and Constitutions,

Tertullian, &c.) who also so much treat concerning the function and authority of Christian governors.

Nothing can be more strange, than that in the Statute-book of the New Jerusalem, and in all the original monuments concerning it, there should be such a dead silence concerning the succession of its chief magistrate.

Wherefore, no such thing appearing, we may reasonably conclude no such thing to have been, and that our adversaries' assertion of it is wholly arbitrary, imaginary, and groundless.

14. I might add, as a very convincing argument, that if such a succession had been designed, and known in old times, it is morally impossible that none of the Fathers, (Origen, Chrysostom, Augustine, Cyril, Jerome, Theodoret, &c.) in their exposition of the places alleged by the Romanists for the primacy of St. Peter, should declare that primacy to have been derived and settled on St. Peter's successor: a point of that moment, if they had been aware of it, they could not but have touched, as a most useful application, and direction for duty.

SUPPOSITION III.

They affirm, *That St. Peter was bishop of Rome.*

CONCERNING which assertion we say, that it may with great reason be denied, and that it cannot anywise be assured; as will appear by the following considerations.

1. St. Peter's being bishop of Rome would confound the offices which God made distinct; for *God did appoint first apostles, then prophets, then pastors and teachers;* wherefore St. Peter, after he was an apostle, could not well become a bishop; it

1 Cor. xii. 28. Eph. iv. 11.

would be such an irregularity, as if a bishop should be made a deacon.

2. The offices of an apostle and of a bishop are not in their nature well consistent; for the apostleship is an extraordinary office, charged with instruction and government of the whole world, and calling for an answerable care; ([r]*the apostles being rulers,* as St. Chrysostom saith, *ordained by God; rulers not taking several nations and cities, but all of them in common intrusted with the whole world;*) but episcopacy is an ordinary standing charge, affixed to one place, and requiring a special attendance there; bishops being pastors, who, as St. Chrysostom saith, [s]*do sit, and are employed in one place.* Now he that hath such a general care can hardly discharge such a particular office; and he that is fixed to so particular attendance can hardly look well after so general a charge: either of those offices alone would suffice to take up a whole man, as those tell us who have considered the burden incumbent on the meanest of them; the which we may see described in St. Chrysostom's discourses concerning the priesthood.

Baronius saith of St. Peter, that [t]*it was his office not to stay in one place, but, as much as it was possible for one man, to travel over the whole*

[r] Ἄρχοντές εἰσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ χειροτονηθέντες οἱ ἀπόστολοι· ἄρχοντες οὐκ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις διαφόρους λαμβάνοντες, ἀλλὰ πάντες κοινῇ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐμπιστευθέντες. Chrys. tom. viii. p. 115.

[s] Οἱ καθήμενοι καὶ περὶ ἕνα τόπον ἠσχολημένοι. Chrys. in Eph. iv. 11.

[t] Non erat ejus officii in uno loco consistere, sed quantum homini licuisset universum peragrare orbem, et nondum credentes ad fidem perducere, credentes vero in fide penitus stabilire. *Baron.* ann. lviii. §. 51.

world, and to bring those who did not yet believe to the faith, but thoroughly to establish believers: if so, how could he be bishop of Rome, which was an office inconsistent with such vagrancy?

3. It would not have beseemed St. Peter, the prime apostle, to assume the charge of a particular bishop; it had been a degradation of himself, and a disparagement to the apostolical majesty, for him to take upon him the bishopric of Rome; as if the king should become mayor of London; as if the bishop of London should be vicar of Pancras.

4. Wherefore it is not likely that St. Peter, being sensible of that superior charge belonging to him, which did exact a more extensive care, would vouchsafe to undertake an inferior charge.

We cannot conceive that St. Peter did affect the name of a bishop, as now men do, allured by the baits of wealth and power, which then were none: if he did affect the title, why did he not in either of his Epistles (one of which, as they would persuade us, was written from Rome) inscribe himself bishop of Rome?

Especially considering that, being an apostle, he did not need any particular authority, that involving all power, and enabling him in any particular place to execute all kinds of ecclesiastical administrations: there was no reason that an apostle (or universal bishop) should become a particular bishop.

5. Also St. Peter's general charge of converting and inspecting the Jews, dispersed over the world, (*his apostleship*, as St. Paul calleth it, *of the circumcision*,) which required much travel, and his presence in divers places, doth not well agree to his assuming the episcopal office at Rome.

Ἀποστολὴ περιτομῆς, Gal. ii. 8.

Especially at that time, when they first make
to assume it; which was in the time of Clau- Acts xviii.
s, who, as St. Luke and other histories do report, 2. Sueton. in
banish all the Jews from Rome, as Tiberius also Claud. 25. in Tib. 36.
done before him: he was too skilful a fisherman
ast his net there, where there were no fish.

. If we consider St. Peter's life, we may well
m him uncapable of this office, which he could
conveniently discharge; for it, as history doth
resent it, and may be collected from divers cir-
stances of it, was very unsettled; he went much
ut the world, and therefore could seldom reside
Rome.

Many have argued him to have never been at
me; which opinion I shall not avow, as bearing
ore civil respect to ancient testimonies and tra-
ons; although many false and fabulous relations
that kind having crept into history and common Euseb. iii. 3.
ue, many doubtful reports having passed con-
ning him, many notorious forgeries having been
ted about his travels and acts, (all that is re-
ted of him out of scripture having a smack of
legend,) would tempt a man to suspect any
g touching him which is grounded only upon
nan tradition; so that the forger of his Epistle
St. James might well induce him saying, [u] *If
ile I do yet survive, men dare to feign such
gs of me, how much more will they dare to do
fter my decease?*

But at least the discourses of those men have
ced, that it is hard to assign the time when he

[u] Εἰ δὲ ἐμοῦ ἔτι περίοντος τοιαῦτα τολμῶσιν καταψεύδεσθαι, πόσῳ γε μᾶλλον μετ' ἐμὲ ποιεῖν οἱ μετ' ἐμὲ τολμήσουσι; Petr. ad Jacob.

was at Rome; and that he could never long abide there: for,

Scal. in Euseb. p. 189. Dauph. apud Bell. li. 6. Vales. in Euseb. li. 16.

The time which old tradition assigneth of his going to Rome is rejected by divers learned men, even of the Roman party.

Acts xi. 2. xv. 7. Gal. i. 18. ii. 9, 11. 1 Pet. v. 13. 1 Cor. i. 12. Euseb. li. 25. 2 Pet. iii. 2. 1 Pet. i. 1.

He was often in other places; sometimes at Jerusalem, sometimes at Antioch, sometimes at Babylon, sometimes at Corinth, sometimes probably at each of those places unto which he directeth his catholic Epistles; among which Epiphanius saith, that [x] *Peter did often visit Pontus and Bithynia.*

And that he seldom was at Rome may well be collected from St. Paul's writings; for he writing at different times one Epistle to Rome, and divers Epistles from Rome, (that to the Galatians, that to the Ephesians, that to the Philippians, that to the Colossians, and the Second to Timothy,) doth never mention him, sending any salutation to him, or from him.

Particularly St. Peter was not there when St. Paul mentioning Tychicus, Onesimus, Aristarchus,

Col. iv. 11. Marcus, and Justus, addeth, *These alone my fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God, who have been a comfort unto me.*

2 Tim. iv. 16. He was not there when St. Paul said, *At my first defence no man stood with me, but all men forsook me.*

He was not there immediately before St. Paul's

2 Tim. iv. 6, 21. death, (when *the time of his departure was at hand,*) when he telleth Timothy, that *all the brethren did salute him,* and naming divers of them, he omitteth Peter.

[x] Πέτρος πολλάκις Πόντον καὶ Βιθυνίαν ἐπεσκέψατο. Epiph. Hær. 27.

Which things being considered, it is not probable that St. Peter would assume the episcopal chair of Rome, he being little capable to reside there, and for that other needful affairs would have forced him to leave so great a church destitute of their pastor.

7. It was needless that he should be bishop, for that by virtue of his apostleship (involving all the power of inferior degrees) he might, whenever he should be at Rome, exercise episcopal functions and authority. What need a sovereign prince to be made a justice of peace?

8. Had he done so, he must have given a bad example of nonresidence; a practice that would have been very ill relished in the primitive church, as we may see by several canons interdicting offences of kin to it, (it being, I think, then not so known as nominally to be censured,) and culpable upon the same ground; and by the sayings of Fathers condemning practices approaching to it[y]. Conc. Nic. can. 16. Conc. Ant. can. 3. Conc. Sard can. 11, 12 Conc. Trul can. 80.

Even later synods, in more corrupt times, and in the declension of good order, yet did prohibit this practice[z].

[y] Οἶδας ἀναγνοὺς τὰς γραφὰς, ἡλίκον ἐστὶ δὴ ἔγκλημα καταλιμπάνειν ἐπίσκοπον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἀμελεῖν τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ποιμνίων. Athan. Apol. 1. Having read the scriptures, you know how great an offence it is for a bishop to forsake his church, and to neglect the flocks of God. Oportet enim episcopos curis secularibus expeditos curam suorum agere populorum, nec ecclesiis suis abesse diutius. *P. Paschal. II.* Ep. 22. For bishops ought to be disentangled from secular cares, and to take charge of their people, and not to be long absent from their churches.

[z] Præcipimus ne conductitiis ministris ecclesiæ committantur, et unaquæque ecclesia, cui facultas suppetit, proprium habeat sacerdotem. *Conc. Lat.* 2. (*sub Innoc. II.*) can. 10. We enjoin that churches be not committed to hired ministers, but that every church, that is of ability, have its proper priest. Cum igitur ec-

Epiphanius therefore did well infer, that it was needful the apostles should constitute bishops resident at Rome; [a] *It was,* saith he, *possible, that, the apostles Peter and Paul yet surviving, other bishops should be constituted; because the apostles often did take journeys into other countries, for preaching Christ: but the city of Rome could not be without a bishop.*

9. If St. Peter were bishop of Rome, he thereby did offend against divers other good ecclesiastical rules, which either were in practice from the beginning, or at least the reason of them was always good, upon which the church did afterward enact them; so that either he did ill in thwarting them, or the church had done it in establishing them, so as to condemn his practice.

Apost. Can. 14. 10. It was against rule, that any bishop should desert one church, and transfer himself to another; and indeed against reason, such a relation and endearment being contracted between a bishop and his church, which cannot well be dissolved.

clesia vel ecclesiasticum ministerium committi debuerit, talis ad hoc persona quæratur, quæ residere in loco, et curam ejus per seipsum valet exercere; quod si aliter fuerjt actum, et qui receperit, quod contra sanctos canones accepit, amittat. *Conc. Lat.* 3. (*sub Alexandro III.*) cap. 13. Therefore when a church, or the ecclesiastical ministry, be to be committed to any man, let such a person be found out for this purpose, who can reside upon the place, and discharge the cure by himself: but if it prove otherwise, then let him who has received lose that which he has taken contrary to the holy canons.

[a] Πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως ἠδύνατο ἔτι περιόντων τῶν ἀποστόλων, φημὶ δὲ τῶν περὶ Πέτρον καὶ Παῦλον, ἐπισκόπους ἄλλους καθίστασθαι, διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀποστόλους πολλάκις ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας πατρίδας τὴν πορείαν στέλλεσθαι, διὰ τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ· μὴ δύνασθαι δὲ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἄνευ ἐπισκόπου εἶναι. Epiph. Hær. 27.

But St. Peter is by ecclesiastical historians reported (and by Romanists admitted) to have been bishop of Antioch for seven years together[b].

He therefore did ill to relinquish that church, [c]*that most ancient and truly apostolic church of Antioch*, (as the Constantinopolitan Fathers called it,) and to place his see at Rome.

This practice was esteemed bad, and of very mischievous consequence; earnestly reproved, as heinously criminal, by great Fathers; severely condemned by divers synods.

Particularly a transmigration from a lesser and poorer to a greater and more wealthy bishopric, (which is the present case,) was checked by them, as rankly savouring of selfish ambition or avarice.

The synod of Alexandria, (in Athanasius,) in its Epistle to all catholic bishops, doth say, that Eusebius, by passing from Berytus to Nicomedia, *had annulled his episcopacy*, making it *an adultery*, worse than that which is committed by marriage upon divorce; [d]*Eusebius*, say they, *did not consider the apostle's admonition, Art thou bound to a wife? do not seek to be loosed: for if it be said of a woman, how much more of a church; of the same bishopric; to which one being tied, ought not to seek another, that he may not be found also an*

Λελυκώσαι αὐτήν. Athanas. Apol. ii. p. 726.

[b] Τοῦ μεγάλου Πέτρου θρόνον ἡ Ἀντιοχέων μεγαλόπολις ἔχει. Theodor. Ep. 86. The great city of the Antiochians hath the throne of the great St. Peter.

[c] Τὴν πρεσβυτάτην καὶ ὄντως ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Theod. v. 6.

[d] Οὐ συνορῶν τὸ παράγγελμα, δέδεσαι γυναικὶ, μὴ ζήτει λύσιν· εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ γυναικὸς τὸ ῥητὸν, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ ἐκκλησίας ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, ᾗ ὁ συνδεθεὶς ἄλλην οὐκ ὀφείλει ζητεῖν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ μοιχὸς παρὰ ταῖς θείαις εὑρίσκεται γραφαῖς. Syn. Alex. apud Athan. p. 727.

adulterer, according to the holy scripture? Surely when they said this, they did forget what St. Peter was said to have done in that kind; as did also the Sardican Fathers in their synodical letter, extant in the same Apology of Athanasius, condemning ***translations from lesser cities unto greater dioceses***[e].

Syn. Nic. can. 15. Syn. Chalc. can. 5. Syn. Ant. can. 21. Syn. Sard. can. 1. Syn. Arel. can. 22. Grat. Caus. viii. qu. 1. cap. 4. P. Jul. I. apud Athan. in Apol. ii. p. 744.

The same practice is forbidden by the synods of Nice I. of Chalcedon, of Antioch, of Sardica, of Arles I. &c.

In the synod under Mennas, it was laid to the charge of Anthimus, that having been bishop of Trabisond, he had [f]***adulterously snatched the see of Constantinople, against all ecclesiastical laws and canons.***

Yea, great popes of Rome, (little considering how peccant therein their predecessor pope Peter was,) pope Julius and pope Damasus, did greatly tax this practice; whereof the latter in his synod at Rome did excommunicate all those who should commit it[g].

In like manner pope Leo I.[h]

[e] Τὰς μεταθέσεις ἀπὸ μικρῶν πόλεων εἰς μείζονας παροικίας. Ibid. p. 765.

[f] —— ἠδυνήθη μοιχικῶς τὸν τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερατικὸν ὑφαρπάσαι θρόνον παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς θεσμοὺς καὶ κανόνας. Conc. sub Menn. p. 9.

[g] Τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ ἐκκλησιῶν εἰς ἑτέρας ἐκκλησίας μετελθόντας ἄχρι τοσούτου ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας κοινωνίας ἀλλοτρίους ἔχομεν, ἄχρι οὗ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐπανέλθωσι τὰς πόλεις, ἐν αἷς πρῶτον ἐχειροτονήθησαν. Theod. v. 11. Those that pass from their own churches to other churches, we esteem so long excommunicate, (or strangers from our communion,) till such time as they return to the same cities where they were first ordained.

[h] Si quis episcopus, mediocritate civitatis suæ despecta, administrationem loci celebrioris ambierit, et ad majorem se plebem quacunque occasione transtulerit, non solum a cathedra quidem pellatur aliena, sed carebit et propria, &c. *P. Leo. I.* Ep. lxxxiv.

These laws were so indispensable, that in respect to them Constantine M. who much loved and honoured Eusebius, (acknowledging him in the common judgment of the world deserving to be bishop of the whole church,) did not like that he should accept the bishopric of Antioch, to which he was invited; and commended his waving it, as an act not only *consonant to the ecclesiastical canons*, but *acceptable to God, and agreeable to apostolical tradition:* so little aware was the good emperor of St. Peter being translated from Antioch to Rome. Euseb. de Vit. Const. iii. 61.

In regard to the same law, Gregory Nazianzen (a person of so great worth, and who had deserved so highly of the church at Constantinople) could not be permitted to retain his bishopric of that church, to which he had been called from that small one of Sasima. [i] *The synod,* saith Sozomen, *observing the ancient laws and the ecclesiastical rule, did receive his bishopric from him, being willingly offered, nowise regarding the great merits of the person;* the which synod surely would have excluded St. Peter from the bishopric of Rome: and it is observable that pope Damasus did approve and exhort those Fathers to that proceeding[k].

c. 4. If any bishop, despising the meanness of his city, seeks for the administration of a more eminent place, and upon any occasion whatsoever transfers himself to a greater people, he shall not only be driven out of another's see, but also lose his own, &c.

[i] Ἀλλ' ὅμως ἡ σύνοδος καὶ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν τάξιν φυλάττουσα, ὁ δέδωκε παρ' ἑκόντος ἀπείληφε, μηδὲν αἰδεσθεῖσα τῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πλεονεκτημάτων. Sozom. vii. 7.

[k] Illud præterea commoneo dilectionem vestram, ne patiamini aliquem contra statuta majorum nostrorum de civitate alia ad aliam transduci, et deserere plebem sibi commissam, &c. *P. Damasi Epist. apud Holsten.* p. 41. et *R. Marc.* v. 21. Moreover this I

We may indeed observe, that pope Pelagius II. did excuse the translation of bishops by the example of St. Peter; [l]*For who ever dareth to say*, argueth he, *that St. Peter the prince of the apostles did not act well, when he changed his see from Antioch to Rome?*

But I think it more advisable to excuse St. Peter from being author of a practice judged so irregular, by denying the matter of fact laid to his charge.

11. It was anciently deemed a very irregular thing, [m]*contrary*, saith St. Cyprian, *to the ecclesiastical disposition, contrary to the evangelical law, contrary to the unity of catholic institution*; [n]*a symbol*, saith another ancient writer, *of dissension, and disagreeable to ecclesiastical law*; which therefore was condemned by the synod of Nice, by pope Cornelius, by pope Innocent I. and others, that two bishops should preside together in one city.

Syn. Nic. can. 8. Corn. ap. Eus. vi. 43. Cypr. Ep. 46. P. Innoc. ap. Sozom. viii. 26.

This was condemned with good reason; for this on the church's part would be a kind of spiritual polygamy; this would render a church a monster with two heads; this would destroy the end of episcopacy, which is unity and *prevention of schisms*.

Opt. l. Cathedra una.

In omnidium schismatis. *Hier.*

But if St. Peter was bishop of Rome, this irregu-

advise you, that out of your charity you would not suffer any one, against the decrees of our ancestors, to be removed from one city to another, and to forsake the people committed to his charge, &c.

[l] Quis enim unquam audet dicere S. Petrum apostolorum principem non bene egisse, quando mutavit sedem de Antiochia in Romam? *Pelag. II.* Ep. 1.

[m] Contra ecclesiasticam dispositionem, contra evangelicam legem, contra institutionis catholicæ unitatem ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 44. (ut et Ep. 46, 52, 55, 58.)

[n] Ὁ διχονοίας σύμβολόν ἐστι καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ θεσμοῦ ἀλλότριον. Soz. iv. 15.

larity was committed: for the same authority upon which St. Peter's episcopacy of Rome is built, doth also reckon St. Paul bishop of the same; the same writers do make both founders and planters of the Roman church, and the same call both bishops of it: wherefore if episcopacy be taken in a strict and proper sense, agreeable to this controversy, that rule must needs be infringed thereby.

Irenæus saith, [o]*that the Roman church was founded and constituted by the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul;* Dionysius of Corinth calleth it [p]*the plantation of Peter and Paul;* Epiphanius saith, that [q]*Peter and Paul were first at Rome both apostles and bishops;* so Eusebius implieth, saying, that pope Alexander [r]*derived a succession in the fifth place from Peter and Paul.*

Wherefore both of them were Roman bishops, or neither of them: in reason and rule neither of them may be called so in a strict and proper sense; but in a larger and improper sense both might be so styled.

Indeed that St. Paul was in some acception bishop of Rome (that is, had a supreme superintendence or inspection of it) is reasonable to affirm; because he did for a good time reside there, and during that residence could not but have the chief place, could be subject to no other; *He,* saith St. Luke, *did abide two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that entered in unto him, preaching* Acts xxviii 30.

[o] —— a gloriosissimis duobus apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundata et constituta ecclesia. *Iren.* iii. 3. iii. 1.

[p] Τὴν ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυτείαν——. Dionys. Corinth. apud Euseb. ii. 25.

[q] Ἐν Ῥώμῃ γεγόνασι πρῶτοι Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος ἀπόστολοι αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐπίσκοποι. Epiph. Hær. 27.

[r] Πέμπτην ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου κατάγων διαδοχήν. Euseb. iv. 1.

the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ with all confidence, no man forbidding him.

It may be inquired, if St. Peter was bishop of Rome, how he did become such? did our Lord appoint him such? did the apostles all or any constitute him? did the people elect him? did he put himself into it? Of none of these things there is any appearance, nor any probability: ***non constat.***

SUPPOSITION IV.

They affirm, ***That St. Peter did continue bishop of Rome after his translation, and was so at his decease.***

AGAINST which assertions we may consider:

1. Ecclesiastical writers do affirm, that St. Peter (either alone, or together with St. Paul) did constitute other bishops; wherefore St. Peter was never bishop, or did not continue bishop there.

Irenæus saith, that [s] ***the apostles founding and rearing that church, delivered the episcopal office into the hands of Linus;*** if so, how did they retain it in their own hands or persons? could they give, and have?

Tertullian saith, [t] that ***St. Peter did ordain Clement.***

[s] Θεμελιώσαντες οὖν καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι ἀπόστολοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, Λίνῳ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίαν ἐνεχείρισαν. Iren. apud Euseb. v. 6.

[t] Romanorum ecclesiæ Clementem a Petro ordinatum edit. *Tert. de Præscr.* 32.

Ex quibus electum magnum plebique probatum,
Hac cathedra, Petrus qua sederat ipse, locatum
Maxima Roma Linum primum considere jussit.
Tert. in Mart. iii. 9.

In the Apostolical Constitutions, (a very ancient book, and setting forth the most ancient traditions of the church,) the apostles ordering prayers to be made for all bishops, and naming the principal, do reckon, not St. Peter, but Clement; *Let us pray for our bishop James, for our bishop Clemens, for our bishop Euodius*, &c.

These reports are consistent, and reconciled by that which the Apostolical Constitutions affirm; that [u] *Linus was first ordained bishop of the Roman church by Paul; but Clemens after the death of Linus by Peter in the second place.*

Others between Linus and Clemens do interpose Cletus, or Anacletus, (some taking these for one, others for two persons,) which doth not alter the case [x].

Now hence we may infer, both that St. Peter never was bishop; and upon supposition that he was, that he did not continue so. For,

2. If he had ever been bishop, he could not well lay down his office, or subrogate another, either to preside with him, or to succeed him; according to the ancient rules of discipline, and that which passed for right in the primitive church.

This practice pope Innocent I. condemned as ir-

[u] Τῆς δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας Λίνος μὲν ὁ Κλαυδίας πρῶτος ὑπὸ Παύλου, Κλήμης δὲ μετὰ τὸν Λίνου θάνατον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Πέτρου δεύτερος κεχειροτόνηται. Const. Apost. vii. 46.

[x] Euseb. iii. 4, 13. Aug. Ep. 165. Epiph. Hær. 27. Opt. 2. Tertull. poem. in Marc. iii. 9. Phot. Cod. 112. (p. 290.) N. Eusebius (iii. 2.) saith, that Linus did sit bishop *after the martyrdom of St. Peter:* but this is not so probable, as that which the author of the Constitutions doth affirm, which reconcileth the dissonancies of writers.

regular, and never known before his time; [y] *We*, saith he in his Epistle to the clergy and people of Constantinople, *never have known these things to have been adventured by our fathers, but rather to have been hindered; for that none hath power given him to ordain another in the place of one living:* he did not (it seems) consider, that St. Peter had used such a power.

Accordingly the synod of Antioch (to secure the tradition and practice of the church, which began by some to be infringed) did make this sanction, that [a] *it should not be lawful for any bishop to constitute another in his room to succeed him; although it were at the point of death.*

3. But supposing St. Peter were bishop once, yet, by constituting Linus or Clemens in his place, he ceased to be so, and divested himself of that place; for it had been a great irregularity for him to continue bishop together with another.

That being, in St. Cyprian's judgment, the ordination of Linus had been void and null; for, [a] *Seeing*, saith that holy martyr, *there cannot after the first be any second, whoever is after one, who ought to be sole bishop, he is not now second, but none.*

Upon this ground, when the emperor Constantius

[y] Οὐδὲ γὰρ πώποτε παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ταῦτα τετολμῆσθαι ἐγνώκαμεν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον κεκωλύσθαι, τῷ μηδενὶ εἰς τόπον ζῶντος χειροτονεῖν ἄλλον δεδόσθαι ἐξουσίαν. P. Inn. I. apud Soz. viii. 26.

[z] Ἐπισκόπῳ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ καθίστασθαι ἕτερον, κἂν περὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου τυγχάνῃ. Syn. Ant. Can. 23.

[a] Cum post primum secundus esse non possit; quisquis post unum, qui solus esse debeat, non jam secundus ille, sed nullus est. *Cypr.* Ep. 52.

would have procured Felix to sit bishop of Rome together with pope Liberius, at his return from banishment, (after his compliance with the Arians,) the people of Rome would not admit it, exclaiming, *One God, one Christ, one bishop;* and whereas Felix soon after that died, the historian remarketh it as [b] *a special providence of God, that Peter's throne might not suffer infamy, being governed under two prelates;* he never considered that St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Peter and Linus, had thus governed that same church.

Upon this account St. Austin, being assumed by Valerius with him to be bishop of Hippo, did afterward discern and acknowledge his error [c].

In fine, to obviate this practice, so many canons of councils (both general and particular) were made, which we before did mention.

4. In sum, when St. Peter did ordain others, (as story doth accord in affirming,) either he did retain the episcopacy, and then (beside need, reason, and rule) there were concurrently divers bishops of Rome at one time; or he did quite relinquish, and finally divorce himself from the office, so that he did not die bishop of Rome, the which overturneth the main ground of the Romish pretence [d]. Or will they say

[b] Theod. Hist. ii. 17. Ταύτῃ πῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ διοικήσαντος, ὥστε τὸν Πέτρου θρόνον μὴ ἀδοξεῖν ὑπὸ δύο ἡγεμόσιν ἰθυνόμενον.

[c] Adhuc in corpore posito beatæ memoriæ patre et episcopo meo sene Valerio episcopus ordinatus sum, et sedi cum illo, quod concilio Niceno prohibitum fuisse nesciebam, nec ipse sciebat. *Aug.* Ep. 110. While my father and bishop of blessed memory, old Valerius, was yet living, I was ordained bishop, and held the see with him: which I knew not, nor did he know, to be forbidden by the council of Nice.

[d] Ipse sublimavit sedem, in qua etiam quiescere, et præsentem

that St. Peter, having laid aside the office for a time, did afterward before his death resume it? then what became of Linus, of Cletus, of Clemens? were they dispossessed of their place, or deposed from their function? would St. Peter *succeed them in it?* [e] This in Bellarmine's own judgment *had been plainly intolerable.*

5. To avoid all which difficulties in the case, and perplexities in story, it is reasonable to understand those of the ancients, who call Peter bishop of Rome, and Rome the place, the chair, the see of Peter, as meaning that he was bishop or superintendent of that church, in a large sense; because he did found the church by converting men to the Christian faith; because he did erect the chair by ordaining the first bishops; because he did, in virtue both of his apostolical office and his special parental relation to that church, maintain a particular inspection over it, when he was there: which notion is not new; for of old Ruffinus affirmeth that he had it, not from his own invention, but from tradition of others; [f] *Some,* saith he, *inquire how, seeing Linus and*

vitam finire dignatus est. *Greg. I.* Ep. vi. 37. *Innoc. I.* Ep. 21. *P. Nic. I.* Ep. ix. p. 509. *Grat. Caus.* viii. q. i. cap. 1. He advanced that see, wherein he vouchsafed both to set up his rest, and also to end this present life. Bell. ii. 12. §. At vero——.

[e] Petrum apostolum successisse in episcopatu Antiocheno alicui ex discipulis, quod est plene intolerandum. *Bell.* ii. 6.

[f] Quidam enim requirunt quo modo, cum Linus et Cletus in urbe Roma ante Clementem hunc fuerint episcopi, ipse Clemens ad Jacobum scribens, sibi dicat a Petro docendi cathedram traditam; cujus rei hanc accepimus esse rationem, quod Linus et Cletus fuerunt quidem ante Clementem episcopi in urbe Roma, sed superstite Petro; videlicet ut illi episcopatus curam gererent,

Cletus were bishops in the city of Rome before Clement, Clement himself, writing to James, could say, that the see was delivered to him by Peter: whereof this reason has been given us; viz. ***that Linus and Cletus were indeed bishops of Rome before Clement, but Peter being yet living;*** viz. ***that they might take the episcopal charge, but he fulfilled the office of the apostleship.***

6. This notion may be confirmed by divers observations.

It is observable, that the most ancient writers, living nearest the fountains of tradition, do not expressly style St. Peter bishop of Rome, but only say, that he did found that church, instituting and ordaining bishops there; as the other apostles did in the churches which they settled; so that the bishops there in a large sense did succeed him, as deriving their power from his ordination, and supplying his room in the instruction and governance of that great church. [s] Yea their words, if we well mark them, do exclude the apostles from the episcopacy. Which words the later writers (who did not foresee the consequence, nor what an exorbitant superstructure would be raised on that slender bottom, and who were willing to comply with the Roman bishops, affecting by all means to reckon St. Peter for their predecessor) did easily catch, and not well

Const. Apost. vii. 46. Iren. iii. 3. Tertull.

ipse vero apostolatus impleret officium. *Ruffin. in Præf. ad Clem. Recogn.*

[s] Fundantes igitur, et instruentes beati apostoli ecclesiam Lino episcopatum administrandæ ecclesiæ tradiderunt. *Iren.* iii. 3. The blessed apostles therefore founding and instructing the church, delivered the episcopal power of ordering and governing the church to Linus.

distinguishing, did call him bishop, and St. Paul also, so making two heads of one church.

7. It is also observable, that in the recensions of the Roman bishops, sometimes the apostles are reckoned in, sometimes excluded.

Euseb. iii. 4, 13, 15. Iren. iii. 3. So Eusebius calleth Clemens *the third bishop of Rome*, yet before him he reckoneth Linus and Anacletus.

And of Alexander he saith, that [h] *he deduced his succession in the fifth place from Peter and Paul*, that is, excluding the apostles.

Iren. i. 28. iii. 3, 4. Euseb. iv. 10. And Hyginus is thus accounted sometime the eighth, sometime the ninth bishop of Rome.

The same difference in reckoning may be observed in other churches; for instance, although St. Peter is called no less bishop of Antioch than of Rome by the ancients, yet Eusebius saith, that [i] *Euodius was first bishop of Antioch*; and another *bids the Antiocheans remember Euodius, who was first intrusted with the presidency over them by the apostles.*

Other instances may be seen in the notes of Cotelerius upon the Apostolical Constitutions, where he maketh this general observation.

[k] *It is an usual custom with the apostles, according to their power, ordinary or extraordinary, episcopal or apostolical, to prefix*, &c.: but

[h] Πέμπτην ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου κατάγων διαδοχήν. Euseb. iv. 1.

[i] Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησίας πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος Εὐόδιος ἐχρημάτισε. Euseb. Chron. p. 7. Hist. iii. 22. Μνημονεύετε Εὐοδίου, ὃς πρῶτον ἐνεχειρίσθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑμετέραν προστασίαν. Pseud. Ignat. ad Ant. Eusebius counteth Annianus the first bishop of Alexandria. iii. 21.

[k] Celebris mos est apostolos pro potestate eorum ordinaria vel extraordinaria, episcopali vel apostolica, indiculis antistitum præfigere, aut ex iis eximere. *Cotel. Not.* p. 299.

it was needless to suppose these two powers when one was sufficient, it virtually containing the other.

This is an argument that the ancients were not assured in opinion, that the apostles were bishops, or that they did not esteem them bishops in the same notion with others.

8. It is observable, that divers churches did take denomination from the apostles, and were called *apostolical thrones*, or *chairs*, not because the apostles themselves did sit bishops there, but because they did exercise their apostleship in teaching; and [l]*in constituting bishops there*, who, as Tertullian saith, *did propagate the apostolical seed.*

Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ. *Tert. de Præscr.* 32. Ἀποστολικοὶ θρόνοι. Soz. i. 17. 2 Tim. i. 6.

[m]So was Ephesus esteemed, because St. Paul did found it, and ordained Timothy there; and because St. John did govern and appoint bishops there.

So was Smyrna accounted, because Polycarpus [n]*was settled there by the apostles*, or *by St. John.*

[l] In canonicis autem scripturis ecclesiarum catholicarum quamplurium auctoritatem sequatur, inter quas sane illæ sunt, quæ apostolicas sedes habere, et epistolas accipere meruerunt. *Aug. de Doctr. Ch.* ii. 8. Let him follow the authority of those many catholic churches in the canonical scriptures, among which surely are those which had the honour to have apostolical sees, and to receive epistles from the apostles. Proinde utique et cæteræ exhibent quos ab apostolis in episcopatum constitutos apostolici seminis traduces habent. *Tertull. de Præscr.* 32.

[m] Sed et quæ est Ephesi ecclesia a Paulo quidem fundata, Johanne autem permanente apud eos usque ad Trajani tempora, &c. *Iren.* iii. 3. And also the church of Ephesus, which was founded by St. Paul, St. John continuing with them till the time of Trajan, &c. Ordo episcoporum ad originem recensus in Johannem stabit auctorem. *Tertull. in Marc.* iv. 5. Τῆς δὲ Ἐφέσου Τιμόθεος μὲν ὑπὸ Παύλου, Ἰωάννης δὲ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου. Apost. Const. vii. 46.

[n] Ab apostolis in ea quæ est Smyrnis ecclesia constitutus episco-

So Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, [o] *had a controversy about metropolitical rights with Acacius, bishop of Cæsarea, as presiding in an apostolical see.*

So Alexandria was deemed, because St. Mark was supposed by the appointment of St. Peter to sit there.

Tertull. de Præscr. 36. So were Corinth, Thessalonica, Philippi, called by Tertullian, because St. Paul did found them, and furnish them with pastors; in which respect peculiarly the bishops of those places were called successors of the apostles.

So Constantinople did assume the title of an apostolical church [p], probably because, according to tradition, St. Andrew did found that church, although pope Leo I. would not allow it that appellation.

Upon the same account might Rome at first be called an apostolical see; although afterward the Roman bishops did rather pretend to that denomination, upon account of St. Peter being bishop there: and the like may be said of Antioch [q].

Const. Apost. vii. 46. 9. It is observable, that the author of the Apostolical Constitutions, who lived in the fourth century, doth not call any bishop apostolical, but only the bishops of those churches which were founded by the apostles, or which had apostles or apostolical men for their bishops.

pus. *Iren.* iii. 3. Smyrnæorum ecclesia habens Polycarpum ab Johanne conlocatum. *Tertull. de Præscr.* 32. *Euseb.* iii. 36. Τῆς κατὰ Σμύρναν ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τῶν αὐτοπτῶν, καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος. Euseb. iii. 36.

[o] Περὶ μητροπολιτικῶν δικαίων διεφέρετο πρὸς Ἀκάκιον τὸν Καισαρείας, ὡς ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου ἡγούμενος. Sozom. iv. 25.

[p] Ἀποστολικοῦ τούτου θρόνου καταφρονεῖς. Syn. Chalc. Act. x. p. 379, 284. Thou despisest this apostolical throne. ——Ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ πρῶτον ἐπίσκοπον τὸν θεῖον Στάχυν καταστήσας, ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἣν ἐκεῖσε πρῶτος οὗτος ἐπήξατο. Niceph. ii. 39. Forasmuch as having appointed holy Stachys the first bishop, in the church which he first settled there. Non dedignetur regiam civitatem, quam apostolicam non potest facere sedem—. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 54. Let him not disdain the royal city, which he cannot make an apostolic see.

[q] Memento quia apostolicam sedem regis——. *Greg. M.* Ep. iv. 37. Remember you rule an apostolic see.

lical Constitutions, reciting the first bishops constituted in several churches, doth not reckon any of the apostles; particularly not Peter, or Paul, or John.

10. Again, any apostle wherever he did reside by virtue of his apostolical office, without any other designation or assumption of a more special power, was qualified to preside there, exercising a superintendency comprehensive of all episcopal functions; so that it was needless that he should take upon himself the character or style of a bishop.

[r] This (beside the tenor of ancient doctrine) doth appear from the demeanour of St. John, who never was reckoned *bishop of Ephesus;* nor could be, without displacing Timothy, who by St. Paul was constituted bishop there, or succeeding in his room; yet he, abiding at Ephesus, did there discharge the office of a metropolitan; [s] *governing the churches, and in the adjacent churches here constituting bishops, there forming whole churches, otherwhere allotting to the clergy persons designed by the Spirit.*

Such functions might St. Peter execute in the parts of Rome or Antioch, without being a bishop; and as the bishops of Asia did, saith Tertullian, [t] *refer their original to St. John,* so might the bi-

[r] Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Τιμοθέου μέχρι νῦν κζ' ἐπίσκοποι ἐγένοντο· πάντες ἐν Ἐφέσῳ χειροτονήθησαν. Syn. Chal. Act. 11. 2 Tim. i. 6. From holy Timothy till now there have been seven and twenty bishops, and all ordained at Ephesus. Johanne autem permanente apud eos, &c. *Iren.* iii. 3.

[s] Τὰς αὐτόθι διεῖπεν ἐκκλησίας——ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων· ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἁρμόσων· ὅπου δὲ κλήρῳ ἕνα γε τινὰ κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος σημαινομένων. Euseb. Hist. iii. 23.

[t] Ordo episcoporum ad originem recensus in Joannem stabit auctorem. *Tertull. in Marc.* iv. 5.

shops of Italy, upon the like ground, *refer their original to St. Peter.*

An. Ch. 39. Baron. §. 8. Acts ix. 32. xi. 20. It is observable, that whereas St. Peter is affirmed to have been bishop of Antioch seven years before his access to Rome, that is, within the compass of St. Luke's story, yet he passeth over a matter of so great moment; as St. Jerome observeth [r].

I cannot grant, that if St. Luke had thought Peter sovereign of the church, and his episcopacy of a place a matter of such consequence, he would have slipped it over, being so obvious a thing, and coming in the way of his story.

He therefore, I conceive, was no bishop of Antioch, although a bishop at Antioch [s].

11. If in objection to some of these discourses it be alleged, that St. James, our Lord's near kinsman, although he was an apostle, was made bishop of Jerusalem; and that for the like reason St. Peter might assume the bishopric of Rome;

I answer:

1. It is not certain, that St. James the bishop of Jerusalem was an apostle, (meaning an apostle of the primary rank;) for Eusebius (the greatest antiquary of the old times) doth reckon him *one of the seventy disciples* [t].

[r] Denique primum episcopum Antiochenæ ecclesiæ Petrum fuisse accepimus, et Romam exinde translatum, quod Lucas penitus omisit. *Hier. in Gal.* 2. Lastly, we have received by tradition that Peter was the first bishop of Antioch, and from thence translated to Rome: which Luke has altogether omitted.

[s] It is the distinction of a pope. Rex Etruriæ, et rex in Etruria.

[t] Εἷς δὲ καὶ οὗτος τῶν φερομένων τοῦ σωτῆρος μαθητῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἦν. Euseb. i. 12.

So doth the author of the Apostolical Constitutions in divers places suppose[u].

Hegesippus (that most ancient historian) was of the same mind, who saith, that *there were many of this name*, and that this *James did undertake the church with the apostles*[x].

Of the same opinion was Epiphanius, who saith, that St. James was the son of Joseph by another wife. Epiph. Hær. 78.

The whole Greek church doth suppose the same, keeping three distinct solemnities for him and the two apostles of the same name.

Gregory Nyssen, St. Jerome, and divers other ancient writers, do concur herein, whom we may see alleged by Grotius, Dr. Hammond, (who themselves did embrace the same opinion,) Valesius, Blondel, &c. Grot. in Jac. i. 1. Hamm. Dissert. Ignat. iv. 3. Vales. in Euseb. i. 12. Blondel. in Epist. Clem. ad Jacob.

Salmasius (after his confident manner) saith, [y]*it is certain that he was not one of the twelve*: I may at least say, it is not certain that he was, and consequently the objection is grounded on an uncertainty.

2. Granting that St. James was one of the apostles, (as some of the ancients seem to think[z], calling him an apostle; and as divers modern divines con-

[u] Apost. Const. vi. 12. 14. ii. 55. vii. 46, &c. Ἡμεῖς οἱ δώδεκα ἅμα τῷ Ἰακώβῳ——vi. 12. We the twelve apostles together with James.

[x] Διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰάκωβος. Euseb. ii. 23.

[y] Certum est non fuisse unum ex duodecim. *Sal. Mess.* p. 20.

[z] Hierosolymitanam, quam primus apostolus Jacobus episcopatu suo rexit. *Aug. cont. Cresc.* ii. 37. The church of Jerusalem, which James the apostle first governed by his episcopal power.

ceive, grounding chiefly upon these words of St.
Gal. i. 19. Paul, ***But other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother***, and taking *apostles* there in the strictest sense,) I answer,

That the case was peculiar, and there doth appear a special reason, why one of the apostles should be designed to make a constant residence at Jerusalem, and consequently to preside there like a bishop. For Jerusalem was the metropolis, the fountain, the centre of the Christian religion, where it had birth, where was greatest matter and occasion of propagating the gospel, most people disposed to embrace it resorting thither; where the church was very numerous, consisting, as St. Luke (or St. James in
Acts xxi. 20. him) doth intimate, ***of divers myriads of believing Jews;*** whence it might seem expedient, that a person of greatest authority should be fixed there for the confirming and improving that church, together with the propagation of religion among the people, which resorted thither; the which might induce the apostles to settle St. James there, both for discharging the office of an apostle, and the supplying the room of a bishop there.

According to him, saith Eusebius, [a] ***The episcopal throne was committed by the apostles;*** or, [b] ***Our Lord***, saith Epiphanius, ***did intrust him with his own throne.***

But there was no need of fixing an apostle at other places; nor doth it appear that any was so fixed; especially St. Peter was uncapable of such an employment, requiring settlement and constant

[a] Ὧι πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐγκεχείριστο θρόνος. Euseb. ii. 23.

[b] Ὧι πεπίστευκε Κύριος τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ. Epiph. Hær. 78.

attendance, who, beside his general apostleship, had a peculiar apostleship of the dispersed Jews committed to him; who therefore was much engaged in travel for propagation of the faith, and edifying his converts every where.

3. The greater consent of the most ancient writers making St. James not to have been one of the twelve apostles, it is thence accountable, why (as we before noted) St. James was called by some ancient writers, *the bishop of bishops, the prince of bishops*, &c. because he was the first bishop of the *first see*, the mother church; the apostles being excluded from the comparison.

Upon these considerations we have great reason to refuse the assertion or scandal cast on St. Peter, that he took on him to be bishop of Rome, in a strict sense, as it is understood in this controversy.

SUPPOSITION V.

A further assertion is this, superstructed by consequence on the former, *That the bishops of Rome* (*according to God's institution, and by original right derived thence*) *should have an universal supremacy and jurisdiction* (containing the privileges and prerogatives formerly described) *over the Christian church.*

THIS assertion to be very uncertain, yea, to be most false, I shall by divers considerations evince.

1. If any of the former suppositions be uncertain or false, this assertion, standing on those legs, must partake of those defects, and answerably be dubious or false. If either Peter was not monarch of the apostles, or if his privileges were not successive, or if he were not properly bishop of Rome at his de-

cease, then farewell the Romish claim; if any of those things be dubious, it doth totter; if any of them prove false, then down it falleth.

But that each of them is false, hath, I conceive, been sufficiently declared; that all of them are uncertain, hath at least been made evident.

The structure therefore cannot be firm which relieth on such props.

2. Even admitting all those suppositions, the inference from them is not assuredly valid. For St. Peter might have an universal jurisdiction, he might derive it by succession, he might be bishop of Rome; yet no such authority might hence accrue to the Roman bishop, his successor in that see.

For that universal jurisdiction might be derived into another channel, and the bishop of Rome might in other respects be successor to him, without being so in this.

As for instance in the Roman empire, before any rule of succession was established therein, the emperor was sovereign governor, and he might die consul of Rome, having assumed that place to himself; yet when he died, the supreme authority did not lapse into the hands of the consul who succeeded him, but into the hands of the senate and people; his consular authority only going to his successor in that office. So might St. Peter's universal power be transferred unto the ecclesiastical college of bishops and of the church; his episcopal inferior authority over the singular παροικία, or province of Rome, being transmitted to his followers in that chair.

3. That in truth it was thus, and that all the authority of St. Peter, and of all other apostles, was devolved to the church, and to the representative

body thereof, the Fathers did suppose; affirming the church to have received from our Lord a sovereign power.

[c] ***This,*** saith St. Cyprian, *is that one church, which holdeth and possesseth all the power of its Spouse and Lord; in this we preside; for the honour and unity of this we fight*——saith he, in his Epistle to Jubianus, wherein he doth impugn the proceedings of pope Stephanus; the which sentence St. Austin appropriateth to himself, speaking it absolutely, without citing St. Cyprian. To this authority of the church St. Basil would have all that confess the faith of Christ to submit; [d] *To which end we exceedingly need your assistance, that they who confess the apostolic faith would renounce the schisms which they have devised, and submit themselves henceforth to the authority of the church.*

Aug. de Bapt. cont. Don. iv. 1.

They (after the holy scripture, which saith, that *each bishop hath a care of God's church,* and is *obliged to feed the church of God*——and *is appointed to edify the body of Christ*) do suppose the administration of ecclesiastical affairs concerning the public state of the church, the defence of the common faith, the maintenance of order, peace, and unity, jointly to belong unto the whole body of pastors; according to that of St. Cyprian to pope Stephanus himself, [e] *Therefore, most dear brother,*

1 Tim. iii. 5, 15. Act. xx. 28. Eph. iv. 12.

Collegium sacerdotum. *Cypr.* Ep. lxvii. 52.

Τῆς πάσης ἱσταμένης τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν. Apost. Const. viii. 10.

[c] Hæc est una quæ tenet et possidet omnem Sponsi sui et Domini potestatem, in hac præsidemus, pro honore ejus et unitate pugnamus ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 73.

[d] Ἐφ' ἅπερ καὶ μάλιστα τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν χρήζομεν βοηθείας, ὥστε τοὺς τὴν ἀποστολικὴν ὁμολογοῦντας πίστιν, ἅπερ ἐπενόησαν, σχίσματα διαλύσαντας, ὑποταγῆναι τοῦ λοιποῦ τῇ αὐθεντίᾳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Bas. Epist. 69.

[e] Idcirco enim, frater charissime, copiosum corpus est sacerdo-

the body of priests is copious, being joined together by the glue of mutual concord, and the bond of unity, that if any of our college should attempt to make heresy, and to tear or waste the flock of Christ, the rest may come to succour; and like useful and merciful shepherds may recollect the sheep into the flock. And again, [f] ***Which thing it concerns us to look after and redress, most dear brother, who bearing in mind the divine clemency, and holding the scales of the church-government,*** &c.

So even the Roman clergy did acknowledge, [g] ***For we ought all of us to watch for the body of the whole church, whose members are digested through several provinces.***

[h] ***Like the Trinity, whose power is one and undivided, there is one priesthood among divers bishops.***

So in the Apostolical Constitutions, the apostles tell the bishops, that [i] ***an universal episcopacy is intrusted to them.***

tum, concordiæ mutuæ glutino atque unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut siquis ex collegio nostro hæresin facere, et gregem Christi lacerare et vastare tentaverit, subveniant cæteri, et quasi pastores utiles et misericordes oves Domini in gregem colligant. *Cypr.* Ep. 67.

[f] Cui rei nostrum est consulere, et subvenire, frater charissime, qui divinam clementiam cogitantes, et gubernandæ ecclesiæ libram tenentes, &c. *Ibid.*

[g] Omnes enim nos decet pro corpore totius ecclesiæ, cujus per varias quasque provincias membra digesta sunt, excubare. *Cler. Rom. apud Cypr.* Ep. 30.

[h] Ad Trinitatis instar, cujus una est atque individua potestas, unum esse per diversos antistites sacerdotium. *P. Symmachus ad Æonium Arelat.*

[i] Εἰς ἐπιστηριγμὸν ὑμῶν, τῶν τὴν καθόλου ἐπισκοπὴν πεπιστευμένων. Const. Apost. vi. 14.

So the council of Carthage with St. Cyprian——
[k] *Clear and manifest is the mind and meaning of our Lord Jesus Christ, sending his apostles, and affording to them alone the power given him of the Father; in whose room we succeeded, governing the church of God with the same power.*

[l] *Christ our Lord and our God going to the Father, commended his spouse to us.*

A very ancient instance of which administration is the proceeding against Paulus Samosatenus; when [m] *the pastors of the churches, some from one place, some from another, did assemble together against him as a pest of Christ's flock, all of them hastening to Antioch;* where they deposed, exterminated, and deprived him of communion, warning the whole church to reject and disavow him.

[n] *Seeing the pastoral charge is common to us all, who bear the episcopal office, although thou sittest in a higher and more eminent place.*

[o] *Therefore for this cause the holy church is*

[k] Manifesta est sententia Domini nostri Jesu Christi apostolos suos mittentis, et ipsis solis potestatem a Petro sibi datam permittentis, quibus nos successimus, eadem potestate ecclesiam Domini gubernantes. *Conc. Carth. apud Cypr.* p. 405.

[l] Christus Dominus et Deus noster ad Patrem proficiscens, sponsam suam nobis commendavit——. *Ibid.* p. 404.

[m] Οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ποιμένες ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν ὡς ἐπὶ λυμεῶνα τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποίμνης συνίεσαν, οἱ πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν σπεύσαντες. Euseb. vii. 27.

[n] Cum communis sit omnibus nobis, qui fungimur episcopatus officio, quamvis ipse in eo præmineas celsiore fastigio, specula pastoralis ——. *Aug. ad Bonif. contra duas Epist. Pelag.* i. 1.

[o] Hujus ergo rei gratia vobis et nobis sancta commissa est ecclesia, ut pro omnibus laboremus, et cunctis opem ferre non negligamus——. *P. Joh. I.* Ep. 1. (*ad Zachar.*) *apud Bin.* tom. iii. p. 812.

committed to you and to us, that we may labour for all, and not be slack in yielding help and assistance to all.

Hence St. Chrysostom said of Eustathius his bishop; [p] ***For he was well instructed and taught by the grace of the Holy Spirit, that a president or bishop of a church ought not to take care of that church alone, wherewith he is intrusted by the Holy Ghost, but also of the whole church dispersed throughout the world.***

They consequently did repute schism, or ecclesiastical rebellion, to consist in [q] ***a departure from the consent of the body of the priesthood,*** as St. Cyprian in divers places doth express it in his epistles to pope Stephen and others.

They deem all bishops to partake of the apostolical authority, according to that of St. Basil to St. Ambrose; [r] ***The Lord himself hath translated thee from the judges of the earth unto the prelacy of the apostles.***

They took themselves all to be vicars of Christ, and judges in his stead; according to that of St. Cyprian; [s] ***For heresies are sprung up, and schisms***

[p] Καὶ γὰρ ἦν πεπαιδευμένος καλῶς παρὰ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος χάριτος, ὅτι τῆς ἐκκλησίας προεστῶτα οὐκ ἐκείνης μόνης κήδεσθαι δεῖ τῆς παρὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐγχειρισθείσης αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην κειμένης. Chrys. tom. v. Or. 93.

[q] A corpore nostri, et sacerdotii consensione discesserit ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 67. Qui se ab ecclesiæ vinculo, atque a sacerdotum collegio separat. *Cypr.* Ep. 52.

[r] Αὐτός σε ὁ Κύριος ἀπὸ τῶν κριτῶν τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὴν προεδρίαν τῶν ἀποστόλων μετέθηκεν. Basil. Ep. 56.

[s] Neque enim aliunde hæreses obortæ sunt, aut nata sunt schismata, quam inde quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperetur, nec unus

grown from no other ground nor root but this, because God's priest was not obeyed, nor was there one priest or bishop for a time in the church, nor a judge thought on for a time to supply the room of Christ. Where that by *church* is meant any particular church, and by *priest* a bishop of such church, any one not bewitched with prejudice by the tenor of St. Cyprian's discourse will easily discern[t].

They conceive that our Saviour did promise to St. Peter the keys in behalf of the church, and as representing it. Cypr. Ep. 27.

They suppose the combination of bishops in peaceable consent and mutual aid, to be the *rock* on which the church is built.

They allege the authority granted to St. Peter as a ground of claim to the same in all bishops jointly, and in each bishop singly, according to his *rata pars*, or allotted proportion.

[u] ***Which may easily be understood by the words of our Lord, when he says to blessed Peter, whose place the bishops supply, Whatsoever*** &c.

[x] ***I have the sword of Constantine in my hands, you of Peter***, said our great king Edgar.

They do therefore in this regard take themselves all to be successors of St. Peter, that his power is

in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus judex vice Christi cogitatur. *Cypr.* Ep. 55.

[t] Episcopus personam habet Christi, et vicarius Domini est. *Ambr. in* 1 *Cor.* 11. The bishop sustains the person of Christ, and is the vicar of our Lord.

[u] Quod ex verbis Domini facile intelligi potest, quibus B. Petro, cujus vicem episcopi gerunt, ait, Quodcunque, &c. *Capit. Caroli M.* lib. v. cap. 163.

[x] Ego Constantini, vos Petri gladium habetis in manibus.

derived to them all, and that the whole episcopal order *is the chair by the Lord's voice founded on St. Peter:* thus St. Cyprian in divers places (before touched) discourseth; and thus Firmilian from the keys granted to St. Peter inferreth, disputing against the Roman bishop; [y] *Therefore,* saith he, *the power of remitting sins is given to the apostles, and to the churches, which they being sent from Christ did constitute, and to the bishops, which do succeed them by vicarious ordination.*

4. The bishops of any other churches founded by the apostles, in the Fathers' style are successors of the apostles, in the same sense, and to the same intent, as the bishop of Rome is by them accounted successor of St. Peter; the apostolical power, which in extent was universal, being in some sense, in reference to them, not quite extinct, but transmitted by succession: yet the bishops of apostolical churches did never claim, nor allowedly exercise, apostolical jurisdiction beyond their own precincts; according to those words of St. Jerome, [z] *Tell me, what doth Palestine belong to the bishop of Alexandria?*

This sheweth the inconsequence of their discourse; for in like manner the pope might be successor to St. Peter, and St. Peter's universal power might be successive, yet the pope have no singular claim thereto, beyond the bounds of his particular church.

5. So again, for instance, St. James (whom the Roman church, in her liturgies, doth avow for an

[y] Potestas ergo remittendorum peccatorum apostolis data est, et ecclesiis quas illi a Christo missi constituerunt, et episcopis qui eis ordinatione vicaria succedunt. *Firmil. apud Cypr.* Ep. 75.

[z] Responde mihi, ad Alexandrinum episcopum Palæstina quid pertinet? *Hier. ad Pammach.* Ep. lxi. 15.

apostle) was bishop of Jerusalem more unquestionably than St. Peter was bishop of Rome; Jerusalem also was the root, and [a] *the mother of all churches,* (as the Fathers of the second general synod, in their letter to pope Damasus himself, and the occidental bishops did call it, forgetting the singular pretence of Rome to that title.)

Yet the bishops of Jerusalem, successors of St. James, did not thence claim I know not what kind of extensive jurisdiction; yea, notwithstanding their succession, they did not so much as obtain a metropolitical authority in Palestine, which did belong to Cæsarea, (having been assigned thereto in conformity to the civil government,) and was by special provision *reserved thereto* in the synod of Nice [b]; whence St. Jerome did not stick to affirm, [c] that the bishop of Jerusalem was subject to the bishop of Cæsarea; for speaking to John bishop of Jerusalem, who for compurgation of himself from errors imputed to him had appealed to Theophilus bishop of Alexandria, he saith, [d] *Thou hadst rather cause molestation to ears possessed, than render honour to thy metropolitan,* that is, to the bishop of Cæsarea.

By which instance we may discern what little consideration sometimes was had of personal or to-

[a] Τῆς δὲ μητρὸς ἁπασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. Theodor. v. 9. Mater Christiani nominis. *Imper. Just. ad P. Hormisd. apud Bin.* tom. iii. p. 794. The mother of the Christian name.

[b] Τῇ μητροπόλει σωζομένου τοῦ οἰκείου ἀξιώματος. *Conc. Nic.* can. 7.

[c] Ibi decernitur, ut Palestinæ metropolis Cæsarea sit. *Hier.* Ep. lxi. 15. It is there decreed, that Cæsarea should be the metropolis of Palestine.

[d] Maluisti occupatis auribus molestias facere, quam debitum metropolitano tuo honorem reddere. *Hier. ad Pammach.* Ep. lxi.

pical succession to the apostles in determining the extent of jurisdiction: and why should the Roman bishop upon that score pretend more validity than others?

Hier. ad Galat. 2. P. Pelag. II. Ep. 1.

6. St. Peter probably ere that he came at Rome did found divers other churches, whereof he was paramount bishop, or did retain a special superintendency over them; particularly [e] *Antioch was anciently called his see*, and he is acknowledged to have sat there seven years before he was bishop of Rome.

Why therefore may not the bishop of Antioch pretend to succeed St. Peter in his universal pastorship, as well as his younger brother of Rome? why should Euodius, ordained by St. Peter at Antioch, yield to Clemens, afterward by him ordained at Rome?

Acts xi. 26.

Antioch was the firstborn of Gentile churches, where the name of Christians was first heard; Antioch was (as the Constantinopolitan Fathers called it) [f] *the most ancient and truly apostolical church.*

Antioch, by virtue of St. Peter's sitting there [g], or peculiar relation to it, was (according to their own conceits) the principal see.

Why therefore should St. Peter be so unkind to it, as not only to relinquish it, but to debase it; not only transferring his see from it, but divesting it of the privilege which it had got?

Why should he prefer before it the city of Rome,

[e] —— θρόνον τῆς Ἀντιοχέων μεγαλοπόλεως, τὸν τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου. Syn. Chalced. Act. vii. p. 264.

[f] Πρεσβυτάτη καὶ ὄντως ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία. Theod. v. 9.

[g] Ubi imperator, ibi Roma. Where the emperor is, there is Rome.

mystical Babylon, *the mother of abominations* Rev. xvii. 5.
he earth, the throne of Satan's empire, the place
ch did then most persecute the Christian faith,
was drunk with the blood of the saints[h]? Rev. xvii. 6.
'. The ground of this preference was, say they, Bell. ii. 12.
Peter's will: and they have reason to say so;
otherwise if St. Peter had died intestate, the
:r son of Antioch would have had the best right
ll his goods and dignities[i].
But how doth that will appear? in what tables
i it written? in what registers is it extant? in
ose presence did he nuncupate it? It is nowhere
e seen or heard of.
Neither do they otherwise know of it, than by
soning it out; and in effect they say only that it
i fit he should will it: but they may be mistaken
their divinations; and perhaps notwithstanding
n St. Peter might will as well to his former see
Antioch, as to his latter of Rome.
i. Indeed Bellarmine sometimes positively and Jubente Domino, ii. 1.
kly enough doth affirm, that *God did command* Deus ipse jussit
Peter to fix his see at Rome: but his proofs of Romæ figi apostolicam Petri sedem. iv.
re so ridiculously fond and weak, that I grudge
trouble of reciting them; and he himself suffi-
ntly confuteth them, by saying otherwhere, [k] *It* 4.

Sic et Babylon apud Joannem nostrum Romanæ urbis figura proinde et magnæ et regno superbæ, et sanctorum debellatrix. *Tertull. adv. Jud.* cap. 9. So also Babylon in our St. John is a type of the city of Rome, and therefore of a great, royal, and proud city, and a subduer of the saints.

Potuisset Petrus nullam sedem particularem sibi unquam eligere, sicut fecit primis quinque annis——. *Ibid.* Peter might have chosen to himself no particular city, as he did the first five years.

Non est improbabile Dominum etiam aperte jussisse, ut se-

is not unprobable, that our Lord gave an express command, that Peter should so fix his see at Rome, that the bishop of Rome should absolutely succeed him.

He saith it is not improbable; if it be no more than so, it is uncertain; it may be a mere conjecture or a dream.

It is much more not unprobable, that if God had commanded it, there would have been some assurance of a command so very important.

9. Antioch hath at least a fair plea for a share in St. Peter's prerogatives; for it did ever hold the repute of an apostolical church, and upon that score some deference was paid to it: why so, if St. Peter did carry his see with all its prerogatives to another place? But if he carried with him only part of his prerogative, leaving some part behind at Antioch, how much then, I pray, did he leave there? why did he divide unequally, or leave less than half? If perchance he did leave half, the bishop of Antioch is equal to him of Rome.

10. Other persons also may be found, who according to equal judgment might have a better title to the succession of Peter in his universal authority than the pope; having a nearer relation to him than he, (although his successor in one charge,) or upon other equitable grounds.

For instance, St. John, or any other apostle, who did survive St. Peter: for if St. Peter was the father of Christians, (which title yet our Saviour forbiddeth any one to assume,) St. John might well claim to be his eldest son; and it had been a very hard case for

dem suam Petrus ita figeret Romæ, ut Romanus episcopus absolute ei succederet. *Bell.* ii. 12. §. Et quoniam.

him to have been postponed in the succession; it had been a derogation to our Lord's own choice, a neglect of his special affection, a disparagement of the apostolical office, for him to be subjected to any other; neither could any other pretend to the like gifts for management of that great charge.

11. The bishop of Jerusalem might with much reason have put in his claim thereto, as being successor of our Lord himself, who unquestionably was the High Priest of our profession, and Archbishop of all our souls; whose see was the mother of all churches; wherein St. Peter himself did at first reside, exercising his vicarship: if our Lord, upon special accounts out of course, had put the sovereignty into St. Peter's hands, yet after his decease it might be fit that it should return into its proper channel.

This may seem to have been the judgment of the times, when the author of the Apostolical Constitutions did write, who reporteth the apostles to have ordered prayers to be made first for James, then for Clement, then for Euodius.

12. Equity would rather have required, that one should by common consent and election of the whole church be placed in St. Peter's room, than that the bishop of Rome, by election of a few persons there, should succeed into it.

As the whole body of pastors was highly concerned in that succession, so it was reasonable that all of them should concur in designation of a person thereto; it is not reasonable to suppose that either God would institute, or St. Peter by will should devise a course of proceeding in such a case so unequal and unsatisfactory.

If therefore the church, considering this equity of the case, together with the expediency of affairs in relation to its good, should undertake to choose for itself another monarch, (the bishop of another see, who should seem fitter for the place,) to succeed into the prerogatives of St. Peter, that person would have a fairer title to that office than the pope; for such a person would have a real title, grounded on some reason of the case; whenas the pope's pretence doth only stand upon a positive institution, whereof he cannot exhibit any certificate. This was the mind of a great man among themselves; who saith, that [l] *if possibly the bishop of Triers should be chosen for head of the church. For the church has free power to provide itself a head.*

Bellarmine himself confesseth, that [m] *if St. Peter* (as he might have done if he had pleased) *should have chosen no particular see, as he did not for the first five years, then after Peter's death, neither the bishop of Rome nor of Antioch had succeeded, but he whom the church should have chosen for itself.* Now if the church upon that supposition would have had such a right, it is not probable that St. Peter *by his fact* would have deprived it thereof, or willingly done any thing in prejudice to it; there being apparently so much equity, that the church should have a stroke in designation of its pastor.

[l] Quod si per possibile Trevirensis eligeretur pro capite ecclesiæ. Habet enim ecclesia potestatem liberam sibi de capite providendi——. *Card. Cus. de Conc. Cath.* ii. 13——.

[m] Nam potuisset Petrus nullam sedem particularem sibi unquam eligere, sicut fecit primis quinque annis, et tunc moriente Petro, non episcopus Romanus, neque Antiochenus successisset, sed is quem ecclesia sibi elegisset. *Bell.* ii. 12.

In ancient times there was not any small church which had not a suffrage in the choice of its pastor; and was it fitting that all the church should have one imposed on it without its consent [n]?

If we consider the manner in ancient time of electing and constituting the Roman bishop, we may thence discern not only the improbability, but iniquity of this pretence: how was he then chosen? was it by a general synod of bishops, or by delegates from all parts of Christendom, whereby the common interest in him might appear, and whereby the world might be satisfied that one was elected fit for that high office? No; he was chosen, as usually then other particular bishops were, by the clergy and people of Rome; none of the world being conscious of the proceeding, or bearing any share therein.

Now was it equal that such a power of imposing a sovereign on all the grave bishops, and on all the good people of the Christian world, should be granted to one city?

Was it fitting that such a charge, importing advancement above all pastors, and being intrusted with the welfare of all souls in Christendom, should be the result of an election liable to so many defects

[n] Nulla ratio sinit, ut inter episcopos habeantur, qui nec a clericis sunt electi, nec a plebibus expetiti, nec a comprovincialibus episcopis cum metropolitani judicio consecrati. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 92. No reason will admit, that they should be esteemed bishops, who are neither chosen by the clergy, nor desired by the people, nor consecrated by the bishops of the same province, with the consent of the metropolitan. Nullus invitis detur episcopus: cleri, plebis, et ordinis consensus requiratur. *P. Celest. I.* Ep. 2. *Grat. Dist.* 61. cap. 13. Let there be no bishop imposed on any against their wills: let the consent of the clergy and people, and his own order be required.

and corruptions; which assuredly often, if not almost constantly, would be procured by ambition, bribery, or partiality; would be managed by popular faction and tumults?

It was observed generally of such elections by Nazianzen, that [p]*prelacies were not got rather by virtue than by naughtiness; and that episcopal thrones did not rather belong to the more worthy, than to the more powerful.*

And declaring his mind or wish, that elections of bishops should [q]*rest only or chiefly in the best men; not in the wealthiest and mightiest; or in the impetuousness and unreasonableness of the people, and among them in those who are most easily bought and bribed;* whereby he intimateth the common practice, and subjoineth, *But now I can hardly avoid thinking that the popular (or civil) governances are better ordered than ours, which are reputed to have divine grace attending them.*

And that the Roman elections in that time were come into that course, we may see by the relation and reflections of an honest pagan historian concerning the election of pope Damasus, (contemporary of Gregory Nazianzen;) [r]*Damasus,* saith he, *and Ursinus, above human measure burning with desire*

[p] Οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρετῆς μᾶλλον, ἢ κακουργίας ἡ προεδρία, οὐδὲ τῶν ἀξιωτέρων μᾶλλον, ἢ δυνατωτέρων οἱ θρόνοι. Naz. Or. xx. p. 335.

[q] Ἐφ' οἷς ἔδει τὰς τοιαύτας προβολὰς κεῖσθαι μόνοις, ἢ ὅτι μάλιστα— ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῖς εὐπορωτάτοις τε καὶ δυνατωτάτοις, ἢ φορᾷ δήμου καὶ ἀλογίᾳ, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν μάλιστα τοῖς εὐωνοτάτοις· νῦν δὲ κινδυνεύω τὰς δημοσίας ἀρχὰς εὐτακτωτέρας ὑπολαμβάνειν τῶν ἡμετέρων, αἷς ἡ θεία χάρις ἐπιψηφίζεται. Greg. Naz. Or. xix. p. 310.

[r] Damasus et Ursinus supra humanum modum ad rapiendam episcopalem sedem ardentes scissis studiis acerrime conflictabantur—. *Am. Marcell.* lib. 27.

to snatch the episcopal see, did, with divided parties, most fiercely conflict; in which conflict upon one day, in the very church, an hundred and thirty persons were slain; so did that great pope get into the chair: thus, as the historian reflecteth, the [s]***wealth and pomp of the place naturally did provoke ambition*** by all means to seek it, and did cause fierce contentions to arise in the choice; whence commonly, wise and modest persons being excluded from any capacity thereof, any ambitious and cunning man, who had the art or the luck to please the multitude, would by violence obtain it: which was a goodly way of constituting a sovereign to the church. Sozom. vi. 23.

Thus it went within three ages after our Lord: and afterwards, in the declensions of Christian simplicity and integrity, matters were not like to be mended, but did indeed rather grow worse; as beside the reports and complaints of historians, how that commonly by ambitious prensations, by simoniacal corruptions, by political bandyings, by popular factions, by all kinds of sinister ways, men crept into the place, doth appear by those many dismal schisms, which gave the church many pretended heads, but not one certain one; as also by the result of them, being the choice of persons very unworthy and horribly flagitious [t].

[s] Neque ego ab uno ostentationem rerum considerans urbanarum, hujus rei cupidos, &c. *Id. ibid.*

[t] Damasus II. pontificatum per vim occupat, nullo cleri populique consensu; adeo enim inoleverat hic mos, ut jam cuique ambitioso liceret Petri sedem invadere. *Plat.* (p. 314.) Damasus II. invades the popedom by force, without any consent of the clergy and people; for so was it now grown into custom, that any ambitious man might invade Peter's see. Eo enim tum pon-

If it be said that the election of a pope in old times was wont to be approved by the consent of all bishops in the world, according to the testimony of St. Cyprian, who saith of Cornelius, that [u] *he was*

tificatus devenerat, ut qui plus largitione et ambitione, non dico sanctitate vitæ et doctrina valeret, is tantummodo dignitatis gradum bonis oppressis et rejectis obtineret: quem morem utinam aliquando non retinuissent nostra tempora. *Plat. in Silv.* 3. For the business of the papacy was come to that pass, that whoever by bribery and ambition, I say not by holiness of life and learning, got the start of others, he alone obtained that degree of dignity, good men in the mean being depressed and rejected: which custom I would to God our times had not retained. Cum jam eo devenissent ecclesiastici, ut non coacti ut antea, sed sponte et largitionibus pontificium munus obirent. *Plat. in Steph.* 6. *Baron.* ann. 112. §. 8. Whenas now ecclesiastical persons are come to that pass, that they execute the papal office, not being compelled unto it, as heretofore, but of their own accord, and by bribing for it. Videbat enim Imperator eo licentiæ factiosum quemque et potentem, quamvis ignobilem devenisse, ut corruptis suffragiis tantam dignitatem consequeretur, &c. *Plat. in Clem.* ii. (p. 313.) For the emperor saw that every factious and powerful person, though base and ignoble, was grown to that height of licentiousness, that he obtained so great dignity by corruption and buying of suffrages. Omne papale negotium manus agunt: quem dabis mihi de tota maxima urbe, qui te in papam receperit, pretio seu spe pretii non interveniente? *Bern. de Consid.* iv. 2. The whole business of making a pope is managed by gifts: whom can you shew me, in all this great city, who took you into the papacy without being bribed and corrupted with reward, or at least with hope of it?

[u] —— co-episcoporum testimonio, quorum numerus universus per totum mundum concordi unanimitate consentit —. *Cypr.* Ep. 52. Cum Fabiani locus, id est cum locus Petri, et gradus cathedræ sacerdotalis vacaret, quo occupato de Dei voluntate atque omnium nostrum consentione——. *Ibid.* When Fabianus's place, i. e. when the place of Peter, and the degree of the sacerdotal chair was vacant, which being obtained by the will of God, and all our consents——.

known by the testimony of his fellow bishops, whose whole number through all the world did with peaceful unanimity consent:

I answer, that this consent was not in the election, or antecedently to it; that it was only by letters or messages declaring the election, according to that of St. Cyprian [x]; that it was not anywise peculiar to the Roman bishop, but such as was yielded to all catholic bishops, each of whom [y] *was to be approved*, as St. Cyprian saith, *by the testimony and judgment of his colleagues;* that it was in order only to the maintaining fraternal communion and correspondence, signifying that such a bishop was duly elected by his clergy and people, was rightly ordained by his neighbour bishops, did profess the catholic faith, and was therefore qualified for communion with his brethren; such a consent to the election of any bishop of old was given, (especially upon occasion, and when any question concerning the right of a bishop did intervene,) whereof now in the election of a pope no footstep doth remain.

We may also note, that the election of Cornelius being contested, he did more solemnly acquaint all the bishops of the world with his case, and so did obtain their approbation in a way more than ordinary. Euseb.

13. If God had designed this derivation of universal sovereignty, it is probable that he would have prescribed some certain, standing, immutable way

[x] Satis erat ut tu te episcopum factum literis nunciares, &c. *Cypr.* Ep. 42. It was enough that you declared by letters that you were made bishop.

[y] Episcopo semel facto, et collegarum ac plebis testimonio et judicio comprobato—. *Cypr.* Ep. 41.

of election, and imparted the right to certain persons, and not left it at such uncertainty to the chances of time, so that the manner of election hath often changed, and the power of it tossed into divers hands.

[z] *And though in several times there have been observed several ways as to the election of the Roman pontiffs, according as the necessity and expediency of the church required.*

Of old it was (as other elections) managed by nomination of the clergy, and suffrage of the people.

Afterward the emperors did assume to themselves the nomination or approbation of them.

[a] *For then nothing was done by the clergy in the choice of the pope, unless the emperor had approved his election.*

[b] *But he, seeing the prince's consent was required, sent messengers with letters, to entreat Mauritius that he would not suffer the election made by the clergy and people of Rome in that case to be valid.*

[c] *Leo VIII. being tired out with the inconstancy*

[z] Et licet diversis temporibus diversi modi super electione Romanorum pontificum observati sunt, prout necessitas, et utilitas ecclesiæ exposcebat——. *Conc. Bas.* sess. xxxvii. p. 98. Vide *Grat. Dist.* 63. per tot.

[a] Nil enim tum a clero in eligendo pontifice actum erat, nisi ejus electionem imperator approbasset. *Plat. in Pelag. II.*

[b] Is autem, cum principis consensus requireretur, nuncios cura literis miserat, qui Mauritium obsecrarent, ne pateretur electionem cleri et populi Romani ea in re valere. *Plat. in Greg. M.* Vide *Grat. dist.* 63.——

[c] Conc. tom. vii. p. 182. Leo VIII. Romanorum inconstantiam pertæsus, auctoritatem omnem eligendi pontificis a clero, populoque Romano ad imperatorem transtulit. *Plat. in Leo VIII.* (p. 291.)

of the Romans, transferred the whole power and authority of choosing the pope from the clergy and people of Rome to the emperor.

At some times the clergy had no hand in the election; but popes were intruded by powerful men or women at their pleasure [d].

Afterwards the cardinals (that is, some of the chief Roman clergy) did appropriate the election to themselves, by the decree of pope Nicholas II. in his Lateran synod. Grat. Dist. xxiii. cap. 1. Plat. in Nic. II.

Sometimes, out of course, general synods did assume the choice to themselves; as at Constance, Pisa, and Basil.

14. From the premises, to conclude the pope's title to St. Peter's authority, it is requisite to shew the power demised by him to be according to God's institution and intent, immutable and indefectible; for power built upon the like, but far more certain principles, hath in course of times, and by worldly changes, been quite lost, or conveyed into other channels than those wherein it was first put; and that irrecoverably, so that it cannot anywise be retrieved, or reduced into the first order.

For instance, Adam was by God constituted universal sovereign of mankind; and into that power his eldest son of right did succeed; and so it of right should have been continually propagated.

Yet soon did that power fail, or was diverted into other courses; the world being cantonized into several dominions; so that the *heir at law* among all the descendents of Adam cannot so easily be found,

[d] Nusquam cleri eligentis, vel postea consentientis aliqua mentio. *Baron.* ann. 112. §. 8. ann. 131. §. 1. There was nowhere any mention of the clergy electing, or afterward consenting.

as *a needle in a bottle of hay;* he probably is a subject, and perhaps is a peasant.

So might St. Peter be monarch of the church, and the pope might succeed him; yet by revolutions of things, by several defaults and incapacities in himself, by divers obstructions incident, by forfeiture upon encroaching on other men's rights, according to that maxim of a great pope, *He loseth his own, who coveteth more than his due,* his power might be clipped, might be transplanted, might utterly decay and fail; to such fatalities other powers are subject; nor can that of the pope be exempt from them, as otherwhere we shall more largely declare.

Propria perdit qui indebita concupiscit. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 54.

15. Indeed that God did intend his church should perpetually subsist united in any one political frame of government, is a principle which they do assume and build upon, but can nowise prove. Nor indeed is it true. For

If the unity of the church designed and instituted by God were only an unity of faith, of charity, of peace, of fraternal communion and correspondence between particular societies and pastors, then in vain it is to seek for the subject and seat of universal jurisdiction. Now that God did not intend any other unity, than such as those specified, we have good reason to judge, and shall, we hope, otherwhere sufficiently prove.

16. We may consider, that really the sovereign power (such as it is pretended) hath often failed, there having been for long spaces of time no Roman bishops at all, upon several accounts; which is a sign that the church may subsist without it.

As, 1. When Rome was desolated by the Goths, Vandals, and Lombards.

2. In times when the Romans would not suffer popes to live with them. Vide Bern. Ep. 242, 243. Bell. iv. 4.

3. In case of discontinuance from Rome, when the popes (so calling themselves) did for above seventy years abide in France; when they indeed, not being chosen by the Roman people, nor exercising pastoral care over them, were only titular, not real bishops of Rome; (they were popes of Avignon, not of Rome; and successors of God knows who, not of St. Peter;) no more than one continually living in England can be bishop of Jerusalem.

4. In times of many long schisms, (twenty-two schisms,) when either there was no true pope, or, which in effect was the same, no certain one. —Inopem me copia fecit.

5. When popes were intruded by violence, whom Baronius himself positively affirmeth to have been no popes: how then could a succession of true popes be continued from them by the clergy, which they in virtue of their papal authority did pretend to create? Baron. ad an. 112. §. 8.

6. When elections had a flaw in them, were uncanonical, and so null.

7. When popes were simoniacally chosen; who by their own rules and laws are no true popes; being heretics, heresiarchs [e].

The which was done for long courses of time very commonly, and in a manner constantly [f].

[e] P. Greg. VII. Ep. iii. 7. P. Jul. in Conc. Lat. sess. v. p. 57. Non solum hujusmodi electio vel assumptio eo ipso nulla existat —&c. *Vide sup.* §. 12. Such an election or assumption, let it not only be upon that account void and null.

[f] Vide quæso quantum isti degeneraverint a majoribus suis; illi enim utpote viri sanctissimi dignitatem ultro oblatam contemnebant, orationi et doctrinæ Christianæ vacantes; hi vero largitione et ambitione pontificatum quærentes, et adepti, posthabito

8. When popes have been deposed; (as some by the emperors, others by general councils;) in which case, according to papal principles, the successors were illegal; for the pope being sovereign, he could not be judged or deposed; and his successor is an usurper.

9. When popes were heretical, that is (say they) no popes.

10. When atheists, sorcerers,——

Elections in some of these cases being null, and therefore the acts consequent to them invalid, there is probably a defailance of right continued to posterity [g].

And probably therefore there is now no true pope.

For (upon violent intrusion, or simoniacal choice, or any usurpation) the cardinals, bishops, &c. which the pope createth, are not truly such; and consequently their votes not good in the choice of another pope; and so successively.

These considerations may suffice to declare the inconsequence of their discourses, even admitting their assertions, which yet are so false, or so apparently uncertain.

divino cultu, &c. *Plat. in Serg.* 3. (p. 279.) Vid. —— *in Bened. IV.* p. 277. See, I beseech you, how much they have degenerated from their ancestors; for they as being very holy men did contemn that dignity when freely offered, giving themselves wholly to prayer and the doctrine of Christ; but these by bribery and ambition seek and obtain the papacy.

[g] Plat. in Joh. x. (p. 275.) Pontifices ipsi a Petri vestigiis discesserant. The popes had swerved from the examples of Peter. Possessor malæ fidei ullo tempore non præscribit. *Reg. Jur.* 2. *in Sexto.* He that has no right to the thing he possesses, cannot prescribe or plead any length of time to make his possession lawful.

I shall in the next place level some arguments rectly against their main conclusion itself.

I. My first argument against this pretence shall , that it is destitute of any good warrant, either ɔm divine or human testimony; and so is ground- ıs. As will appear by the following considerations.

1. If God had designed the bishop of Rome to be r the perpetual course of times sovereign monarch his church, it may reasonably be supposed that : would expressly have declared his mind in the se[h]; it being a point of greatest importance of all at concern the administration of his kingdom in e world. Princes do not use to send their vice- ys unfurnished with patents, clearly signifying eir commission, that no man, out of ignorance or ubt concerning that point, excusably may refuse mpliance; and in all equity promulgation is re- uisite to the establishment of any law, or exacting edience. But in all the pandects of divine reve- tion the bishop of Rome is not so much as once entioned, either by name, or by character, or by obable intimation; they cannot hook him in other- se, than by straining hard, and framing a long ain of consequences; each of which is too subtle r to constrain any man's persuasion: they have deed found the pope in the first chapter of Gene- ; for (if we believe Pope Innocent III.) he is one the *two great luminaries* there[i]; and he is as ainly there, as any where else in the Bible.

[h] Nec vero simile sit, ut rem tam necessariam ad ecclesiæ uni- em continendam Christus Dominus apostolis suis non revelarit. *lch.* can. vi. 8. Neither is it likely that our Lord Christ would t have revealed to his apostles a thing so necessary for preserv- ; the unity of the church.

[i] Ad firmamentum igitur cœli, hoc est universalis ecclesiæ, fecit

Wherefore if upon this account we should reject this pretence, we might do it justly; and for so doing we have the allowance of the ancient Fathers; for they did not hold any man obliged to admit any point of doctrine, or rule of manners, which is not in express words, or in terms equivalent, contained in holy scripture; or which at least might not thence be deduced by clear and certain inference: this their manner of disputing with heretics and heterodox people doth shew; this appeareth by their way of defining and settling doctrines of faith; this they often do avow in plain words applicable to our case: for, [k] *If,* saith St. Austin, *about Christ, or about his church, or about any other thing, which concerneth our faith and life, I will not say we, who are nowise comparable to him, who said, Although we; but even as he going on did add, If an angel from heaven should tell you, beside what you have received in the legal and evangelical scriptures, let him be anathema:* in which words we have St. Austin's warrant, not only

Deus duo magna luminaria, id est, duas instituit dignitates, quæ sunt pontificalis auctoritas, et regalis potestas; sed illa quæ præest diebus, id est, spiritualibus, major est; quæ vero carnalibus, minor, &c. *Innoc. III. in Decret. Greg. I.* xxxiii. 6. For the firmament therefore of heaven, i. e. of the universal church, God made two great lights; i. e. he ordained two dignities or powers, which are the pontifical authority, and the regal power: but that which rules the days, i. e. spiritual matters, is the greater; but that which governs carnal things is the lesser, &c.

[k] Proinde sive de Christo, sive de ejus ecclesia, sive de quacunque alia re, quæ pertinet ad fidem vitamque nostram, non dicam nos, nequaquam comparandi ei qui dixit, *Licet si nos,* sed omnino quod sequutus adjecit, *Si angelus de cœlo vobis annunciaverit,* præterquam quod in scripturis legalibus ac evangelicis accepistis, anathema sit. *Aug. contr. Petil.* iii. 6.

to refuse, but to detest this doctrine, which being nowhere extant in law or gospel, is yet obtruded on us, as nearly relating both to Christ and his church, as greatly concerning both our faith and practice.

2. To enforce this argument, we may consider that the evangelists do speak about the propagation, settlement, and continuance of our Lord's kingdom; that the apostles do often treat about the state of the church and its edification, order, peace, unity; about the distinction of its officers and members, about the qualifications, duties, graces, privileges of spiritual governors and guides; about prevention and remedy of heresies, schisms, disorders: upon any of which occasions how is it possible that the mention of such a spiritual monarch (who was to have a main influence on each of those particulars) should wholly escape them, if they had known such an one instituted by God.

In the Levitical law all things concerning the high priest, not only his designation, succession, consecration, duty, power, maintenance, privileges, but even his garments, marriage, mourning, &c. are punctually determined and described: and is it not wonderful, that in the many descriptions of the new law no mention should be made concerning any duty or privilege of its high priest, whereby he might be directed in the administration of his office, and know what observance to require? Exod. xxviii. 1, 4. Levit. xxi.

3. Whereas also the scripture doth inculcate duties of all sorts, and doth not forget frequently to press duties of respect and obedience toward particular governors of the church; is it not strange, that it never should bestow one precept, whereby we might be instructed and admonished to pay our

duty to the universal pastor; especially considering, that God, who directed the pens of the apostles, and who intended that their writings should continue for the perpetual instruction of Christians, did foresee how requisite such a precept would be to secure that duty? for if but one such precept did appear, it would do the business, and void all contestation about it.

4. They, who so carefully do exhort to honour and obey the temporal sovereignty, how come they so wholly to wave urging the no less needful obligations to obey the spiritual monarch? while they are so mindful of the emperor, why are they so neglectful of the pope; insomuch, that divers popes afterward, to ground and urge obedience to them, are fain to borrow those precepts which command obedience to princes, accommodating them by analogy and inference to themselves?

P. Nic. I. Ep. 10. P. Leo IX. Ep. 1. P. Greg. VII. Ep. 1, 22.

5. Particularly St. Peter, one would think, who doth so earnestly enjoin to obey *the king as supreme*, and *to honour him*, should not have been unmindful of his successors; or quite have forborne to warn Christians of the respect due to them: surely the popes afterward do not follow him in this reservedness; for in their Decretal Epistles they urge nothing so much as obedience to the apostolical see.

1 Pet. ii. 13—17.

6. One might have expected something of that nature from St. Paul himself, who did write so largely to the Romans, and so often from Rome; that at least some word, or some intimation, should have dropped from him concerning these huge rights and privileges of this *see*, and of the regard due to it. Particularly then, when he professedly doth

enumerate the offices, instituted by God, for standing use and perpetual duration; *for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ; till we all come in the unity of faith,* &c.[k] Eph. iv. 11, 12, 13. 1 Cor. xii. 28.

He commendeth them for their faith, which *was spoken of through the whole world;* yet [l]*giving them no advantage above others;* as St. Chrysostom observeth on those words, *for obedience to the faith among all nations, among whom also are ye.* [m] *This,* saith St. Chrysostom, *he saith to depress their conceit, to void their haughtiness of mind, and to teach them, (to deem others equal in dignity with them.)* Rom. i. 8. Rom. i. 5.

When he writeth to that church, (which was some time after St. Peter had settled the popedom,) he doth only style them κλητοὶ ἅγιοι, (*called saints,*) and ἀγαπητοὶ Θεοῦ, (*beloved of God,*) which are common adjuncts of all Christians; he saith, their faith was spoken of generally, but of the fame of their authority being so spread he taketh no notice; that *their obedience had come abroad to all men,* but their commands had not (it seemeth) come anywhere. (Vid. Chrys. Theo. Hier.) Baron. an. 58. §. 46, &c. Rom. i. 7, 8. Rom. xvi. 19.

He wrote divers Epistles from Rome, wherein he resolveth many cases debated, yet never doth urge the authority of the Roman church for any point, which now is so ponderous an argument.

[k] Quarum laudum et gloriæ degenerem fuisse, maximum crimen est. *Cl. Rom. ad Cypr.* Ep. 31. To degenerate from which praise and glory is an exceeding great crime.

[l] Οὐδὲν πλέον αὐτοῖς δίδωσι τῶν λοιπῶν ἐθνῶν.

[m] Ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῖ καθαιρῶν αὐτῶν τὸ φρόνημα, καὶ κενῶν τὸ φύσημα τῆς διανοίας, καὶ διδάσκων αὐτοὺς τὴν πρὸς ἄλλους ἰσοτιμίαν.

7. But however, seeing the scripture is so strangely reserved, how cometh it to pass that tradition is also so defective, and staunch in so grand a case? We have in divers of the Fathers (particularly in Tertullian, in St. Basil, in St. Jerome) catalogues of traditional doctrines and observances, which they recite to assert tradition in some cases supplemental to scripture; in which their purpose did require, that they should set down those of principal moment; and they are so punctual, as to insert many of small consideration: how then came they to neglect this, concerning the papal authority over the whole church, which had been most pertinent to their design, and in consequence did vastly surpass all the rest which they do name?

Tertull. de Cor. Mil. 3. Basil. de Sp. S. 27. Hier. advers. Lucif. 4.

8. The designation of the Roman bishop by succession to obtain so high a degree in the church, being above all others a most remarkable and noble piece of history, which it had been a horrible fault in an ecclesiastical history to slip over, without careful reporting and reflecting upon it; yet Eusebius, that most diligent compiler of all passages relating to the original constitution of the church, and to all transactions therein, hath not one word about it! who yet studiously doth report the successions of the Roman bishops, and all the notable occurrences he knew concerning them, with favourable advantage.

9. Whereas this doctrine is pretended to be a point of faith, of vast consequence to the subsistence of the church and to the salvation of men, it is somewhat strange that it should not be inserted into any one ancient summary of things to be believed, (of which summaries divers remain, some

composed by public consent, others by persons of eminency in the church,) nor by fair and forcible consequence should be deducible from any article in them; especially considering that such summaries were framed upon occasion of heresies springing up which disregarded the pope's authority, and which by asserting it were plainly confuted. We are therefore beholden to pope Innocent III. and his Lateran synod, for first synodically defining this point, together with other points no less new and unheard of before. The Creed of pope Pius IV. formed the other day, is the first, as I take it, which did contain this article of faith.

Const. Apost. vii. 41. (a full Creed, at baptism.

Conc. Lat. iv. cap. 5. an. 1215.

10. It is much that this point of faith should not be delivered in any of those ancient expositions of the Creed (made by St. Austin, Ruffin, &c.) which enlarge it to necessary points of doctrine, connected with the articles therein, especially with that of the catholic church, to which the pope's authority hath so close a connexion; that it should not be touched in the catechetical discourses of Cyril, Ambrose, &c.; that in the systems of divinity composed by St. Austin, Lactantius, &c.; it should not be treated on: the world is now changed; for the Catechism of Trent doth not overlook so material a point; and it would pass for a lame body of theology which should omit to treat on this subject.

11. It is more wonderful, that this point should never be defined, in downright and full terms, by any ancient synod; it being so notoriously in those old times opposed by divers who dissented in opinion, and discorded in practice from the pope; it being also a point of that consequence, that such a solemn declaration of it would have much conduced

to the ruin of all particular errors and schi which were maintained then in opposition to church.

12. Indeed had this point been allowed by the main body of orthodox bishops, the pope could not have been so drowsy or stupid, as not to have solicited for such a definition thereof; nor would the bishops have been backward in compliance thereto; it being, in our adversaries' conceit, so compendious and effectual a way of suppressing all heresies, schisms, and disorders; (although indeed later experience hath shewed it no less available to stifle truth, justice, and piety:) the popes after Luther were better advised, and so were the bishops adhering to his opinions.

13. Whereas also it is most apparent, that many persons disclaimed this authority, not regarding either the doctrines or decrees of the popes; it is wonderful that such men should not be reckoned in the large catalogues of heretics, wherein errors of less obvious consideration, and of far less importance, did place men; if Epiphanius, Theodoret, Leontius, &c. were so negligent or unconcerned, yet St. Austin, Philastrius,—western men, should not have overlooked this sort of desperate heretics: Aërius, for questioning the dignity of bishops, is set among the heretics; but who got that name for disavowing the pope's supremacy, among the many who did it? (it is but lately, that such as we have been thrust in among heretics.)

14. Whereas no point avowed by Christians could be so apt to raise offence and jealousy in pagans against our religion as this, which setteth up a power of so vast extent and huge influence; whereas

novelty could be more surprising or startling, than the erection of an universal empire over the consciences and religious practices of men; whereas also this doctrine could not but be very conspicuous and glaring in ordinary practice; it is prodigious, that all pagans should not loudly exclaim against it.

It is strange, that pagan historians (such as Marcellinus, who often speaketh of popes, and blameth them for their luxurious way of living and pompous garb[n]; as Zozimus, who bore a great spite at Christianity; as all the writers of the imperial history before Constantine) should not report it, as a very strange pretence newly started up.

It is wonderful, that the eager adversaries of our religion (such as Celsus, Porphyry, Hierocles, Julian himself) should not particularly level their discourse against it, as a most scandalous position and dangerous pretence, threatening the government of the empire.

It is admirable, that the emperors themselves, inflamed with emulation and suspicion of such an authority, (the which hath been so terrible even to Christian princes,) should not in their edicts expressly decry and impugn it; that indeed every one of them should not with extremest violence implacably strive to extirpate it.

In consequence of these things it may also seem strange, that none of the advocates of our faith

[n] —— procedantque vehiculis insidentes, circumspecte vestiti, pulas curantes profusas, adeo ut eorum convivia regales superent mensas. *Marcell.* lib. xxvii. p. 338. They travel sitting in chaiots, curiously apparelled, procuring profuse dainties, insomuch as their meals exceed the feasts of kings.

(Justin, Origen, Tertullian, Arnobius, Cyril, Austin) should be put to defend it, or so much as forced to mention it, in their elaborate apologies for the doctrines and practices which were reprehended by any sort of adversaries thereto.

We may add, that divers of them in their [o]apologies and representations concerning Christianity would have appeared not to deal fairly, or to have been very inconsiderate, when they profess for their common belief assertions repugnant to that doctrine; as when Tertullian saith, [q] *We reverence the emperor as a man second to God, and less only than God;* when Optatus affirmeth, that [q] *above the emperor there is none beside God, who made the emperor;* and, that [r] *Donatus by extolling himself* (as some now do) *above the emperor, did in so doing, as it were, exceed the bounds of men, that he did esteem himself as God, not as a man.* When St. Chrysostom asserteth [s] *the emperor to be the crown and head of all men upon earth;* and saith,

[o] Sentiunt enim Deum esse solum, in cujus solius potestate sunt, a quo sunt secundi, post quem primi, ante omnes et super omnes deos. Quidni? cum super omnes homines, qui utique vivunt, et mortuis antistant. *Tertull. Apolog.* cap. 30. For they think it is God alone in whose power they are, next to whom they are the chief, before all, and above all gods. And why not when they are above all men alive, and surpass the dead.

[p] Colimus imperatorem ut hominem a Deo secundum, et sole Deo minorem. *Tertull. ad Scap.* 2.

[q] Cum super imperatorem non sit nisi solus Deus qui fecit imperatorem. *Opt.* lib. 3.

[r] —— dum se Donatus super imperatorem extollit, jam quas hominum excesserat modum, ut se ut Deum, non hominem æsti maret. *Id. ibid.*

[s] Βασιλεὺς γὰρ κορυφὴ καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐστιν ἁπάντων Chrys. Ἀνδρ. ii. p. 463.

that [t]*even apostles, evangelists, prophets, any men whoever,* are to be subject to the temporal powers; when St. Cyril calleth the emperor [u]*the supreme top of glory among men, elevated above all others by incomparable differences,* &c. When even popes talk at this rate; as pope Gregory I. calling the emperor his [x]*lord, and lord of all;* telling the emperor, that his competitor, by assuming the title of universal bishop, *did set himself above the honour of his imperial majesty;* which he supposeth a piece of great absurdity and arrogance: and even pope Gregory II. doth call that emperor (against whom he afterward rebelled) [y]*the head of Christians.* Whereas, indeed, if the pope be monarch of the church, endowed with the regalities which they now ascribe to him, it is plain enough that he is not

[t] Κἂν ἀπόστολος ᾖς, κἂν εὐαγγελιστὴς, κἂν προφήτης, κἂν ὁστισοῦν, &c. Chrys. in Rom. xiii. 1. Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ὑβρισθεὶς ὁμότιμόν τινα ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, βασιλεὺς γὰρ——. Chrys. supra. For he that is thus wronged has not his equal upon earth, for he is king, &c.

[u] Τῆς μὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐκλείας τὸ ἀνώτατον καὶ ἀσυγκρίτοις διαφοραῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἀνεστηχὸς καὶ ὑπερκείμενον, ὑμεῖς, ὦ φιλόχριστοι βασιλεῖς, καὶ κλῆρος ὑμῖν ἐξαίρετός τε καὶ πρέπων παρὰ Θεοῦ τῆς ἐνούσης αὐτῷ κατὰ πάντων ὑπεροχῆς. Cyril. ad Theod. in Conc. Eph. part. i. cap. 3. p. 20.

[x] P. Greg. M. Ep. ii. 62. Quia sereniss. domine ex illo jam tempore dominus meus fuisti, quando adhuc dominus omnium non eras——Ego quidem jussioni subjectus——. *Ibid.* Ad hoc enim potestas dominorum meorum pietati cœlitus data est super omnes homines, &c. *Ibid.* Ego indignus famulus vester. *Ibid.* Qui honori quoque imperii vestri se per privatum vocabulum superponit. *P. Greg. I.* Ep. iv. 32.

[y] Ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν Χριστιανῶν. P. Greg. II. in Epist. 1. ad Leon. Isaur. apud Bin. tom. v. p. 502. As king and head of Christians.

inferior to any man living in real power and dignity: wherefore the modern doctors of Rome are far more sincere or considerate in their heraldry, than were those old fathers of Christendom; who now stick not downrightly to prefer the pope before all princes of the world; not only in doctrine and notion, but in the sacred offices of the church [z]: for in the very canon of their mass, the pope (together with the bishop of the diocese, one of his ministers) is set before all Christian princes; every Christian subject being thereby taught to deem the pope superior to his prince. [a]Now we must believe (for one pope hath written it, another hath put it in his decretals, and it is current law) that the papal authority doth no less surpass the royal, than the sun doth outshine the moon.

Now it is abundantly [b] *declared* by papal *definition, as a point necessary to salvation,* that *every human creature* (neither king nor Cæsar excepted) *is subject to the Roman high priest.*

Now the mystery is discovered, why popes, when

[z] —— una cum famulo tuo papa nostro N. et antistite nostro N. et rege nostro N. et omnibus orthodoxis, &c. Together with thy servant our pope N. and our bishop N. and our king N. and all orthodox, &c.

[a] Fiat autem oratio pro dignitate regia post orationem factam pro papa, quia potestas suprema sacerdotalis excedit regiam antiquitate, dignitate, et utilitate, &c. *Gab. Biel. in Can. mis.* Let prayer be made for the king after prayer made for the pope; because the supreme sacerdotal power exceeds the kingly in antiquity, dignity, and utility, &c.

[b] Subesse Romano pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis. *P. Bonif. VIII. in Extrav. com.* lib. i. tit. 38.

summoned by emperors, declined to go in person to general synods; because [c] *it was not tolerable that the emperor* (who sometime would be present in synods) *should sit above the pope;* as in the pride of his heart he might perhaps offer to do. (I cannot forbear to note what an ill conceit Bellarmine had of Leo I. and other popes, that they did forbear coming at synods out of their villainous pride and haughtiness.)

15. One would admire, that Constantine, if he had smelt this doctrine, or any thing like it in Christianity, should be so ready to embrace it; or that so many emperors should in those times do so; some princes then probably being jealous of their honour, and unwilling to admit any superior to them.

It is at least much, that emperors should with so much indulgence foster and cherish popes, being their so dangerous rivals for dignity; and that it should be true, which pope Nicholas doth affirm, that [d] *the emperors had extolled the Roman see with divers privileges, had enriched it with gifts, had enlarged it with benefits;* had done I know not how many things more for it: surely they were bewitched thus to advance their concurrent compe-

[c] At quamvis utcunque tolerabile sit, ut principes seculares in concilio sedeant ante alios episcopos, tamen nullo modo convenit, ut ante ipsum summum pontificem, &c. *Bell. de Conc.* i. 19.

[d] Quapropter attendat clementia vestra; quantus fuerit erga sedis apostolicæ reverentiam antecessorum vestrorum, piorum duntaxat imperatorum——amor, et studium; qualiter eam diversis privilegiis extulerint, donis ditaverint, beneficiis ampliaverint; qualiter eam literis suis honoraverint, ejus votis annuerint, &c. *P. Nich. I. Epist.* 8. *ad Mich. Imp.*

titor for honour and power; one who pretended to be a better man than themselves. Bellarmine (in his Apology against King James) saith, that *the pope was (vellet, nollet) constrained to be subject to the emperors, because his power was not known to them;* it was well it was not: but how could it be concealed from them, if it were a doctrine commonly avowed by Christians? it is hard keeping so practical a doctrine from breaking forth into light. But to leave this consideration.

Apoll. Bell. p. 202.

Furthermore, we have divers ancient writings, the special nature, matter, scope whereof did require, or greatly invite giving attestation to this power, if such an one had been known and allowed in those times; which yet do afford no countenance, but rather much prejudice thereto.

16. The Apostolical Canons, and the Constitutions of Clement, which describe the state of the church, with its laws, customs, and practices current in the times of those who compiled them, (which times are not certain, but ancient, and the less ancient the more it is to our purpose,) wherein especially the ranks, duties, and privileges of all ecclesiastical persons are declared or prescribed, do not yet touch the prerogatives of this universal head, or the special respects due to him, nor mention any laws or constitutions framed by him: which is no less strange, than that there should be a body of laws, or description of the state of any kingdom, wherein nothing should be said concerning the king, or the royal authority: it is not so in our modern canon law, wherein the pope doth make *utramque paginam;* we read little beside his authority, and decrees made by it.

Const. Apost. viii. 4, &c.

The Apostolical Canons particularly do prescribe, that [c]*the bishops of each nation should know him that is first among them, and should esteem him the head, and should do nothing considerable* (or extraordinary) *without his advice;* as also that *each one* (of those head bishops) *should only meddle with those affairs which concerned his own precinct, and the places under it:* also, that *no such primate should do any thing without the opinion of all; that so there may be concord.* Now what place could be more opportune to mention the pope's sovereign power? How could the canonist without strange neglect pass it over? Doth he not indeed exclude it, assigning the supreme disposal (without further resort) of all things to the arbitration of the whole body of pastors, and placing the maintenance of concord in that course?

17. So also the old writer, under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, [f]treating in several places about the degrees of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, was monstrously overseen in omitting the sovereign thereof: in the fifth chapter of his ecclesiastical hierarchy he professeth carefully to speak of those orders, but hath not a word of this supereminent

[c] Τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἑκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς κεφαλὴν, καὶ μηδέν τι πράττειν περιττὸν ἄνευ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης· ἐκεῖνα δὲ μόνα πράττειν ἕκαστον, ὅσα τῇ αὐτοῦ παροικίᾳ ἐπιβάλλει, καὶ ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτὴν χώραις· ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἄνευ τῆς πάντων γνώμης ποιείτω τι· οὕτω γὰρ ὁμόνοια ἔσται. Apost. Can. 34.

[f] Ἡ θεία τῶν ἱεραρχῶν τάξις πρώτη μέν ἐστι τῶν θεοπτικῶν τάξεων, ἀκροτάτη δὲ καὶ ἐσχάτη ἡ αὐτή· καὶ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὴν ἀποτελεῖται καὶ ἀποπληροῦται πᾶσα τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱεραρχίας διακόσμησις. Dionys. de Hier. Eccl. cap. 5.

rank, but averreth [g] *episcopacy to be the first and highest of divine orders, in which the hierarchy is consummated:* and in his Epistle to Demophilus there is a remarkable place, wherein he could hardly have avoided touching the pope, had there been then one in such vogue as now: for advising that monk to gentleness and observance toward his superiors, he thus speaketh: [h] *Let passion and reason be governed by you; but you by the holy deacons, and these by the priests, and the priests by the bishops, and the bishops by the apostles, or by their successors;* (that is, saith Maximus, those which we *now call patriarchs;*) *and if perhaps any one of them shall fail of his duty, let him be corrected by those holy persons who are coordinate to him.* Why not in this case let him be corrected by the pope, his superior? But he knew none of an order superior to the apostles' successors.

18. Likewise, Ignatius in many Epistles frequently describeth the several ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, extolleth their dignity and authority to the highest pitch, mightily urgeth the respect due to them, yet never doth he so much as mention or touch this sovereign degree, wherein the majesty of the clergy did chiefly shine.

[g] Ἐπειδὴ τὰς ἱερατικὰς τάξεις καὶ ἀποπληρώσεις, δυνάμεις τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἐνεργείας εἰρήκαμεν ὡς ἡμῖν ἐφικτόν. De Eccl. Hier. cap. 5.

[h] Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐπιθυμίᾳ καὶ θυμῷ καὶ λόγῳ τὰ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀφόριζε· σοὶ δὲ οἱ θεῖοι λειτουργοί· καὶ τούτοις οἱ ἱερεῖς· ἱεράρχαι δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι· καὶ τοῖς ἱεράρχαις οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ τῶν ἀποστόλων διάδοχοι· καὶ εἴπου τις καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῦ προσήκοντος ἀποσφαλείη, παρὰ τῶν ὁμοταγῶν ἁγίων ἐπανορθωθήσεται, &c. Dionys. Ar. Ep. 8. Ἀποστόλων δὲ διαδόχους τοὺς νῦν πατριάρχους ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι. Max. Schol. ibid.

In his very Epistle to the Romans he doth not yield any deference to their bishop, nor indeed doth so much as take notice of him. Is it not strange he should so little mind the sovereign of the church? or was it, for a sly reason, because being bishop of Antioch he had a pique to his brother Jacob, who had supplanted him, and got away his birthright?

The counterfeiter therefore of Ignatius did well personate him, when he saith, that [i]*in the church there is nothing greater than a bishop;* and that [k]*a bishop is beyond all rule and authority;* for in the time of Ignatius there was no domineering pope over all bishops.

19. We have some letters of popes, (though not many; for popes were then not very scribatious, or not so pragmatical; whence, to supply that defect, lest popes should seem not able to write, or to have slept almost four hundred years, they have forged divers for them, and those so wise ones, that we who love the memory of those good popes disdain to acknowledge them authors of such idle stuff; we have yet some letters of,) and to popes, to and from divers eminent persons in the church, wherein the former do not assume, nor the latter ascribe any such power; the popes do not express themselves like sovereigns, nor the bishops address themselves like subjects; but they treat one another in a familiar way, like brethren and equals: this is so true, that it is a good mark of a spurious epistle, (whereof we have good store, devised by colloguing knaves,

[i] Οὔτε Θεοῦ τις κρείττων, ἢ παραπλήσιος ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν, οὐδὲ δὲ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπισκόπου τι μεῖζον. Pseud. Ignat. ad Smyrn.

[k] Τί γάρ ἐστιν ἐπίσκοπος, ἀλλ' ἢ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας ἐπέκεινα, &c. Id. ad Trall.

and fathered on the first popes,) when any of them talketh in an imperious strain, or arrogateth such a power to himself.

20. Clemens, bishop of Rome, in the apostolical times unto the church of Corinth, then engaged in discords and factions, wherein the clergy was much affronted, (divers presbyters, who had well and worthily behaved themselves, were ejected from their office in a seditious manner,) did write a very large Epistle; [l]wherein like a good bishop, and charitable Christian brother, he doth earnestly by manifold inducements persuade them to charity and peace; but nowhere doth he speak imperiously, like their prince: in such a case one would think, if ever, for quashing such disorders and quelling so *perverse folks*, who spurned the clergy, it had been decent, it had been expedient, to employ his authority, and to speak like himself, challenging obedience, upon duty to him, and at their peril. How would a modern pope have ranted in such a case? how thundering a bull would he have despatched against such outrageous contemners of the ecclesiastical order? how often would he have spoken of the apostolic see and its authority? We should infallibly have heard him swagger in his wonted style, [m]*Whoever shall pre-*

Πρόσωπα προσπιτῆ καὶ αὐθάδη. p. 2.

[l] Ὁρῶμεν γὰρ ὅτι ἐνίους ὑμεῖς μετηγάγετε καλῶς πολιτευομένους ἐκ τῆς ἀμέμπτως αὐτοῖς τετιμημένης λειτουργίας. Clem. ad Corinth. Ep. i. p. 58. Jun. For we see that you have removed some, who behaved themselves well in their office, out of their ministry blamelessly discharged by them. Στασιάζειν πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους.

[m] Si quis voluntati nostræ contraire præsumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostoli se noverit incursurum. In such terms usually the pope's bulls do end.

sume to cross our will, let him know that he shall incur the indignation of Almighty God, and his blessed apostles Peter and Paul. But our popes, it seemeth, have more wit or better mettle than pope Clement; that good pope did not know his own strength, or had not the heart to use it.

21. Among the Epistles of St. Cyprian there are divers Epistles of him to several popes, (to Cornelius, to Lucius, to Stephanus,) in the which, although written with great kindness and respect, yet no impartial eye can discern any special regard to them, as to his superiors in power, or pastors in doctrine, or judges of practice; [n]he reporteth matters to them, he conferreth about points with all freedom; he speaketh his sense and giveth his advice without any restraint or awe; he spareth not upon occasion to reprove their practices, and to reject their opinions; he in his addresses to them and discourses of them styleth them *brethren* and *colleagues;* and he continually treateth them as such, upon even terms: [o]*When,* saith he to the clergy of Rome, *dearest brethren, there was among us an uncertain rumour concerning the decease of the good man my colleague, Fabianus:* upon which words Rigaltius had cause to remark; [p]*How like an equal and fellow-citizen doth the bishop of* Cypr. Ep. 41, 42, 43, 45, 47, 49, 54, 55, 57, 58, 67, 72.

[n] Et quamquam sciam, frater charissime, pro mutua dilectione, quam debemus et exhibemus invicem nobis, florentissimo illic clero tecum præsidenti, &c. *Ep.* 55. And although I know, most dear brother, out of the mutual love and respect which we owe and yield one to another, &c.

[o] Cum de excessu boni viri collegæ mei, rumor apud nos incertus esset, collegæ charissimi——. *Cypr.* Ep. 4.

[p] Quam ex æquo, et civilis mentio episcopi Romani ab episcopo Carthaginis apud clerum? *Rigalt.* ibid.

Carthage mention the bishop of Rome, even to the Roman clergy! But would not any man now be deemed rude and saucy, who should talk in that style of the pope?

Cypr. Ep. 46, 48. Pope Cornelius also to St. Cyprian hath some Epistles, wherein no glimpse doth appear of any superiority assumed by him. But of St. Cyprian's judgment and demeanour toward popes we shall have occasion to speak more largely, in a way more positively opposite to the Roman pretences.

Euseb. vi. 43. Eusebius citeth divers long passages out of an Epistle of Cornelius to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, against Novatus; wherein no mark of this supremacy doth appear; although the magnitude and flourishing state of the Roman church is described, for aggravation of Novatus's schism and ambition.

Pope Julius hath a notable long Epistle, extant in one of Athanasius's Apologies, unto the bishops assembled at Antioch; wherein he had the fairest occasion that could be to assert and insist upon this sovereign authority, they flatly denying and impugning it; questioning his proceedings as singular, supposing him subject to the laws of the church no less than any other bishop; and downrightly affirming each of themselves to be his equal: about which point he thought good not to contend with them; but waving pretences to superiority, he justifieth his actions by reasons grounded on the merit of the cause, such as any other bishop might allege: but this Epistle I shall have more particular occasion to discuss.

Pope Liberius hath an Epistle to S[illegible] wherein he not only (for his dir[illegible] tion) doth inquire his opinion

professeth, in compliment perchance, that he shall obediently follow it; [q] *Write*, saith he, *whether you do think as we do, and just so, about the true faith; that I may be undoubtedly assured about what you think good to command me.* Was not that spoken indeed like a courteous sovereign, and an accomplished judge in matters of faith? The same pope in the head of the western, doth write to a knot of eastern bishops, whom they call *their beloved brethren and fellow-ministers;* and in a brotherly strain, not like an emperor. Socr. iv. 12.

In the time of Damasus, successor to Liberius, St. Basil hath divers Epistles to the western bishops[r], wherein, having represented and bewailed the wretched state of the eastern churches, then overborne with heresies, and unsettled by factions, he craveth their charity, their prayers, *their sympathy, their comfort, their brotherly aid;* by affording to the orthodox and sound party the countenance of their communion, by joining with them in contention for truth and peace; for that the com- Ep. 61, 69, 70, 74, 182.

[q] Γράψον, εἰ οὕτω φρονεῖς καθὸ καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ τὰ ἴσα ἐν ἀληθινῇ πίστει· ἵνα κἀγὼ πεπεισθῶς ὦ ἀδιακρίτως περὶ ὧν ἀξιοῖς κελεύειν μοι. Liber. ad

munion of so great churches would be of mighty weight to support and strengthen their cause; giving credit thereto among the people, and inducing the emperor to deal fairly with them, in respect to such a multitude of adherents; especially of those which were at such a distance, and not so immediately subject to the eastern emperor; for, [s] *If*, saith he, *very many of you do concur unanimously in the same opinion, it is manifest that the multitude of consenters will make the doctrine to be received without contradiction*; and, [t] *I know*, saith he again, writing to Athanasius about these matters, *but one way of redress to our churches, the conspiring with us of the western bishops*; the which being obtained, [u] *would probably yield some advantage to the public, the secular power revering the credibility of the multitude, and the people all about following them without repugnance*: and, [x] *You*, saith he to the western bishops, *the further you dwell from them, the more credible you will be to the people.*

This indeed was according to the ancient rule and practice in such cases, that any church being oppressed with error, or distracted with contentions, should from the bishops of other churches receive

[s] Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ συμφώνως πλείονες ὁμοῦ τὰ αὐτὰ δογματίσητε, δῆλον ὅτι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν δογματισάντων ἀναντίῤῥητον πᾶσι τὴν παραδοχὴν κατασκευάσει τοῦ δόγματος. Ep. 74. (Ep. 293.)

[t] —— μίαν ἐπιγνοὺς ὁδὸν βοηθείας ταῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίαις, τὴν παρὰ τῶν δυτικῶν ἐπισκόπων σύμπνοιαν ——. Ep. 48.

[u] Τάχα ἄν τι γένοιτο τοῖς κοινοῖς ὄφελος, τῶν τε κρατούντων τὸ ἀξιόπιστον τοῦ πλήθους δυσωπουμένων, καὶ τῶν ἑκασταχοῦ λαῶν ἀκολουθούντων αὐτοῖς ἀναντιῤῥήτως. Ibid.

[x] Ὑμεῖς δὲ ὅσον μακρὰν αὐτῶν ἀπωκισμένοι τυγχάνετε, τοσοῦτον πλέον παρὰ τοῖς λαοῖς ἀξιόπιστον ἔχετε. Ep. 74.

aid to the removal of those inconveniences. That it was the rule doth appear from what we have before spoken, and of the practice there be many instances: for so did St. Cyprian send two of his clergy to Rome, to compose the schism there, moved by Novatian against Cornelius; [y]so was St. Chrysostom called to Ephesus, (although out of his jurisdiction,) to settle things there; so (to omit divers instances occurring in history) St. Basil himself was called by the church of Iconium, *to visit it, and to give it a bishop;* although it did not belong to his ordinary inspection; and he doth tell the bishops of the *coasts, that they should have done well *in sending* some to *visit* and assist his churches *in their distresses.* * παραλώσεται.

But now how, I pray, cometh it to pass, that in such a case he should not have a special recourse to the pope; but in so many addresses should only wrap him up in a community? Why should he not humbly petition him to exert his sovereign author-

[y] Quod servis Dei, et maxime sacerdotibus justis et pacificis congruebat, frater charissime, miseramus nuper collegas nostros Caldonium et Fortunatum, ut non tantum persuasione literarum nostrarum, sed præsentia sua, et consilio omnium vestrum eniterentur, quantum possent, et elaborarent, ut ad catholicæ ecclesiæ unitatem scissi corporis membra componeret——. *Cypr.* Ep. 42. *ad Cornel. Pallad.* As it becomed the servants of God, especially righteous and peaceable priests, most dear brother, we lately sent our colleagues Caldonius and Fortunatus, that they might, not only by the persuasion of our letters, but also by their presence, and the advice of you all, endeavour to their utmost and strive to reduce the members of that divided body to the unity of the catholic church. Αὕτη καλεῖ καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν, ὥστε αὐτῇ δοῦναι ἐπίσκοπον. Bas. Ep. 8. Ἀκόλουθον ἦν παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγάπης καὶ τῶν γνησίων τινὰς ἀποστέλλεσθαι συνεχῶς, εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν ἡμῶν τῶν καταπονουμένων. Ep. 77.

ity for the relief of the eastern churches, laying his charge, and inflicting censures on the dissenters? Why should he lay all the stress of his hopes on the consent of the western bishops? Why doth he not say a word of the dominion resident in them over all the church? These things are unconceivable, if he did take the pope to be the man our adversaries say he is.

Vid. Epist. 272, 273, 321, 325, 349.

But St. Basil had other notions: for indeed, being so wise and good a man, if he had taken the pope for his sovereign, he would not have taxed him as he doth, and so complain of him: when speaking of the western bishops, (whereof the pope was *the ring-leader*, and most concerned,) he hath these words, (occasioned, as I conceive, by the bishop of Rome's rejecting that excellent person, Meletius, bishop of Antioch;) [z] *What we should write, or how to join with those that write, I am in doubt—for I am apt to say that of Diomedes, You ought not to request, for he is a haughty man; for in truth observance doth render men of proud manners more contemptuous than otherwise they are.* [a] *For if the Lord be propitious to us, what other addition do we need? but if the anger of God continue, what help can we have from the western superciliousness? who in truth neither know, nor endure to learn; but being prepossessed with false suspicions, do now do those things which they did before in the*

[z] Τῷ ὄντι γὰρ θεραπευόμενα τὰ ὑπερήφανα ἤθη ἑαυτῶν ὑπερφυτικώτερα γίνεσθαι πέφυκε. Bas. Ep. 10. ad Euseb. Samos. Ep.

[a] —— Ποία βοήθεια ἡμῖν τῆς δυτικῆς ὀφρύος; οἱ τόγε ἀληθὲς οὔτε ἴσασιν οὔτε μαθεῖν ἀνέχονται, ψευδέσι δὲ ὑπονοίαις προειλημμένοι, ἐκεῖνα ποιοῦσι νῦν, ἃ πρότερον ἐπὶ Μαρκέλλῳ· πρὸς μὲν τοὺς τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἀπαγγέλλοντας φιλονεικήσαντες· τὴν δὲ αἵρεσιν δι' ἑαυτῶν βεβαιώσαντες. Ibid.

cause of Marcellus; affecting to contend with those who report the truth to them; and establishing heresy by themselves. Would that excellent person (the greatest man of his time in reputation for wisdom and piety) have thus, unbowelling his mind in an epistle to a very eminent bishop, smartly reflected on the qualities and proceedings of the western clergy, charging them with pride and haughtiness, with a suspicious and contentious humour, with incorrigible ignorance, and indisposition to learn; if he had taken him, who was the leader in all these matters, to have been his superior and sovereign? Would he have added the following words, immediately touching him; [b] *I would in the common name have written to their ringleader, nothing indeed about ecclesiastical affairs, except only to intimate, that they neither do know the truth of things with us, nor do admit the way by which they may understand it; but in general about their being bound not to set upon those who were humbled with afflictions; nor should judge themselves dignified by pride, a sin which alone sufficeth to make one God's enemy.* Surely this great man knew better what belonged to government and manners, than in such rude terms to accost his sovereign: nor would he have given him that character, which he doth otherwhere: where speaking of his brother, St. Gregory Nyssen, he saith he was an unfit agent to Rome,

[b] Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ σχήματος ἐβουλόμην αὐτῶν ἐπιστεῖλαι τῷ κορυφαίῳ, περὶ μὲν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν οὐδὲν, εἰ μὴ ὅσον παραινίξασθαι, ὅτι οὔτε ἴσασιν τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὔτε τὴν ὁδὸν δι' ἧς ἂν μάθοιεν καταδέχονται· καθόλου δὲ περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πειρασμῶν ταπεινωθεῖσιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι, μηδὲ ἀξίωμα κρίνειν ὑπερηφανίαν, ἁμάρτημα, καὶ μόνων ἀρκοῦν ἔχθραν ποιεῖσθαι εἰς Θεόν. Ibid.

because [c] *although his address with a sober man would find much reverence and esteem; yet to a haughty and reserved man, sitting I know not where above, and thence not able to hear them below speaking the truth to him, what profit can there be to the public from the converse of such a man, whose disposition is averse from illiberal flattery?* But these speeches suit with that conceit which St. Basil (as Baronius, I know not whence, reporteth) expressed by saying, *I hate the pride of that church;* which humour in them that good man would not be guilty of fostering by too much obsequiousness.

Anast. ad Joh. Hier. apud Hier.

St. Chrysostom, having by the practices of envious men combined against him, in a packed assembly of bishops, upon vain surmises, being sentenced and driven from his see, did thereupon write an epistle to pope Innocent I. bishop of Rome, together with his brethren the bishops of Italy; therein representing his case, complaining of the wrong, vindicating his innocency, displaying the iniquity of the proceedings against him, together with the mischievous consequences of them toward the whole church, then requiring his succour for redress: yet (although the sense of his case, and care of his interest, were likely to suggest the greatest deference that could be) neither the style, which is very respectful, nor the matter, which is very copious, do imply any acknowledgment of the pope's supremacy: he doth not ad-

Tom. vii. Epist. 122.

Vid. Laun. Epist. 1, 3.

[c] Καὶ εὐγνώμονι μὲν ἀνδρὶ αἰδέσιμον αὐτοῦ καὶ πολλοῦ ἀξίαν τὴν συντυχίαν· ὑψηλῷ δὲ καὶ μετεώρῳ, ἄνω που καθημένῳ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀκούειν τῶν χαμόθεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀλήθειαν φθεγγομένων μὴ δυναμένῳ, τί ἂν γένοιτο ὄφελος τοῖς κοινοῖς, παρὰ τῆς τοῦ τοιούτου ἀνδρὸς ὁμιλίας, ὃς ἀλλότριον ἔχει θυτείας ἀνελευθέρου τὸ ἦθος; Bas. Ep. 250.

dress to him as to a governor of all, who could by his authority command justice to be done, but as to a brother, and a friend of innocence, from whose endeavour he might procure relief; he had *recourse*, not to his sovereign power, but *to his* brotherly *love*; he *informed his charity*, not appealed to his bar; he in short did no more than implore his assistance in an ecclesiastical way; that he would express his resentment of so irregular dealings; that he would avow communion with him, as with an orthodox bishop innocent and abused; that he would procure his cause to be brought to a fair trial in a synod of bishops, lawfully called and indifferently affected[d]. Had the good man had any conceit of the pope's supremacy, he would, one would think, have framed his address in other terms, and sued for another course of proceeding in his behalf: but it is plain enough, that he had no such notion of things, nor had any ground for such a one. For indeed pope Innocent, in his answer to him, could do no more than exhort him to patience; in another, to his clergy and people, could only comfort them, declare his dislike of the adversaries' proceedings and grounds; signify his intentions to procure a general synod, with hopes of a redress thence; his sovereign power, it seems, not availing to any such purposes; [e]*But what*, saith he, *can we do in such cases? A*

Περὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀδελφικὴν ἀγάπην.

Διδάξομεν ὑμῶν τὴν ἀγάπην.

[d] —— Ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς οὐχ ἁλόντας, οὐκ ἐλεγχομένους, οὐκ ἀποδειχθέντας ὑπευθύνους, τῶν γραμμάτων τῶν ὑμετέρων δότε ἀπολαύειν συνεχῶς, καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων, ὥνπερ καὶ ἔμπροσθεν. But as for us, we who are not condemned, nor convicted, nor proved guilty, let us continually enjoy the benefit of your letters, and love, and all other things as before.

[e] Ἀλλὰ τί κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων νῦν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ποιήσωμεν; ἀναγκαῖα

synodical cognizance is necessary, which we heretofore did say ought to be called; the which alone can allay the motions of such tempests.

It is true, that the later popes, (Siricius, Anastasius, Innocent, Zozimus, Bonifacius, Celestinus, &c.) after the Sardican council, in their epistles to the western bishops, over whom they had encroached, and who were overpowered by them, &c. do speak in somewhat more lofty strain; but are more modest toward those of the east, who could not bear, &c.

22. Further; It is most prodigious, that in the disputes managed by the Fathers against heretics, (the Gnostics, Valentinians, Marcionites, Montanists, Manichees, Paulianists, Arians, &c.) they should not, even in the first place, allege and urge the sentence of the universal pastor and judge, as a most evidently conclusive argument, as the most efficacious and compendious method of convincing and silencing them. Had this point been well proved and pressed, then without any more concertations from scripture, tradition, reason, all heretics had been quite defeated; and nothing then could more easily have been proved, if it had been true, when the light of tradition did shine so brightly; nothing indeed had been to sense more conspicuous than the continual exercise of such an authority.

We see now among those who admit such an authority, how surely, when it may be had, it is alleged, and what sway it hath, to the determination of any controversy: and so it would have been

ἐστι διάγνωσις συνοδικὴ ἣν καὶ πάλαι ἔφημεν συναθροιστέαν· μόνη γάρ ἐστιν, ἥτις δύναται τὰς κινήσεις τῶν τοιούτων καταστεῖλαι καταιγίδων ——. Soz. viii. 26.

then, if it had been then as commonly known and avowed.

23. Whereas divers of the Fathers purposely do treat on methods of confuting heretics, it is strange they should be so blind or dull, as not to hit on this most proper and obvious way of referring debates to the decision of him, to whose office of universal pastor and judge it did belong: particularly one would wonder at Vincentius Lirinensis; that he on set purpose, with great care, discoursing about the means of settling points of faith, and of overthrowing heresies, should not light upon this notable way, by having recourse to the pope's magisterial sentence; yea, that indeed he should exclude it; for he ([f]*after most intent study, and diligent inquiry, consulting the best and wisest men*) could find but two ways of doing it: [g]*I*, saith he, *did always, and from almost every one, receive this answer; That if either I or any other would find out the frauds and avoid the snares of upstart heretics, and continue sound and upright in the true faith, he should guard and strengthen his faith, God helping him, by these two means;* viz. *first, by the authority of the divine law, and then by the tradition of the catholic church.* And again, [h]*We before have said,*

[f] Sæpe igitur magno studio, et summa attentione perquirens a quamplurimis sanctitate et doctrina præstantibus viris, &c. p. 316. (in edit. *Balus.*)

[g] Hujusmodi semper responsum ab omnibus fere retuli, quod sive ego, sive quis alius vellet exurgentium hæreticorum fraudes deprehendere, laqueosque vitare, et in fide sana sanus atque integer permanere, duplici modo munire fidem suam Domino adjuvante deberet; primo scilicet divinæ legis auctoritate, tum deinde ecclesiæ catholicæ traditione. p. 317.

[h] Diximus in superioribus hanc fuisse semper et esse hodie

that this hath always been, and is at present, the custom of catholics, that they prove their faith by these two ways; first, by authority of the divine canon; then by the tradition of the universal church.

Is it not strange, that he (especially being a western man, living in those parts where the pope had got much sway, and who doth express great reverence to the apostolic see) should omit that way of determining points, which of all (according to the modern conceits about the pope) is most ready and most sure?

24. In like manner Tertullian professeth the catholics in his time to use such compendious methods of confuting heretics; [i] *We*, saith he, ***when we would despatch against heretics for the faith of the gospel, do commonly use these short ways, which do maintain both the order of times prescribing against the lateness of impostors, and the authority of the churches patronising apostolical tradition.*** [k] But why did he skip over a more compendious way than any of those; namely, standing to the judgment of the Roman bishop?

The like discourse against he-

25. It is true, that both he, and St. Irenæus before him, disputing against the heretics of their

catholicorum consuetudinem ut fidem veram duobus his modis adprobent; primum divini canonis auctoritate, deinde ecclesiæ catholicæ traditione. p. 364.

[i] His fere compendiis utimur, quum de evangelii fide adversus hæreticos expedimur, defendentibus et temporum ordinem posteritati falsariorum præscribentem, et auctoritatem ecclesiarum traditioni apostolorum patrocinantem. *Tertull. in Marc.* iv. 5.

[k] Solemus hæreticis compendii gratia de posteritate præscribere. *Tertull. contra Hermog.* cap. 1.

times, who had introduced pernicious novelties of their own devising, when they allege the general consent of churches (planted by the apostles, and propagated by continual successions of bishops from those whom the apostles did ordain) in doctrines and practices opposite to those devices, as a good argument (and so indeed it then was, next to a demonstration) against them, do produce the Roman church, as a principal one among them, upon several obvious accounts; and this indeed argueth the Roman church to have been then one competent witness, or credible retainer of tradition; as also were the other apostolical churches, to whose testimony they likewise appeal: but what is this to the Roman bishop's judicial power in such cases? why do they not urge that in plain terms? They would certainly have done so, if they had known it, and thought it of any validity.

retics doth Clemens Alexandrinus use. *Strom.* vii. p. 549.

Do but mark their words, involving the force of their argumentation; [l]*When*, saith Irenæus, *we do again* (after allegation of scripture) *appeal to that tradition, which is from the apostles, which by successions of presbyters is preserved in the churches:* and, [m]*That*, saith Tertullian, *will appear to have been delivered by the apostles, which hath been*

[l] Cum autem ad eam iterum traditionem, quæ est ab apostolis, quæ per successores presbyterorum in ecclesiis custoditur, provocamus——. *Iren.* iii. 2.

[m] Constabit id esse ab apostolis traditum quod apud ecclesias apostolicas fuerit sacrosanctum; videamus quod lac a Paulo Corinthii hauserint; quid legant Philippenses, Thessalonicenses, Ephesii; quid etiam Romani de proximo sonent; quibus evangelium et Petrus et Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatum reliquerunt; habemus et Johannis alumnas ecclesias, &c. *Adv. Marc.* iv. 5.

kept as holy in the apostolical churches: let us see what milk the Corinthians did draw from Paul; what the Philippians, the Thessalonians, the Ephesians do read: what also the Romans, our nearer neighbours, do say, to whom both Peter and Paul did leave the gospel sealed with their blood: we have also the churches nursed by John, &c. Again, [n]*It is therefore manifest,* saith he, in his Prescriptions against Heretics, *that every doctrine, which doth conspire with those apostolical churches, in which the faith originally was planted, is to be accounted true; as undoubtedly holding that which the churches did receive from the apostles, the apostles from Christ, and Christ from God; but all other doctrine is to be prejudged false, which doth think against the truth of the churches, and of the apostles, and of Christ, and of God.* Their argumentation then, in short, is plainly this; that the conspiring of the churches in doctrines contrary to those which the heretics vented, did irrefragably signify those doctrines to be apostolical: which discourse doth nowise favour the Roman pretences, but indeed, if we do weigh it, is very prejudicial thereto; it thereby appearing, that Christian doctors then in the canvassing of points and assuring tradition had no peculiar regard to the Roman church's testimony, no deference at all to

[n] Constat proinde omnem doctrinam, quæ cum illis ecclesiis apostolicis matricibus et originalibus fidei conspiret, veritati deputandam, id sine dubio tenentem quod ecclesiæ ab apostolis, apostoli a Christo, Christus a Deo suscepit; reliquam vero doctrinam de mendacio præjudicandam, quæ sapiat contra veritatem ecclesiarum, et apostolorum, et Christi, et Dei. *Tert. de Præscr.* 21.

the Roman bishop's authority; (not otherwise at least than to the authority of one single bishop yielding attestation to tradition.)

26. It is odd, that even old popes themselves in elaborate tracts disputing against heretics, (as pope Celestine against Nestorius and Pelagius, pope Leo against Eutyches—,) do content themselves to urge testimonies of scripture, and arguments grounded thereon; not alleging their own definitive authority, or using this parlous argumentation; *I, the supreme doctor of the church, and judge of controversies, do assert thus; and therefore you are obliged to submit your assent.*

27. It is matter of amazement, if the pope were such as they would have him to be, that in so many bulky volumes of ancient Fathers, living through many ages after Christ, in those vast treasuries of learning and knowledge, wherein all sorts of truth are displayed, all sorts of duty are pressed; this momentous point of doctrine and practice should nowhere be expressed in clear and peremptory terms; (I speak so, for that by wresting words, by impertinent application, by straining consequences, the most ridiculous positions imaginable may be deduced from their writings.)

It is strange, that somewhere or other, at least incidentally, in their commentaries upon the scripture, wherein many places concerning the church and its hierarchy do invite to speak of the pope; in their treatises about the priesthood, about the unity and peace of the church, about heresy and schism; in their epistles concerning ecclesiastical affairs; in their historical narrations about occurrences in the church; in their concertations with heterodox ad-

versaries, they should not frequently touch it, th
should not sometimes largely dwell upon it.

Is it not marvellous, that Origen, St. Hilary, S
Cyril, St. Chrysostom, St. Jerome, St. Austin,
their commentaries and tractates upon those plac
of scripture [*Tu es Petrus. Pasce oves*] where
they now build the papal authority, should be
dull and drowsy, as not to say a word concerni
the pope?

That St. Austin, in his so many elaborate tra
tates against the Donatists, (wherein he discourse
so prolixly about the church, its unity, communic
discipline, should never insist upon the duty of ob
dience to the pope, or charge those schismatics wi
their rebellion against him, or allege his authori
against them?

If we consider that the pope was bishop of t
imperial city, the metropolis of the world; that
thence was most eminent in rank, did abound
wealth, did live in great splendour and reputatio
had many dependencies, and great opportunities
gratify and relieve many of the clergy; that of t
Fathers, whose volumes we have, all well affect
towards him, divers were personally obliged to hi
for his support in their distress, (as Athanasius, Chry
ostom, Theodoret;) or as to their patrons and ben
factors, (as St. Jerome;) divers could not but high
respect him, as patron of the cause wherein th
were engaged, (as Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, H
lary, Gregory Nyssen, Ambrose, Austin;) some we
his partisans in a common quarrel, (as Cyril;) div
of them lived in places and times wherein he h
got much sway, (as all the western bishops;) th
he had then improved his authority much beyo

the old limits; °that all the bishops of the western or Latin churches had a peculiar dependence on him, (especially after that by advantage of his station, by favour of the court, by colour of the Sardican canons, by voluntary deferences and submissions, by several tricks, he had wound himself to meddle in most of their chief affairs;) that hence divers bishops were tempted to admire, to court, to flatter him; that divers aspiring popes were apt to encourage the commenders of their authority, which they themselves were apt to magnify and inculcate; considering, I say, such things, it is a wonder that in so many voluminous discourses so little should be said favouring this pretence, so nothing that proveth it, [so much that crosseth it, so much indeed, as I hope to shew, that quite overthroweth it.]

If it be asked how we can prove this, I answer, that (beside who carefully peruseth those old books will easily see it) we are beholden to our adversaries for proving it to us, when they least intended us such a favour: for that no clear and cogent passages for proof of this pretence can be thence fetched, is sufficiently evident from the very allegations, which after their most diligent raking in old books they produce; the which are so few, and fall so very short of their purpose, that without much stretching they signify nothing.

28. It is monstrous, that in the code of the catholic church (consisting of the decrees of so many synods, concerning ecclesiastical order and disci-

° Τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς ὁμοίως τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων πέρα τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐπὶ δυναστείαν ἤδη πάλαι προελθούσης. Socr. vii. 11. The bishopric of Rome is like to that of Alexandria, having now long ago arrived to that height of power above and beyond the priesthood.

pline) there should not be one canon directly decla
Conc. Nic. can. 6. ing his authority; nor any mention made of hin
Conc. Const. can. 2. except thrice accidentally; once upon occasion of d
Conc. Chalc. can. 28. claring the authority of the Alexandrine bishop, th other upon occasion of assigning to the bishop Constantinople the *second place of honour*, an *equal privileges* with him.

If it be objected, that these discourses are neg tive, and therefore of small force; I answer, tha therefore they are most proper to assert such a n gative proposition: for how can we otherwise bett shew a thing not to be, than by shewing it to hav no footstep there, where it is supposed to stand How can we more clearly argue a matter of righ to want proof, than by declaring it not to be extan in the laws grounding such right; not taught by th masters who profess to instruct in such things; n testified in records concerning the exercise of it Such arguments indeed in such cases are not merel negative, but rather privative; proving things n to be, because not affirmed there, where in reaso they ought to be affirmed; standing therefore upo positive suppositions, that holy scripture, that gen ral tradition are not imperfect and lame toward the design; that ancient writers were competently inte ligent, faithful, diligent; that all of them could n conspire in perpetual silence about things, of whic they had often fair occasion and great reason t speak: in fine, such considerations, however the may be deluded by sophistical wits, will yet bea great sway, and often will amount near to the forc of demonstration, with men of honest prudenc However we shall proceed to other discourses mor direct and positive against the popish doctrine.

II. Secondly, we shall shew that this pretence, upon several accounts, is contrary to the doctrine of holy scripture.

1. This pretence doth thwart the holy scripture, by assigning to another the prerogatives and peculiar titles appropriated therein to our Lord.

The scripture asserteth him to be our only Sovereign Lord and King: *To us*, saith it, *there is one Lord*; and, *One King shall be king over them*; who *shall reign over the house of David for ever*; *and of his kingdom there shall be no end*; who is *the only Potentate, the King of kings and Lord of lords*; the *one Lawgiver, who is able to save and to destroy.* 1 Cor. viii. 6. xii. 5. Eph. iv. 5. Ez. xxxvii. 22. Luke i. 33. 1 Tim. vi. 15. James iv. 12.

The scripture speaketh of one *Arch-pastor*, and *great Shepherd of the sheep*, exclusively to any other; for, *I will*, said God in the prophet, *set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed the sheep*; and, *There*, saith our Lord himself, *shall be one fold, and one shepherd*: who that shall be he expresseth, adding, *I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep*: (by pope Boniface's good leave, who maketh St. Peter or himself this shepherd.) 1 Pet. v. 4. ii. 25. Heb. xiii. 20. Ezek. xxxiv. 23. John x. 16, 11, 14. Extrav. Com. lib. i. tit. 8. c. 1.

The scripture telleth us, that we have *one High Priest of our profession*, answerable to that *one* in the Jewish church, his type. Heb. iii. 1. ix. 7, 24.

The scripture informeth us, that there is but one supreme Doctor, Guide, Father of Christians, prohibiting us to acknowledge any other for such; *Ye are all brethren: and call ye not any one father upon earth; for one is your Father, even he that is in heaven: neither be ye called masters; for one is your Master, even Christ.* Good pope Gre- Matt. xxiii. 8, 9.

gory (not the seventh of that name) did take this for a good argument; for, [p] *What therefore, dearest brother,* said he to John of Constantinople, *wilt thou say in that terrible trial of the Judge who is coming; who dost affect to be called not only Father, but general Father in the world?*

Eph. ii. 20. 1 Pet. ii. 4. Heb. iii. 6. Matt. x. 25. Eph. iv. 4. ii. 16. Rom. xii. 5. 1 Cor. xii. 13. Eph. i. 22. iv. 15. v. 23. Col. i. 18. Hos. i. 11. One head. John iii. 29. Eph. v. 23. 2 Cor. xi. 2. ἑνὶ ἀνδρί.

The scripture representeth the church as a *building whereof Christ himself is the chief corner-stone;* as a family, whereof he being the *Paterfamilias,* all others are fellow-servants; as *one body,* having *one head;* whom *God hath given to be head over all things to the church, which is his body.*

He is the one spouse of the church; which title one would think he might leave peculiar to our Lord; there being no vice-husbands; yet hath he been bold even to claim that, *as may be seen in the Constitutions of pope Gregory X. in one of their general synods.

* Sext. Decret. lib. i. tit. vi. cap. 3. Baron. an. 34. §. 208. Vid. Greg. I. Epist. lib. iv. Ep. 32, 34, 36, 38, 39. lib. vi. Ep. 24, 28, 30, 31. lib. vii. Ep. 70.

It seemeth therefore a sacrilegious arrogance (derogating from our Lord's honour) for any man to assume or admit those titles of *Sovereign of the Church, Head of the Church, our Lord, Archpastor, Highest Priest, chief Doctor, Master, Father, Judge of Christians;* upon what pretence, or under what distinction soever: these *pompatic, foolish, proud, perverse, wicked, profane words;* these *names of singularity, elation, vanity, blasphemy,* (to borrow the epithets with which pope Gregory I. doth brand the titles of *Universal Bishop,* and *Œcumenical Patriarch,* no less modest in sound, and far more innocent in meaning, than

[p] Quid ergo, frater charissime, in illo terribili examine venientis Judicis dicturus es, qui non solum Pater, sed etiam generalis Pater in mundo vocari appetis? *Greg. M. Epist.* iv. 38.

those now ascribed to the pope,) are therefore to be rejected; not only because they are injurious to all other pastors, and to the people of God's heritage, but because they do encroach upon our only Lord, to whom they do only belong; much more to usurp the things which they do naturally signify, is a horrible invasion upon our Lord's prerogative.

Thus hath that great pope taught us to argue, in words expressly condemning some, and consequently all of them, together with the things which they signify; [q] *What* (saith he, writing to the bishop of Constantinople, who had admitted the title of Universal Bishop or Patriarch) *wilt thou say to Christ, the head of the universal church, in the trial of the last judgment, who by the appellation of* Universal *dost endeavour to subject all his members to thee? Whom, I pray, dost thou mean to imitate in so perverse a word, but him who, despising the legions of angels constituted in fellowship with him, did endeavour to break forth unto the top of singularity, that he might both be subject to none, and alone be over all? who also said, I will ascend into heaven, and will exalt my throne above the stars——for what are thy brethren, all the bishops*

[q] Tu quid Christo universalis ecclesiæ capiti in extremi judicii dicturus examine, qui cuncta ejus membra tibimet coneris Universalis appellatione supponere? Quis rogo in hoc tam perverso vocabulo nisi ille ad imitandum proponitur, qui despectis angelorum legionibus secum socialiter constitutis ad culmen conatus est singularitatis erumpere, ut et nulli subesse, et solus omnibus præesse videretur? qui etiam dixit, In cœlum conscendam, super astra cœli exaltabo solium meum——quid enim fratres tui omnes universalis ecclesiæ episcopi, nisi astra cœli sunt? quibus dum cupis temetipsum vocabulo elationis præponere, eorumque nomen tui comparatione calcare ——. *Greg.* Ep. iv. 38.

of the universal church, but the stars of heaven; to whom while by this haughty word thou desirest to prefer thyself, and to trample on their name in comparison to thee, what dost thou say, but, I will climb into heaven?——

And again, in another epistle to the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, he taxeth the same patriarch for [r]*assuming to boast so that he attempteth to ascribe all things to himself, and studieth by the elation of pompous speech to subject to himself all the members of Christ, which do cohere to one sole head, namely, to Christ.*

Again, [s]*I confidently say, that whoever doth call himself Universal Bishop, or desireth to be so called, doth in his elation forerun Antichrist, because he pridingly doth set himself before all others.*

If these argumentations be sound, or signify any thing, what is the pretence of *universal sovereignty and pastorship* but a piece of *Luciferian arrogance?* Who can imagine that even this pope could approve, could assume, could exercise it? If he did,

[r] Jactantiam sumpsit ita ut universa sibi tentet adscribere, et omnia quæ soli uni capiti cohærent, videlicet Christo, per elationem pompatici sermonis ejusdem Christi sibi studeat membra subjugare. *Gr. M.* Ep. iv. 36. The same words we have in the epistle of pope Pelagius (predecessor of St. Gregory) to the bishops of Constantinople. (P. Pelagii Ep. 8.)

[s] Ego autem fidenter dico, quia quisquis se Universalem Sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit. (*Greg. I.* lib. vi. Ep. 30.) Nec dispari superbia ad errorem ducitur; quia sicut perversus ille Deus videri vult super omnes homines; ita quisquis est, qui solus sacerdos appellari appetit, super cæteros sacerdotes se extollit. (*ad Mauric. Aug.*)

was he not monstrously senseless, and above measure impudent, to use such discourses, which so plainly, without altering a word, might be retorted upon him; which are built upon suppositions, that it is unlawful and wicked to assume superiority over the church, over all bishops, over all Christians; the which indeed (seeing never pope was of greater repute, or did write in any case more solemnly and seriously) have given to the pretences of his successors so deadly a wound, that no balm of sophistical interpretation can be able to heal it.

We see that according to St. Gregory M. our Lord Christ is *the one only head of the church*; to whom for company let us adjoin St. Basil M. (that we may have both Greek and Latin for it,) who saith, that (according to St. Paul) *we are the body of Christ, and members one of another, because it is manifest that the one and sole truly head, which is Christ, doth hold and connect each one to another unto concord*[t]. Vid. P. Pelag. Ep. 3.

[t] Κρατούσης δηλονότι καὶ συναπτούσης ἕκαστον τῷ ἄλλῳ πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν τῆς μιᾶς καὶ μόνης ἀληθῶς κεφαλῆς, ἥτις ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός. Bas. M. de Jud. Div. tom. ii. p. 261. Totus Christus caput et corpus est; caput unigenitus Dei Filius, et corpus ejus ecclesiæ, sponsus et sponsa, duo in carne una. Quicunque de ipso capite ab scripturis sanctis dissentiunt, etiamsi in omnibus locis inveniantur in quibus ecclesia designata est, non sunt in ecclesia, &c. *Aug. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 4. Vid. contra *Petil.* iii. 42. Whole Christ is the head and the body; the head the only begotten Son of God, and his body the church, the bridegroom and the spouse, two in one flesh. Whoever disagree about the head itself from the holy scriptures, though they are found in all places in which the church is designed, they are not in the church, &c. It was unhappily expressed by Bellarmine——Ecclesia secluso etiam Christo unum caput habere debet. *De Pont. R.* i. 9. §. Ac ne forte. The

To decline these allegations of scripture, they have forged distinctions, of several kinds of churches, and several sorts of heads; the which evasions I shall not particularly discourse, seeing it may suffice to observe in general, that no such distinctions have any place or any ground in scripture, nor can well consist with it; which simply doth represent the church as one kingdom, *a kingdom of heaven, a kingdom not of this world;* all the subjects whereof have *their* πολίτευμα *in heaven*, or are considered as members of a city there; so that it is vain to seek for a sovereign thereof in this world: the which also doth to the catholic church sojourning on earth usually impart the name and attributes properly appertaining to the church most universal, (comprehensive of all Christians in heaven and upon earth,) because that is a visible representative of this, and we by joining in offices of piety with that do communicate with this; whence that which is said of one (concerning the unity of its king, its head, its pastor, its priest) is to be understood of the other; especially considering that our Lord, according to his promise, is ever present with the church here, governing it by the efficacy of his Spirit and grace, so that no other corporeal or visible head of this spiritual body is needful [u].

John xviii. 36.

Phil. iii. 20. Heb. xii. 22.

Acts xx. 28. Matt. xvi. 18. 1 Cor. xii. 28. xv. 9. Gal. i. 13.

Matt. xxviii. 20.

It was to be sure a visible headship which St. Gregory did so eagerly impugn and exclaim against;

church, even Christ himself being set aside, ought to have one head.

[u] Christus arbitrio et nutu ac præsentia sua et præpositos ipsos, et ecclesiam cum præpositis gubernat. *Cypr.* Ep. 69. Christ, by his own arbitrement, and power, and presence, governs both the bishops themselves, and the church with the bishops.

for he could not apprehend the bishop of Constantinople so wild, as to affect a jurisdiction over the church mystical, or invisible.

2. Indeed upon this very account the Romish pretence doth not well accord with holy scripture, because it transformeth the church into another kind of body, than it was constituted by God, according to the representation of it in scripture: for there it is represented as a spiritual and heavenly society, compacted by the bands of *one faith, one hope, one spirit* of charity: but this pretence turneth it into a worldly frame; united by the same bands of interest and design; managed in the same manner, by terror and allurement; supported by the same props of force, of policy, of wealth, of reputation and splendour, as all other secular corporations are [x]. John xviii. 36. Eph. iv. 4, 5. 2 Cor. x. 4.

You may call it what you please; but it is evident, that in truth the papal monarchy is a temporal dominion, driving on worldly ends by worldly means; such as our Lord did never mean to institute: so that the subjects thereof may with far more reason, than the people of Constantinople had, when their bishop Nestorius did stop some of their priests from contradicting him, say, [y] *We have a king; a bishop we have not:* so that upon every pope we may charge that, whereof Anthimus was accused,

[x] Caput nostrum, quod Christus est, ad hoc sua esse membra nos voluit, ut per compagem charitatis et fidei unum nos in se corpus efficeret. *Greg. M.* Ep. vii. 111. Our head, which is Christ, would therefore have us to be his members, that by the conjunction of charity and faith he might make us to be one body.

[y] Βασιλέα ἔχομεν, ἐπίσκοπον οὐκ ἔχομεν. Conc. Eph. Part. cap. 30.

in the synod of Constantinople, under Menas; [z] ***That he did account the greatness and dignity of the priesthood to be, not a spiritual charge of souls, but as a kind of politic rule.***

This was that which seeming to be affected by the bishop of Antioch, in encroachment upon the church of Cyprus, the Fathers of the Ephesine synod did endeavour to nip; enacting a canon against all such invasions, [a] ***lest under pretext of holy discipline the pride of worldly authority should creep in.*** [b] And what pride of that kind could they mean beyond that which now the popes do claim and exercise? Now, do I say, after that the papal empire hath swollen to such a bulk: whereas so long ago, when it was but in its bud and stripling age, it was observed of it by a very honest historian, [c] ***that the Roman episcopacy had long since advanced into a high degree of power beyond the priesthood.***

3. This pretence doth thwart the scripture by destroying that brotherly coordination and equality, which our Lord did appoint among the bishops and chief pastors of his church: he did (as we before shewed) prohibit all his apostles to assume any do-

[z] Τὸ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης μέγεθος καὶ ἀξίωμα οὐ πνευματικὴν ψυχῶν ἐπιστασίαν εἶναι λογισάμενος, ἀλλ' οἷόν τινα πολιτικὴν ἀρχὴν, &c. Conc. sub Men. Act. i. pag. 9.

[a] Μηδὲ ἐν ἱερουργίας προσχήματι ἐξουσίας κοσμικῆς τύφος παρεισδύηται. Can. Eph. i. can. 8.

[b] This was that which, about the same time, the Fathers of the African synod do request P. Celestine to forbear;—— nec permittere, ut fumosum mundi fastum Christi ecclesiæ inducere videamur. *Conc. Afr. ad P. Celest.* 1.

[c] Τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς ὁμοίως τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων πέρα τῆς ἱερωσύνης εἰς δυναστείαν πάλαι προελθούσης. Socr. vii. 11.

mination, or authoritative superiority over one another; the which command, together with others concerning the pastoral function, we may well suppose to reach their successors: so did St. Jerome suppose, collecting thence that all bishops by original institution are equals, or that no one by our Lord's order may challenge superiority over another; [d] *Wherever*, saith he, *a bishop is, whether at Rome or at Eugubium, at Constantinople or at Rhegium, at Alexandria or at Thanis, he is of the same worth, and of the same priesthood; the power of wealth or lowness of poverty do not make a bishop higher or lower; but all are successors of the apostles.* Where doth not he plainly deny the bishop of Eugubium to be inferior to him of Rome, as being no less a successor of the apostles than he? Doth he not say these words in way of proof, that the authority of the Roman bishop or church was of no validity against the practice of other bishops and churches? (upon occasion of deacons there taking upon them more than in other places, as cardinal deacons do now;) which excludeth such distinctions, as scholastical fancies have devised, to shift off his testimony; the which he uttered simply, never dreaming of such distinctions.

Si auctoritas quæritur, orbis major est urbe; Ubicunque, &c.

This consequence St. Gregory did suppose, when he therefore did condemn the title of Universal

[d] Ubicunque fuerit episcopus sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii, sive Alexandriæ, sive Thanis, ejusdem meriti, ejusdem et sacerdotii; potentia divitiarum et paupertatis humilitas vel sublimiorem vel inferiorem episcopum non facit; cæterum omnes apostolorum successores sunt. *Hier.* Ep. 85. (*ad Evagr.*)

Bishop, because it did [e]*imply an affectation of superiority* and dignity in one bishop above others; of *abasing the name of other bishops in comparison of his own,* of extolling *himself above the rest of priests,* &c.

This the ancient popes did remember, when usually in their compellation of any bishop they did style them *brethren, colleagues, fellow-ministers, fellow-bishops,* not intending thereby compliment or mockery, but to declare their sense of the original equality among bishops; notwithstanding some differences in order and privileges, which their see had obtained. And that this was the general sense of the Fathers we shall afterward shew.

(Invigiletur ergo ut omnibus coepiscopis nostris et fratribus innotescat. *P. Corn. apud Cyp.* Ep. 48.)

Hence, when it was objected to them, that they did affect superiority, they did sometimes disclaim it: so did pope Gelasius I.[f] (a zealous man for the honour of his see.)

4. This pretence doth thwart the holy scripture, not only by trampling down the dignity of bishops, (which according to St. Gregory doth imply great pride and presumption,) but as really infringing the rights granted by our Lord to his church, and the governors of it [g].

[e] Illud appetunt unde omnibus digniores videantur. *Gr.* Ep. iv. 34. Quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit. *Ep.* vi. 38. Super cæteros sacerdotes se extollit. *Ibid.* Cupis episcoporum nomen tui comparatione calcare. *Ep.* iv. 38. Cuncta ejus membra tibimet conaris supponere. *Ibid.*

[f] Hic non tam optamus præponi aliis, (sicut prædicas,) quam cum fidelibus cunctis sanctum et Deo placitum habere consortium. *P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 9. (*ad Euphem.* Ep. CP.) Here we do not so much desire to be advanced above others, as together with all the faithful to make up a consort holy and well-pleasing to God.

[g] ——Vobis subtrahitur, quod alteri plus quam ratio exigit

For to each church our Lord hath imposed a duty, and imparted a power of maintaining divine truth, and so approving itself *a pillar and support of truth:* of deciding controversies possible and proper to be decided with due temper, ultimately without further resort; for that he, who will not obey or acquiesce in its decision, is to be *as a heathen or publican:* of censuring and rejecting offenders; (in doctrine or demeanour;) *Those within,* saith St. Paul to the church of Corinth, *do not ye judge? But them that are without God judgeth: wherefore put away from among yourselves that wicked person:* of preserving order and decency, according to that rule prescribed to the church of Corinth, *Let all things be done decently and in order:* of promoting edification: of deciding causes.

Rev. ii. et iii. 1 Tim. iii. 15. Matt. xviii. 17. ἐὰν δὲ παρακούσῃ, &c. Οὐχὶ τοὺς ἔσω ὑμεῖς κρίνετε; 1 Cor. v. 12. καὶ ἐξαίρετε— Vid. v. 4, 5. Rev. ii. 20. 1 Cor. xiv. 40. 1 Thess. v. 14. Rom. xiv. 19. 1 Cor. vi. 1.—

All which rights and privileges the Roman bishop doth bereave the churches of, snatching them to himself; pretending that he is the sovereign doctor, judge, regulator of all churches; overruling and voiding all that is done by them, according to his pleasure.

The scripture hath enjoined and empowered all bishops to feed, guide, and rule their respective churches, as the *ministers, stewards, ambassadors, angels of God; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edification of the body of Christ:* to whom God hath committed the care of their people, so that they are responsible for their souls.

Acts xx. 28. Heb. xiii. 17. 1 Pet. v. 2. 1 Tim. iii. 15. Tit. i. 7. 1 Cor. xii. 28. Eph. iv. 11. Rev. ii. &c. Eph. iv. 12. Heb. xiii. 17.

præbetur. *Greg.* vii. 30. (p. 451.) What is yielded to another more than reason requires, is taken from you. Πρᾶγμα——τῆς πάντων ἐλευθερίας ἁπτόμενον. Syn. Eph. I. can. 8. A thing that entrencheth upon the freedom of all others.

All which rights and privileges of the episcopal office the pope hath invaded, doth obstruct, cramp, frustrate, destroy; pretending (without any warrant) that their authority is derived from him; forcing them to exercise it no otherwise than as his subjects, and according to his pleasure[h]. But of this point more afterward.

5. This pretence doth thwart the scripture, by robbing all Christian people of the liberties and rights with which by that divine charter they are endowed[i], and which they are obliged to preserve inviolate.

Gal. v. 1. St. Paul enjoineth the Galatians to *stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and not to be entangled again with the yoke of bondage.* There is therefore a liberty which we must maintain, and a power to which we must not submit: and against whom can we have more ground to do this, than against him who pretendeth to dogmatize, to define points of faith, to impose doctrines (new and strange enough) on our consciences, under a peremptory obligation of yielding assent to them; to prescribe laws, as divine and necessary to be observed, without warrant, as those

[h] Dei et apostolicæ sedis gratia. *Vid. post.* Superbum nimis est et immoderatum ultra fines proprios tendere, et antiquitate calcata alienum jus velle præripere, atque ut unius crescat dignitas, tot metropolitanorum impugnare primatus, &c. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 55. It is too proud and unreasonable a thing for one to stretch himself beyond his bounds, and maugre all antiquity to snatch away other men's right; and that the dignity of one may be enhanced, to oppose the primacies of so many metropolitans.

[i] Sanctæ ecclesiæ universali injuriam facit. *Greg. I.* Ep. i. 24. It does wrong to the holy catholic church. Plebis majestas. *Cypr.* Ep. 55. (*ad Corn. P.*) p. 117.

dogmatists did, against whom St. Paul biddeth us to maintain our liberty? (so that if he should declare *virtue to be vice, and white to be black, we must believe him*, some of his adherents have said, consistently enough with his pretences:) for Gal. v. 1. Col. ii. 16, 18.

Against such tyrannical invaders we are bound to maintain our liberty, according to that precept of St. Paul; the which if a pope might well allege against the proceedings of a general synod, with much more reason may we thereby justify our non-submission to one man's exorbitant domination. P. Leo I. Ep. 28.

This is a power which the apostles themselves did not challenge to themselves; for, *We*, saith St. Paul, *have not dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy.* 2 Cor. i. 24.

They did not pretend that any Christian should absolutely believe them in cases wherein they had not revelation (general or special) from God; in such cases referring their opinion to the judgment and discretion of Christians. 1 Cor. x. 15. vii. 12, 25, 40.

They say, *Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed: If any man*, &c. which precept, with many others of the like purport, (enjoining us to examine the truth, to adhere unto the received doctrine, to decline heterodoxies and novelties,) doth signify nothing, if every Christian hath not allowed to him a judgment of discretion, but is tied blindly to follow the dictates of another. Gal. i. 8.

St. Austin (I am sure) did think this liberty such, that without betraying it no man could be obliged to believe any thing not grounded upon canonical authority: for to a Donatist, his adversary, citing

the authority of St. Cyprian against him, he thus replieth; [k] ***But now seeing it is not canonical which thou recitest, with that liberty to which the Lord hath called us, I do not receive the opinion, differing from scripture, of that man whose praise I cannot reach, to whose great learning I do not compare my writings, whose wit I love, in whose speech I delight, whose charity I admire, whose martyrdom I reverence.***

This liberty, not only the ancients, but even divers popes have acknowledged to belong to every Christian; as we shall hereafter shew, when we shall prove, that we may lawfully reject the pope, as a patron of error and iniquity.

6. It particularly doth thwart scripture by wronging princes, in exempting a numerous sort of people from subjection to their laws and judicature; whereas by God's ordination and express command *every soul is subject* to them; not excepting the popes themselves; (in the opinion of St. Chrysostom, except they be greater than any apostle.)

Rom. xiii. 1.

By pretending to govern the subjects of princes without their leave; to make laws without his permission or confirmation; to cite his subjects out of their territories, &c. which are encroachments upon the rights of God's unquestionable ministers.

III. Further, because our adversaries do little regard any allegation of scripture against them, (pre-

[k] Nunc vero quoniam canonicum non est quod recitas, *ea libertate ad quam nos vocavit Dominus*, ejus viri, cujus laudem consequi non valeo, cujus multis literis scripta mea non comparo, cujus ingenium diligo, cujus ore delector, cujus charitatem miror, cujus martyrium veneror, hoc quod aliter sapuit non accipio. *Aug. contr. Cresc.* ii. 32.

tending themselves to be the only masters of its ense, or of common sense, judges and interpreters f them,) we do allege against them, that this pre-ence doth also cross tradition, and the common doc-ine of the Fathers. For,

1. Common usage and practice is a good inter-reter of right; and that sheweth no such right was nown in the primitive church.

2. Indeed the state of the primitive church did ot admit it.

3. The Fathers did suppose no order in the hurch, by original right, or divine institution, su-erior to that of a bishop; whence they commonly lid style a bishop the highest priest, and episcopacy he top of ecclesiastical orders[l].

[m] *The chief priest,* saith Tertullian, *that is, the ishop, hath the right of giving baptism.*

[n] *Although,* saith St. Ambrose, *the presbyters also lo it, yet the beginning of the ministry is from the ighest priest.*

Optatus calleth bishops [o] *the tops and princes of ll.*

[l] Ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου διδαχθέντες ἀκολουθίαν πραγμάτων τοῖς μὲν ἐπισκόποις ἐ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἐνείμαμεν, &c. Const. Apost. viii. 46.

[m] Dandi quidem jus habet summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus. 'ert. *de Bapt.* cap. 17.

[n] Licet enim et presbyteri faciant, tamen exordium ministerii t a summo sacerdote. *Ambr. de Sacr.* iii. 1. Suscepisti guber-acula summi sacerdotii. *Id.* Ep. 5.

[o] Apices et principes omnium sacerdotes. *Opt.* 1. Ecclesiæ lus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet. *Hier. contr. Lucif.* 4. he safety of the church depends upon the dignity of the high riest. Ego dignus summo sacerdotio decernebar. *Id.* Ep. 99. d *Asell.*) In episcopo omnes ordines sunt, quia primus sacer-s est, hoc est princeps sacerdotum, et propheta et evangelista, cætera adimplenda officia ecclesiæ in ministerio fidelium. *Ambr.*

[p] *The divine order of bishops,* saith Dionysius, *is the first of divine orders; the same being also the extreme and last of them; for into it all the frame of our hierarchy is resolved and accomplished.*

This language is common even among popes themselves, complying with the speech then current; for, [q] *Presbyters,* saith pope Innocent I. *although they are priests, yet have they not the top of high-priesthood.*

[r] *No man,* saith pope Zosimus I. *against the precepts of the Fathers, should presume to aspire to the highest priesthood of the church.*

[s] *It is decreed,* saith pope Leo I. *that the chorepiscopi, or presbyters, who figure the sons of*

in Eph. iv. 11. In the bishop there are all orders, because he is the first priest; i. e. the prince of priests, and prophet, and evangelist, and all other offices of the church, to be fulfilled in the ministry of the faithful.

[p] Ἡ θεία τῶν ἱεραρχῶν τάξις, &c. supr. Pontifex princeps sacerdotum est, quasi via sequentium; ipse et summus sacerdos, ipse et pontifex maximus nuncupatur. *Isid. Hisp. apud Grat. Dist.* xxi. cap. 1.

[q] Nam presbyteri, licet sint sacerdotes, pontificatus tamen apicem non habent. *P. Innoc. I.* Ep. 1. (*ad Decent.*) —— dum facile imponuntur manus, dum negligenter summus sacerdos eligitur. *Id.* Ep. 12. (*ad Aurel.*)

[r] Ne quis contra Patrum præcepta——ad summum ecclesiæ sacerdotium aspirare præsumeret. *P. Zos. I.* Ep. 1. (*ad Hesych.*)

[s] Ideoque id quod tantum facere principibus sacerdotum jussum est, quorum typum Moses et Aaron tenuerunt, omnino decretum est, ut chorepiscopi vel presbyteri qui filiorum Aaron gestant figuram, arripere non præsumant. *P. Leo.* Ep. 88. Pontificatus apicem non habent. *Ibid.* Vid. Ep. lxxxiv. cap. 5. *S. Hier. ad Evagr.* Ut sciamus traditiones apostolicas sumptas de Veteri Testamento, Quod Aaron et filii ejus atque Levitæ in templo fuerunt, hoc sibi episcopi, presbyteri et diaconi vindicant in ecclesia. Or. xix. p. 309.

Aaron, shall not presume to snatch that which the princes of the priests (whom Moses and Aaron did typify) are commanded to do. (Note, by the way, that seeing according to this pope's mind (after St. Jerome) Moses and Aaron did in the Jewish policy represent bishops, there was none there to prefigure the pope.)

In those days the bishop of Nazianzum (a petty town in Cappadocia) was an high priest, (so Gregory calleth his father[t].) And the bishop of a poor city in Afric is styled [u]*Sovereign Pontiff of Christ, most blessed Father, most blessed Pope;* and the very Roman clergy doth call St. Cyprian [v]*most blessed and most glorious Pope:* which titles the pope doth now so charily reserve and appropriate to himself.

But innumerable instances of this kind might be produced: I shall only therefore add two other passages, which seem very observable, to the enforcement of this Discourse.

St. Jerome, reprehending the discipline of the Montanists, hath these words; [w]*With us the bishops do hold the places of the apostles; with them a bishop is in the third place: for they have for the*

[t] A bishop called ἀρχιερεύς. *Apost. Const.* viii. 10, 12.

[u] Summus Christi pontifex Augustinus. (*Paulin. apud Aug.* Ep. 36.) *Aug.* Ep. 35. Beatissimo papæ Augustino. *Hieron.* (*Aug.* Ep. 11, 13, 14, &c.)

[v] Optamus te beatiss. et gloriosissime papa in Domino semper valere. *Ep.* 31.

[w] Apud nos apostolorum locum episcopi tenent, apud eos episcopus tertius est; habent enim primos de Pepusa Phrygiæ patriarchas, secundos quos appellant cenones; atque ita in tertium, id est pene ultimum locum episcopi devolvuntur; quasi exinde ambitiosior religio fiat, si quod apud nos primum est, apud illos novissimum sit. *Hier.* (*ad Marcellam*) Ep. 54.

first rank the patriarchs of Pepusa in Phrygia; for the second, those whom they call cenones; so are bishops thrust down into the third, that is, almost the last place; as if thence religion became more stately, if that which is first with us be the last with them. Now doth not St. Jerome here affirm, that every bishop hath the place of an apostle, and the first rank in the church? Doth not he tax the advancement of any order above this? May not the popish hierarchy most patly be compared to that of the Montanists, and is it not equally liable to the censure of St. Jerome? Doth it not place the Roman pope in the first place, and the cardinals in the second, detruding the bishops into a third place? Could the Pepusian patriarch, or his cenones, either more overtop in dignity, or sway by power over bishops, than doth the Roman patriarch and his cardinals?

Again, St. Cyprian telleth pope Cornelius, that in episcopacy doth reside [x] *the sublime and divine power of governing the church;* it being *the sublime top of the priesthood.* [y] *He,* saith the blessed man concerning pope Cornelius, *did not suddenly arrive to episcopacy; but being through all ecclesiastical offices promoted, and having in divine administrations often merited of God, did by all the steps of religion mount to the sublimest pitch of priesthood.* Where it is visible, that St. Cyprian

[x] —— actum est de episcopatus vigore, et de ecclesiæ gubernandæ sublimi ac divina potestate. *Cypr.* Ep. 55. (*ad P. Cornel.*)

[y] Non iste ad episcopatum subito pervenit, sed per omnia ecclesiastica officia promotus, et in divinis administrationibus Dominum sæpe promeritus, ad sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis religionis gradibus ascendit. *Cypr.* Ep. 52.

doth not reckon the papacy, but the episcopacy of Cornelius to be that top of priesthood, (above which there was nothing eminent in the church,) unto which he passing through the inferior degrees of the clergy had attained.

In fine, it cannot well be conceived that the ancients constantly would have spoken in this manner, if they had allowed the papal office to be such as now it doth bear itself; the which indeed is an order no less distant from episcopacy than the rank of a king differeth from that of the meanest baron in his kingdom.

Neither is it prejudicial to this discourse, (or to any preceding,) that in the primitive church there were some distinctions and subordinations of bishops, [z](as of patriarchs, primates, metropolitans, common bishops,) for,

These were according to prudence constituted by the church itself for the more orderly and peaceable administration of things.

These did not import such a difference among the bishops, that one should domineer over others, to the infringing of primitive fraternity, or common liberty: but a precedence in the same rank, with some moderate advantages for the common good.

These did stand under authority of the church; and might be changed or corrected, as was found expedient, by common agreement.

By virtue of these the superiors of this kind could do nothing over their subordinates in an arbitrary manner, but according to the regulation of canons,

[z] The Africans had a particular care that this primacy should not degenerate into tyranny.

established by consent in synods; by which their influence was amplified or curbed[a].

When any of these did begin to domineer, or exceed his limits, he was liable to account and correction; he was exclaimed against as tyrannical[b].

When primates did begin to swell and encroach, good men declared their displeasure at it, and wished it removed; as is known particularly by *the famous wish of*[c] *Gregory Nazianzen.*

But we are discoursing against a superiority of a different nature, which foundeth itself in the institution of Christ, imposeth itself on the church, is not alterable or governable by it, can endure no check or control, pretendeth to be endowed with an absolute power to act without or against the consent of the church, is limited by no certain bounds but its own pleasure[d], &c.

IV. Further, this pretence may be impugned by many arguments springing from the nature and reason of things abstractedly considered; according to which the exercise of such an authority may appear unpracticable, without much iniquity, and great in-

[a] Conc. Ant. can. 9. Vid. Apost. can. 34. Conc. Carth. apud Cypr. Cod. Afr. can. 39. Nestorius, Dioscorus.

[b] Οἷά τε τυραννίδας τὰς φιλαρχίας ἐκθύμως διεκδικοῦντες. Euseb. viii. 1. So Eusebius complaineth of the bishops in his time. So Isidor. Pelusiot. *Ep.* xx. 125. iv. 219.

[c] Ὡς ὄφελον γε μηδὲ ἦν προεδρία, μηδὲ τις τόπου προτίμησις, καὶ τυραννικὴ προνομία. Greg. Naz. Orat. 28. O that there were not at all any presidency, or any preference in place, and tyrannical prerogative!

[d] So Socrates of the bishop (not only of Rome, but) Alexandria. Liv. vii. cap. 11. So St. Chrysostom in 1 Tim. iii. 1. in Ep. Orat. 11. So Greg. Naz. complained of τυραννικὴ προνομία. Ibid.

convenience, in prejudice to the rights of Christian states and people, to the interests of religion and piety, to the peace and welfare of mankind: whence it is to be rejected, as a pest of Christendom.

1. Whereas all the world in design and obligation is Christian, (the *utmost parts of the earth* being granted *in possession* to our Lord; and his gospel extending *to every creature under heaven,*) and may in effect become such, when God pleaseth, by acceptance of the gospel; whereas it may easily happen, that the most distant places on the earth may embrace Christianity; whereas really Christian churches have been and are dispersed all about the world; it is thence hugely incommodious, that all the church should depend upon an authority resident in one place, and to be managed by one person: the church, being such, is too immense, boundless, uncircumscribed, unwieldy a bulk, to be guided by the inspection, or managed by the influence, of one such authority or person.

Psal. ii. 8. Col. i. 23. Luke xxiv. 47. Matt. xxviii. 19.

If the whole world were reduced under the government of one civil monarch, it would necessarily be ill governed, as to policy, to justice, to peace: the skirts, or remoter parts from the metropolis or centre of the government, would extremely suffer thereby; for they would feel little light or warmth from majesty shining at such a distance: they would live under small awe of that power, which was so far out of sight: they must have very difficult recourse to it, for redress of grievances, and relief of oppressions; for final decision of causes, and composure of differences; for correction of offences, and dispensation of justice, upon good information, with tolerable expedition: it would be hard to preserve

peace, or quell seditions, and suppress insurrections, that might arise in distant quarters.

What man could obtain the knowledge or experience needful skilfully and justly to give laws or administer judgment to so many nations different in humour, in language, in customs? What mind of man, what industry, what leisure, could serve to sustain the burden of that care, which is needful to the wielding such an office? How and when should one man be able to receive all the addresses, to weigh all the cases, to make all the resolutions and despatches requisite for such a charge? If the burden of one small kingdom be so great that wise and good princes do groan under its weight, what must that be of all mankind? To such an extent of government there must be allowed a majesty, and power correspondent, the which cannot be committed to one hand, without its degeneration into extreme tyranny. The words of Zosimus to this purpose are observable; who saith, that the Romans, by admitting Augustus Cæsar to the government, did do very perilously; for *If he should choose to manage the government rightly and justly, he would not be capable of applying himself to all things as were fit, not being able to succour those who do lie at greatest distance; nor could he find so many magistrates as would not be ashamed to defeat the opinion conceived of them; nor could he suit them to the differences of so many manners: or if, transgressing the bounds of royalty, he should warp to tyranny, disturbing the magistracies, overlooking misdemeanours, bartering right for money, holding the subjects for slaves, (such as most emperors, or rather near all have*

Cum tot sustineas, et tanta negotia solus, &c. *Hor.* Ep. ii. 1.

Εἴτε γὰρ ἀρθῶς, &c. Zos. Hist. i. (p. 4. Steph.)

been, few excepted;) then it is quite necessary that the brutish authority of the prince should be a public calamity: for then flatterers being by him dignified with gifts and honours do invade the greatest commands; and those who are modest and quiet, not affecting the same life with them, are consequently displeased, not enjoying the same advantages; so that from hence cities are filled with seditions and troubles. And the civil and military employments being delivered up to avaricious persons, do both render a peaceable life sad and grievous to men of better disposition, and do enfeeble the resolution of soldiers in war.

Hence St. Austin was of opinion, that [d] *it were happy for mankind if all kingdoms were small, enjoying a peaceful neighbourhood.*

It is commonly observed by historians, that [e] *Rome growing in bigness, did labour therewith,* and was not able to support itself; many distempers and dis-

[d] Felicioribus sic rebus humanis, omnia regna parva essent, concordi vicinitate lætantia. *Aug. de Civ. D.* iv. 15. Ἔστι τι καὶ πόλεσι μεγέθους μέτρον, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων, ζώων, φυτῶν, ὀργάνων· καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἕκαστον οὔτε λίαν μικρὸν, οὔτε κατὰ μέγεθος ὑπερβάλλων ἕξει τὴν αὑτοῦ δύναμιν. Arist. Pol. vii. 4. There is a certain measure of greatness fit for cities and commonwealths, as well as for all other things, living creatures, plants, instruments; for every one of these hath its proper virtue and faculty, when it is neither very little, nor yet exceeds in bigness. Τίς γὰρ στρατηγὸς ἔσται τοῦ λίαν ὑπερβάλλοντος πλήθους, ἢ τις κήρυξ μὴ στεντόρειος; Ibid. For who would be a captain of an excessive huge multitude? &c.

[e] Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit. *Hor.* Ep. 16. ——quæ ab exiguis initiis creverit, ut jam magnitudine laboret sua. *Liv. I.* Ac nescio an satius fuerit populo Romano Sicilia et Africa contentos fuisse, aut his etiam ipsis carere dominanti in Italia sua, quam eo magnitudinis crescere, ut viribus suis conficeretur. *Flor.* iii. 12.

orders springing up in so vast a body, which did throw it into continual pangs, and at length did bring it to ruin; for *Then*, saith St. Austin concerning the times of Pompey, [f]*Rome had subdued Afric, it had subdued Greece; and widely also ruling over other parts, as not able to bear itself, did in a manner by its own greatness break itself.*

Hence that wise prince, Augustus Cæsar, did himself forbear to enlarge the Roman dominion, and did in his testament advise the senate to do the like [g].

To the like inconveniences (and much greater in its kind; temporal things being more easily ordered than spiritual, and having secular authority, great advantages of power and wealth, to aid itself) must the church be obnoxious, if it were subjected to the government of one sovereign, unto whom the maintenance of faith, the protection of discipline, the determination of controversies, the revision of judg-

[f] Tunc jam Roma subjugaverat Africam, subjugaverat Græciam, lateque etiam aliis partibus imperans tanquam seipsam ferre non valens, se sua quodammodo magnitudine fregerat. *Aug. de Civ. D.* xviii. 45. *Tac. Hist.* ii. p. 476.

[g] Γνώμην τε αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε τοῖς τε παροῦσιν ἀρκεσθῆναι, καὶ μηδαμῶς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπαυξῆσαι ἐθελῆσαι· δυσφύλακτόν τε γὰρ αὐτὴν ἔσεσθαι ἔφη· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὄντως ἀεί ποτε οὐ λόγῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ ἐτήρησε· παρὸν γοῦν αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ προσκτήσασθαι, οὐκ ἠθέλησε. Dion. lib. lvi. Tac. Ann. 1. He advised them to be content with what they had, and by no means to endeavour the enlargement of their empire; for, said he, it will be hardly kept: and this he himself observed, not in word only, but in deed: for when he might have gotten more from the barbarous nations, yet he would not.

Ipsa nocet moles, utinam remeare liceret
Ad veteres fines, et mœnia pauperis anci, &c.
Claud. de Bello Gildon.

ments, the discussion and final decision of causes upon appeal, the suppression of disorders and factions, the inspection over all governors, the correction of misdemeanours, the constitution, relaxation and abolition of laws, the resolution of all matters concerning religion and the public state, in all countries must be referred.

Τίς πρὸς ταῦτα ἱκανός; What shoulders can bear such a charge without perpetual miracle? (and yet we do not find that the pope hath any promise of miraculous assistance, nor in his demeanour doth appear any mark thereof.) What mind would not the care of so many affairs utterly distract and overwhelm? who could find time to cast a glance on each of so numberless particulars? What sagacity of wit, what variety of learning, what penetrancy of judgment, what strength of memory, what indefatigable vigour of industry, what abundance of experience, would suffice, for enabling one man to weigh exactly all the controversies of faith and cases of discipline perpetually starting up in so many regions[h]?

What reach of skill and ability would serve for accommodation of laws to the different humours and fashions of so many nations? Shall a decrepit old man, in the decay of his age, parts, vigour, (such as popes usually are,) undertake this? May we not say to him, as Jethro did to Moses, *Ultra vires tuas est negotium; The thing thou doest is not good: thou wilt surely wear away, both thou and this people that is with thee: for this thing is too* Exod. xviii. 17, 18.

[h] The synod of Basil doth well describe the duty of a pope; but it is infinitely hard to practise it in any measure. (*Conc. Bas.* sess. xxiii. p. 64, &c.——)

heavy for thee; thou art not able to perform it thyself alone.

If the care of a small diocese hath made the most able and industrious bishops (who had a conscience and sense of their duty) to groan under its weight, how insupportable must such a charge be!

The care of his own particular church, if he would act the part of a bishop indeed, would sufficiently take up the pope; especially in some times; whenas pope Alexander saith,——*Ut intestina nostræ specialis ecclesiæ negotia vix possemus ventilare, nedum longinqua ad plenum extricare.*

P. Alex. II. (Epist. ad Ger. Rhem. Bin. p. 284.)

If it be said that St. Paul testifieth of himself, that he had *a care of all the churches* incumbent on him; I answer, that he (and other apostles had the like) questionless had a pious solicitude for the welfare of all Christians, especially of the churches which he had founded, being vigilant for occasions to edify them. But what is this, to bearing the charge of a standing government over all the churches diffused through the world? That care of a few churches then was burdensome to him: what is the charge of so many now; to one seldom endowed with such apostolical graces and gifts as St. Paul was?

2 Cor. xi. 28.

How weak must the influence of such an authority be upon the circumferential parts of its œcumenical sphere!

How must the outward branches of the churches faint and fade for want of sap from the root of discipline, which must be conveyed through so many obstructions to such a distance!

How discomposed must things be in each country for want of seasonable resolution, hanging in sus-

pense till information do travel to Rome, and determination come back thence[1]!

How difficult, how impossible will it be for him there to receive faithful information or competent testimony, whereupon to ground just decisions of causes!

How will it be in the power thence of any malicious and cunning person to raise trouble against innocent persons! for any like person to decline the due correction laid on him, by transferring the cause from home to such a distance!

How much cost, how much trouble, how much hazard, must parties concerned be at to fetch light and justice thence!

Put case a heresy, a schism, a doubt or debate of great moment should arise in China; how should the gentleman in Italy proceed to confute that heresy, to quash that schism, to satisfy that doubt, to determine that cause! how long must it be, ere he can have notice thereof! to how many cross accidents of weather and way must the transmitting of information be subject! how difficult will it prove, to get a clear and sure knowledge concerning the state of things!

How hard will it be to get the opposite parties to appear, so as to confront testimonies and probations requisite to a fair and just decision! how shall

[1] Tanta me occupationum onera deprimunt, ut ad superna animus nullatenus erigatur, &c. *Greg. I.* lib. i. Ep. 7, 25, 5. Such a weight of employment presses me down, that my mind can by no means be raised to things above. Si administratio illius temporis mare fuit, quid de præsenti papatu dicendum erit? *Calv. Inst.* iv. cap. 7, 22. If the ordering of affairs in those times was a boundless sea, what shall we say of the present papacy?

witnesses of infirm sex or age ramble so far! how easily will some of them prepossess and abuse him with false suggestions and misrepresentations of the case! how slippery therefore will the result be, and how prone he to award a wrongful sentence[k]!

De lungas vias luengas mentiras. *Hisp. Prov. Syn. Basil.* sess. xxxi. p. 86.

How tedious, how expensive, how troublesome, how vexatious, how hazardous, must this course be to all parties! Certainly causes must needs proceed slowly, and depend long; and in the end the resolution of them must be very uncertain.

What temptation will it be for any one (how justly soever corrected by his immediate superiors) to complain; hoping thereby to escape, to disguise the truth, &c. who being condemned will not appeal to one at a distance, hoping by false suggestions to delude him?

Vid. Bern. Ep. 178. de Consid.

This necessarily will destroy all discipline, and induce impunity or frustration of justice.

Certainly much more convenient and equal it should be, that there should be near at hand a sovereign power, fully capable, expeditely and seasonably to compose differences, to decide causes, to resolve doubts, to settle things, without more stir and trouble.

Very equal it is, that laws should rather be framed, interpreted, and executed in every country, with accommodation to the tempers of the people, to the circumstances of things, to the civil state there, by persons acquainted with those particulars, than by

[k] Nunquid mirandum est de tam longinquis terris episcopos tuos tibi narrare impune quod volunt? *Aug. contra Crescon.* iii. 34. What marvel if the bishops from so remote countries tell you what they please without check or control?

strangers ignorant of them, and apt to mistake about them.

How often will the pope be imposed upon, as he was in the case of Basilides, of whom St. Cyprian saith, [l] *Going to Rome he deceived our colleague Stephen, being placed at distance, and ignorant of the fact, and concealed truth, aspiring to be unjustly restored to the bishopric, from which he was justly removed.*

As he was in the case of Marcellus, who gulled pope Julius by fair professions, as St. Basil doth often complain [m].

As he was in aiding that versatile and troublesome bishop, Eustathius of Sebastia, to the recovery of his bishopric. Bas. Ep. 73, 74.

As he was in rejecting [n] *the man of God, and most admirable bishop, Meletius;* and admitting scandalous reports about him, which the same saint doth often resent; blaming sometimes the fallacious misinformation, sometimes the wilful presumption, negligence, pride of the Roman church in the case [o].

[l] Romam pergens Stephanum collegam nostrum longe positum, et gestæ rei, ac tacitæ veritatis ignarum fefellit; ut exambiret reponi se injuste in episcopatum, de quo fuerat juste depositus. *Cypr.* Ep. 67.

[m] Ἐκεῖνα ποιοῦσι νῦν, ἃ πρότερον ἐπὶ Μαρκέλλῳ, πρὸς μὲν τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἀπαγγέλλοντας φιλονεικήσαντες, &c. Basil. Ep. 10.

[n] Τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ Μελετίου —— τὸν θαυμασιώτατον ἐπίσκοπον τῆς ἀληθινῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας Μελέτιον ——. Bas. Ep. 349.

[o] Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοοῦσι παντελῶς τὰ ἐνταῦθα· οἱ δὲ καὶ δοκοῦντες εἰδέναι φιλονεικότερον μᾶλλον ἢ ἀληθέστερον αὐτοῖς ἐξηγοῦνται. Ibid. Some are altogether ignorant of what is here done; others, that think they know them, declare them unto us more contentiously than truly. Ἐλύπει ἡμᾶς λέγων τοῖς Ἀρειομανίταις συγκαταριθμεῖσθαι τοὺς θεοφιλεστάτους ἀδελφοὺς ἡμῶν Μελέτιον καὶ Εὐσέβιον. Epist. 321. ad Pet. Alex.

P. Zos. I. Ep. 3, 4.

As he was in the case of Pelagius and Celestius, who did cajole pope Zosimus to acquit them, to condemn Eros and Lazarus their accusers, to reprove the African bishops for prosecuting them.

How many proceedings should we have like to that of pope Zosimus I. concerning that scandalous priest, Apiarius; whom, being for grievous crimes excommunicated by his bishop, that pope did admit to communion, and undertake to patronise; but was baffled in his enterprise[p].

This hath been the sense of the Fathers in the case.

Cypr. Ep. lv. (p. 116.)

St. Cyprian therefore saith, that *seeing it was a general statute among the bishops, and that it was both equal and just that every one's cause should be heard there, where the crime was committed; and that each pastor had a portion of the flock allotted to him, which he should rule and govern, being to render unto the Lord an account of his doing.*

St. Chrysostom thought it [q]*improper that one out*

He grieved us when he said, that our godly brethren, Meletius and Eusebius, were reckoned among the Arians. Ποία βοήθεια ἡμῖν τῆς δυτικῆς ὀφρύος, οἱ τόγε ἀληθὲς οὔτε ἴσασιν, οὔτε μαθεῖν ἀνέχονται; Bas. Ep. 10. What help can we have from the pride of the Africans, who neither know the truth, nor endure to learn it?

[p] Deinde quod inter tantam hominum multitudinem adeo pauci sunt episcopi, et amplæ singulorum parochiæ, ut in subjectis plebibus curam episcopalis officii nullatenus exequi, aut rite administrare valeant. *P. Greg. VII.* Ep. ii. 73. And then because in so great a multitude of people there are so few bishops, and every one's diocese very large, that they are in no wise able to execute or rightly perform the charge of the episcopal office among the people over whom they are set.

[q] Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀκόλουθον ἦν τὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῖς ἐν Θράκῃ δικάζειν. Chrys.

'*Egypt should administer justice to persons in* *hrace.* (And why not, as well as one out of ly?)

The African synod thought [r]*the Nicene Fathers* *d provided most prudently and most justly that* *affairs should be finally determined there where* *y did arise.*

They thought [s]*a transmarine judgment could* *be firm,* because *the necessary persons for tes-* *ony, for the infirmity of sex or age, or for many* *er infirmities, could not be brought thither.*

Pope Leo himself saw how dilatory this course uld be; and that [t]*longinquity of region doth* *se the examination of truth to become over di-* *ory.*

Pope Liberius for such reasons did request Con- ntius, that Athanasius's cause should be tried at

102. (ad P. Innoc. I.) Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο κρατήσειε τὸ ἔθος, καὶ ἐξὸν το τοῖς βουλομένοις, εἰς ἀλλοτρίας ἀπιέναι παροικίας ἐκ τοσούτων διαστη- ιν, καὶ ἐκβάλλειν οὓς ἂν ἐθέλοι τις, ἴστε ὅτι πάντα οἰχήσεται, &c. For is custom prevail, and if they that will may go to other men's eses at so great a distance, and eject whom any man pleases, w that all will go to wrack, &c.

Decreta Nicena sive inferioris gradus clericos, sive ipsos epi- os suis metropolitanis apertissime commiserunt; prudentis- enim justissimeque viderunt (providerunt) quæcunque nego- n suis locis, ubi orsa sunt, finienda. *Ep. Conc. Afric. ad P. st. I. (in fine Cod. Afric.) vel apud Dion. Exig.*

Aut quomodo ipsum transmarinum judicium ratum erit, ad l testium necessariæ personæ vel propter sexus, vel propter ctutis infirmitatem, vel multis aliis impedimentis adduci non runt. *Ibid.*

Ne ergo (quod inter longinquas regiones accidere solet) in as dilationes tenderent veritatis examina ——. *P. Leo I.* 34.

Alexandria; where—[u] *he*, saith he, *that is accused, and the accusers are, and the defender of them; and so we may, upon examination had, agree in our sentence about them.*

Therefore divers ancient canons of synods did prohibit that any causes should be removed out of the bounds of provinces or dioceses; as otherwhere we shew[x].

2. Such an authority, as this pretence claimeth, must necessarily (if not withheld by continual miracle) throw the church into sad bondage. All the world must become slaves to one city, its wealth must be derived thither, its quiet must depend on it. For it (not being restrained within any bounds of place or time, having no check upon it of equal or coordinate power, standing upon divine institution, and therefore immutably settled) must of its own nature become absolute and unlimited[y].

[u] Τότε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων οἱ πάντες ἀπαντήσαντες ἔνθα ὁ ἐγκαλούμενος καὶ οἱ ἐγκαλοῦντές εἰσι, καὶ ὁ ἀντιποιούμενος αὐτῶν, ἐξετάσαντες τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν συμπερινεχεῦμεν. Theod. ii. 16.

[x] Inoleverunt autem hactenus intolerabilium vexationum abusus permulti, dum nimium frequenter a remotissimis etiam partibus ad Romanam curiam, et interdum pro parvis et minutis rebus ac negotiis quamplurimi citari ac evocari consueverunt, &c. *Vid. Conc. Bas.* sess. xxxi. (p. 86.) But hitherto very many intolerable vexatious abuses have prevailed, while too often men have been used to be cited and called out even from the remotest parts to the court of Rome, and sometimes for slight and trivial businesses and occasions.

[y] Vid. Hist. Conc. Trid. p. 61. Privilegia istius sedis perpetua sunt, divinitus radicata, atque plantata, impingi possunt, transferri non possunt; trahi possunt, evelli non possunt. *P. Nich. I. ad Mich. Imp.* The privileges of this see are perpetual, rooted, and founded upon divine authority; they may be dashed against, they cannot be removed; they may be drawn aside, they cannot be plucked up.

Let it be however of right limited by divine laws or human canons, yet will it be continually encroaching, and stretching its power, until it grows enormous and boundless. It will not endure to be pinched by any restraint. It will draw to itself the collation of all preferments, &c. Vid. Conc. Bas. sess. xxxi. p. 87.

It will assume all things to itself, trampling down all opposite claims of right and liberty; so that neither pastor nor people shall enjoy or do any thing otherwise than in dependence on it, and at its pleasure.

It will be always forging new prerogatives, and interpreting all things in favour of them, and enacting sanctions to establish them; which none must presume to contest[z].

It will draw to itself the disposal of all places; the exaction of goods. All princes must become his ministers, and executors of his decrees. Hist. Conc. Trid. p. 60. so they pretend. *Conc. Later.* 4. (*sub Innoc. III.*)

It will mount above all law and rule; not only challenging to be uncontrollable and unaccountable, but not enduring any reproof of its proceedings, or contradiction of its dictates: a blind faith must be yielded to all its assertions, as infallibly true; and a blind obedience to all its decrees, as unquestionably holy: whosoever shall anywise cross it in word or deed, shall certainly be discountenanced, condemned, ejected from the church[a]; so that the most absolute

[z] Licet apostolica prærogativa possimus de qualibet ecclesia clericum ordinare. *P. Steph. apud Grat. Caus.* 9. qu. iii. cap. 20. Though by our apostolical prerogative we may ordain a clergyman of any church.

[a] Sitque alienus a divinis et pontificalibus officiis, qui noluit præceptis apostolicis obtemperare. *Greg. IV.* (*Dist.* xix. cap. 5.) And let him have nothing at all to do with divine and pontifical offices, who would not obey apostolical precepts. Oportet autem

tyranny that can be imagined will ensue: all the world hath groaned and heavily complained of their exactions, particularly our poor nation; it would raise indignation in any man to read the complaints.

Vide Mat. Paris.

This is consequent on such a pretence, according to the very nature of things; and so in experience it hath happened[b]. For

It is evident, that the papacy hath devoured all the privileges and rights of all orders in the church, either granted by God, or established in the ancient canons[c].

The royalties of Peter are become immense; and, consistently to his practice, the pope doth allow men to tell him to his face, *that all power in heaven and in earth is given unto him.*

It belongeth to him [d]*to judge of the whole church.*

He hath [e]*a plenitude* (as he calleth it) *of power,* by which he can infringe any law, or do any thing that he pleaseth.

It is the tenor of his bulls, *that whoever rashly dareth to thwart his will shall incur the indigna-*

gladium esse sub gladio, et temporalem authoritatem spirituali subjici potestati. *Bonif. VIII. Extrav. Com.* i. 8. 1. But there must be a sword under a sword, and temporal authority subject to spiritual.

[b] —— chesia piu officio di pontefici aggiurgere con l'armi, et col sorgue de Christiani, &c. *Guicc.* xi. p. 858.

[c] Quid hodie erant episcopi, nisi umbra quædam? quid plus eis restabat quam baculus et mitra? &c. *An. Sylv. de Gestis Syn. Bas.* lib. i. What were bishops now but a kind of shadows? what had they left more than a staff and a mitre? &c.

[d] Conc. Lat. v. sess. 11. p. 129. De omni ecclesia jus habet judicandi. (*P. Gelas. Grat. Caus.* ix. q. 3. cap. 18.)

[e] Secundum plenitudinem potestatis de jure possumus supra jus dispensare. *Greg. Decret.* lib. iii. tit. 8. cap. 4.

tion of Almighty God, and (as if that were not enough) *of St. Peter and St. Paul also.*

[f]*No man must presume to tax his faults, or to judge of his judgment.*

[g]*It is idolatry to disobey his commands,* against their own sovereign lord.

There are who dare in plain terms call him omnipotent, and who ascribe *infinite* power to him. And that he is infallible is the most common and plausible opinion: so that at Rome the contrary *is erroneous, and within an inch of being heretical.* Erronea, et hæresi proxima. *Bell. de P.* iv. 2.

We are now told, that [h]*if the pope should err by enjoining vices or forbidding virtues, the church should be bound to believe vices to be good, and virtues evil, unless it would sin against conscience.*

The greatest princes must stoop to his will; otherwise he hath power to cashier and depose them.

Now what greater inconvenience, what more horrible iniquity can there be, than that all God's people (that *free people,* who are *called to freedom*) should Gal. v. 1, 13.

[f] Hujus culpas isthic redarguere præsumit mortalium nullus. *Grat. Dist.* xl. cap. 6. (Si papa —) Neque cuiquam licere de ejus judicare judicio. *Caus.* ix. qu. 3. cap. 10.

[g] Cum enim obedire apostolicæ sedi superbe contemnunt, scelus idololatriæ, teste Samuele, incurrunt. *Greg. VII.* Ep. iv. 2. Nulli fas est vel velle, vel posse transgredi apostolicæ sedis præcepta. *Greg. IV. apud Grat. Dist.* xix. cap. 5. No man may nor can transgress the commands of the apostolic see. —— ab omnibus quicquid statuit, quicquid ordinat, perpetuo et irrefragabiliter observandum est. *Ibid.* cap. 4. (*P. Steph.*) —— Whatever he decrees, whatever he ordains, must always and inviolably be observed by all.

[h] Si autem papa erraret præcipiendo vitia, vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur ecclesia credere vitia esse bona, et virtutes malas, nisi vellet contra conscientiam peccare. *Bell. de Pont.* iv. 5.

1 Pet. ii. 16. be subject to so intolerable a yoke and miserable a slavery?

That tyranny soon had crept into the Roman church Socrates telleth us[i].

They have rendered true that definition of Sciop-pius: [k]*The church is a stall, or herd, or multitude of beasts, or asses.*

[l]*They bridle us, they harness us, they spur us, they lay yokes and laws upon us.*

The greatest tyranny that ever was invented in the world is the pretence of infallibility: for Dionysius and Phalaris did leave the mind free, (pretending only to dispose of body and goods according to their will:) but the pope, not content to make us do and say what he pleaseth, will have us also to think so; denouncing his imprecations and spiritual menaces, if we do not.

3. Such an authority will inevitably produce a depravation of Christian doctrine, by distorting it in accommodation of it to the promoting its designs and interests. It will blend Christianity with worldly notions and policies.

It certainly will introduce new doctrines, and interpret the old ones so as may serve to the advancement of the power, reputation, pomp, wealth, and pleasure, of those who manage it, and of their dependents.

[i] Papa occupavit omnia jura inferiorum ecclesiarum, ita quod inferiores prælati sunt pro nihilo. *Card. Zab. de Sch. Innoc. VII.* p. 560. The pope hath invaded all the rights of inferior churches, so that all inferior prelates are nothing set by.

[k] Ecclesia est mandra sive grex aut multitudo jumentorum sive asinorum. *Eccl.* cap. 47.

[l] Illi nos frænant, nos lore alligant, nos stimulant, nobis jugum et onus imponunt. *Ibid.*

That which is called καπηλεύειν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, to make a trade of religion will be the great work of the teachers of the church. It will turn all divines into mercenary, slavish, designing flatterers[m]. 2 Cor. ii. 17.

This we see come to pass, Christianity by the papal influence being from its original simplicity transformed into quite another thing than it was; from a divine philosophy designed to improve the reason, to moderate the passions, to correct the manners of men, to prepare men for conversation with God and angels; modelled to a system of politic devices, (of notions, of precepts, of rites,) serving to exalt and enrich the pope, with his court and adherents, clients and vassals[n].

What doctrine of Christian theology, as it is interpreted by their schools, hath not a direct aspect, or doth not squint that way? especially according to the opinions passant and in vogue among them.

To pass over those concerning the pope, (his universal pastorship, judgship in controversies, power to call councils, presidency in them, superiority over them; right to confirm or annul them; his infallibility; his double sword, and dominion (direct or indirect) over princes; his dispensing in laws, in oaths, in vows, in matrimonial cases, with all other the monstrous prerogatives, which the sound doctors of Rome, with encouragement of that chair, do teach.)

[m] 1 Tim. vi. 5. Νομιζόντων πορισμὸν εἶναι τὴν εὐσέβειαν. Supposing that gain is godliness. Ἐν προφάσει πλεονεξίας. 1 Thess. ii. 5. A cloke of covetousness; κυβεία. Eph. iv. 14.

[n] Pasce, id est, regio more impera. Ecce duos gladios.—— Oravi ne deficeret. Feed, i. e. rule as a king. Behold two

What doth the doctrine concerning the exempting of the clergy from secular jurisdiction, and immunity of their goods from taxes signify, but their entire dependence on the pope, and their being closely tied to his interests?

What is the exemption of monastical places from the jurisdiction of bishops, but listing so many soldiers and advocates to defend and advance the papal empire?

What meaneth the doctrine concerning that middle region of souls, or cloister of purgatory, whereof the pope holdeth the keys; opening and shutting it at his pleasure, by dispensation of pardons and indulgences; but that he must be master of the people's condition, and of their purse?

What meaneth the treasure of merits and supererogatory works, whereof he is the steward, but a way of driving a trade, and drawing money from simple people to his treasury?

Whither doth the entangling of folks in perpetual vows tend, but to assure them in a slavish dependence on their interests, eternally, without evasion or remedy; except by favourable dispensation from the pope?

Why is the *opus operatum* in sacraments taught to confer grace, but to breed a high opinion of the priest, and all he doth?

Whence did the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation (urged with so furious zeal) issue, but from design to magnify the credit of those, who by saying of a few words can make our God and Saviour? and withal to exercise a notable instance of their power over men, in making them to renounce their reason and senses?

Whither doth tend the doctrine concerning the mass being a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead, but to engage men to leave in their wills good sums to offer in their behalf?

Why is the cup withholden from the laity, but to lay it low by so notable a distinction, in the principal mystery of our religion, from the priesthood?

Why is saying private mass (or celebrating the communion in solitude) allowed, but because priests are paid for it, and live by it?

At what doth the doctrine concerning the necessity of auricular confession aim, but that thereby the priests may have a mighty awe on the consciences of all people, may dive into their secrets, may manage their lives as they please?

And what doth a like necessary particular absolution intend, but to set the priest in a lofty state of authority above the people, as a judge of his condition and dispenser of his salvation?

Why do they equal ecclesiastical traditions with scripture, but that on the pretence of them they may obtrude whatever doctrines advantageous to their designs?

What drift hath the doctrine concerning the infallibility of churches or councils, but that, when opportunity doth invite, he may call a company of bishops together to establish what he liketh, which ever after must pass for certain truth, to be contradicted by none; so enslaving the minds of all men to his dictates, which always suit to his interest.

What doth the prohibition of holy scripture drive at, but a monopoly of knowledge to themselves, or a detaining of people in ignorance of truth and duty; so that they must be forced to rely on them for di-

rection, must believe all they say, and blindly submit to their dictates; being disabled to detect their errors, or contest their opinions?

Why must the sacraments be celebrated, and public devotions exercised, in an unknown tongue, but that the priests may seem to have a peculiar interest in them, and ability for them?

Why must the priesthood be so indispensably forbidden marriage, but that it may be wholly untacked from the state, and rest addicted to him, and governable by him; that the persons and wealth of priests may be purely at his devotion?

To what end is the clogging religion by multiplication of ceremonies and formalities, but to amuse the people, and maintain in them a blind reverence toward the interpreters of the dark mysteries couched in them; and by seeming to encourage an exterior show of piety (or form of godliness) to gain reputation and advantage, whereby they might oppress the interior virtue and reality of it, as the Scribes and Pharisees did, although with less designs?

Vid. Sleid. p. 673.

Why is the veneration of images and relics, the credence of miracles and legends, the undertaking of pilgrimages and voyages to Rome, and other places, more holy than ordinary; sprinklings of holy water, consecrations of baubles, (with innumerable foppish knacks and trinkets,) so cherished; but to keep the people in a slavish credulity and dotage, apt to be led by them whither they please, by any sleeveless pretence, and in the meanwhile to pick various gains from them by such trade?

What do all such things mean, but obscuring the native simplicity of Christianity, whereas it being

represented intelligible to all men, would derogate from that high admiration, which these men pretend to from their peculiar and profound wisdom? And what would men spend for these toys, if they understood they might be good Christians, and get to heaven without them?

What doth all that pomp of religion serve for, but for ostentation of the dignity of those who administer it? It may be pretended for the honour of religion, but it really conduceth to the glory of the priesthood, who shine in those pageantries.

Why is monkery (although so very different from that which was in the ancient times) so cried up as a superlative state of perfection, but that it filleth all places with swarms of lusty people, who are vowed servants to him, and have little else to do but to advance that authority by which they subsist in that dronish way of life?

In fine, perusing the controversies of Bellarmine, or any other champion of Romanism, do but consider the nature and scope of each doctrine maintained by them; and you may easily discern, that scarce any of them but doth tend to advance the interest of the pope, or of his sworn vassals.

Whereas indeed our Lord had never any such design, to set up a sort of men in such distance above their brethren; to perk over them, and suck them of their goods by tricks; it only did charge people to allow their pastors a competent maintenance for a sober life, with a moderate respect, as was needful for the common benefit of God's people; whom they were, with humility and meekness, to instruct and guide in the plain and simple way of

This is a grievous inconvenience; there being nothing wherein the church is more concerned, than in the preservation of its doctrine pure and incorrupt from the leaven of hurtful errors, influential on practice.

4. The errors in doctrine, and miscarriages in practice, which this authority in favour to itself would introduce, would be established immoveably, to the irrecoverable oppression of truth and piety; any reformation becoming impossible while it standeth, or so far as it shall be able to oppose and obstruct it.

While particular churches do retain their liberty, and pastors their original coordination in any measure, if any church or bishop shall offer to broach any novel doctrine or practice of bad import, the others may endeavour to stop the settlement or progress of them; each church at least may keep itself sound from contagion.

But when all churches and bishops are reduced into subjection to one head, supported by the guards of his authority, who will dare to contest, or be able to withstand, what he shall say or do? It will then be deemed high presumption, contumacy, rebellion, to dissent from his determinations, how false soever, or tax the practices countenanced by him, however irregular and culpable.

He will assume to himself the privilege not to be crossed in any thing; and soon will claim *infallibility, the mother of incorrigibility.*

No error can be so palpable, which that authority will not protect and shroud from confutation; no practice so enormous, which it will not palliate, and guard from reproof.

There will be legions of mercenary tongues to speak, and stipendiary pens to write, in defence of its doctrines and practices; so that whoever will undertake to oppose it shall be voted down and overwhelmed with noise, and shall incur all the discouragement and persecution imaginable. So poor truth will become utterly defenceless, wretched virtue destitute of succour or patronage.

This is so in speculation, and we see it confirmed by experience: for when from the influence of this power (as pope Adrian VI. did ingenuously confess) an apparent degeneracy in doctrine, in discipline, in practice, had seized on Christendom, all the world feeling it, and crying out loudly for reformation, yet how stiff a repugnance did the adherents to this interest make thereto! with what industry and craft did popes endeavour to decline all means of remedy!

Sleid. lib. iv. p. 82. lib. xii. p. 322. Hist. Conc. Trid. p. 24. Vid. Riv. in Castig. Nol. p. 525.

What will not this party do rather than acknowledge themselves mistaken or liable to error? what palliations, what shifts, do not they use? what evidence of light do they not outface?

Centum gravamina.

5. The same will induce a general corruption of manners.

For the chief clergy partaking of its growth, and protected by its interest, (reciprocally supporting it, and being sheltered by it from any curb or control,) will swell into great pride and haughtiness; will be tempted to scrape and hoard up wealth by rapine, extortion, simony; will come to enjoy ease and sloth; will be immersed in sensuality and luxury, and will consequently neglect their charge.

The inferiors will become enamoured and ambi-

tious of dignity, and will use all means and arts to attain it°.

Thence emulation, discord, sycophantry will spring.

Thence all ecclesiastical offices will become venal; to be purchased by bribes, flattery, favour.——

The higher ranks will become fastuous, supercilious, and domineering. The lower will basely crouch, cog.——

What then must the people be, the guides being such?

Alv. Pelag. in Riv. Castig. N. cap. 8. Vid. Bern. Convers. S. Paul. Serm. i. p. 87.

Were such guides like to edify the people by their doctrine? Were they not like to damnify them by their example?

That thus it hath happened experience doth shew, and history doth abundantly testify. This was soon observed by a pagan historian, Am. Marcellin. By St. Basil, ὄφρυς δυτική.

What mischief this, what scandal to religion, what detriment to the church, what ruins of souls it produceth, is visible.

The descriptions of Rome and of that church, by Mantuan, do in a lively manner represent the great degeneracy and corruptions of it.

6. This authority, as it would induce corruption of manners, so it would perpetuate it; and render the state of things incorrigible.

For this head of the church, and the supporters of his authority, will often need reformation, but never will endure it.

° Vid. ipsum Greg. VII. Ep. i. 42. ii. 45. See the description of them in S. Bernard. *in Cant. Serm.* 33. *Guicciard. in Suppl.*

That will happen of any pope, which the Fathers of Basil complained of in pope Eugenius[o].

If the pope would, (as pope Adrian VI.) yet he will not be able to reform; the interests of his dependents crossing it. Vid. Conc. Trid. p. 22.

If there hath happened a good pope, who desired to reform; yet he hath been ridiculous when he endeavoured it; and found it impossible to reform even a few particulars in his own house, the incorrigible Roman court.

The nature and pretended foundation of this spiritual authority doth encourage it with insuperable obstinacy to withstand all reformation: for whereas, if any temporal power doth grow intolerable, God's providence by wars and revolutions of state may dispense a redress, they have prevented this by supposing that in this case God hath tied his own hands; this authority being immoveably fixed in the same hands, from which no revolution can take it: whence from its exorbitances there can be no rescue or relief.

7. This authority will spoil him in whom it is seated; corrupting his mind and manners; rendering him a scandal to religion, and a pernicious instrument of wickedness, by the influence of his example[p].

[o] —Nulla unquam monitione, nulla exhortatione induci jam largo tempore potuit, ut aliquam errorum emendationem Christo placentem, aut notissimorum abusuum correctionem in ecclesia sancta Dei efficere satageret. *Conc. Bas.* sess. xxiii. (p. 76.) sess. xxxi. p. 89. He could never be brought in this long time by any advice or exhortation, seriously to set upon any amendment of errors or correction of the most gross abuses in the holy church of God.

[p] It will certainly render him a tyrant, according to the definition of Aristotle, *Pol.* iv. 10. Cui plus licet quam par est, plus

To this an uncontrollable power (bridled with no restraint) and impunity doth naturally tend, and accordingly hath it been ——.

How many notorious reprobates, monsters of wickedness, have been in that see![q]

If we survey the lives of popes, written by historians most indifferent, or (as most have been) partial in favour to them, we shall find, at first good ones, martyrs, confessors, saints: but after this exorbitant power had grown, how few good ones! how many extremely bad! The first popes before Constantine were holy men: the next were tolerable, while the papacy kept within bounds of modesty: but when they having shaken off their master, and renounced allegiance to the emperor, (i. e. after Gregory II.) few tolerable; generally they were either rake-hells, or intolerably arrogant, insolent, turbulent, and ravenous.

Bellarmine and Baronius do bob off this, by telling us, that hence the providence of God is most apparent[r].

But do they call this preserving the church; the permission of it to continue so long in such a condition, under the prevalence of such mischiefs? when

vult quam licet. Unde sicut languescente capite, reliquum postea corpus morbus invadat. *Conc. Bas.* sess. xxiii. (p. 64.) Whence it comes to pass, that if the head be sick, the rest of the body afterward grows diseased. Vid. *Conc. Bas.* p. 87. *Conc. Const.* p. 1110.

[q] Vid. Dist. xl. cap. 6. (hujus culpas, etsi.) Vid. Alv. Pelag. apud Riv. Cath. Orth. p. 141. Baron. Pope Marcellus II. doubted whether a pope could be saved. *Thuan.* lib. xv. (p. 566.) From John VIII. to Leo IX. what a rabble of rake-hells and sots did sit in that chair! *Machiavel, Hist.* lib. xvi. p. 1271. *Baron.* ann. 912. §. 8.

[r] Baron. ann. 897. §. 5. It was said of Vespasian, Solus impe-

hath God deserted any people, if not then, when such impiety more than pagan doth reign in it[s]?

But what in the mean time became of those souls which by this means were ruined? what amends for the vast damage which religion sustained? for the introducing so pernicious customs hardly to be extirpated[t]?——

To what a pass of shameless wickedness must things have come, when such men as Alexander VI. having visibly such an impure brood, should be placed in this chair!

Even after the reformation began to curb their impudence, and render them more wary, yet had they the face to set Paul the Third there.

How unfit must such men be, to be the guides of all Christendom; to breathe oracles of truth, to enact laws of sanctity!

How improper were those vessels of Satan to be organs of that *holy spirit of discipline, which will flee deceit, and remove from thoughts that are without understanding, and will not abide where unrighteousness cometh in!* Wisd. i. 5.

It will engage the pope to make the ecclesiastical authority an engine of advancing the temporal concerns of his own relations, (his sons, his nephews.)

rantium melior——so apt is power to corrupt men. Solus omnium ante se principum in melius mutatus est. *Tac. Hist.* i. (p. 451.)

[s] How vain is that which pope Greg. VII. citeth out of pope Symmachus, B. Petrus perennem meritorum dotem cum hæreditate innocentiæ misit ad posteros. *Greg. VII.* Ep. viii. 21.

[t] Quod Romanus pontifex, si canonice fuerit ordinatus, meritis B. Petri indubitanter efficitur sanctus; was one of pope Gregory VII.'s dictates. That the Roman pontiff, if canonically elected, is undoubtedly made holy by the merits of blessed Peter.

Vid. Guicciard. Machiav. Hist. Fl. p. 19. Conc. Bas. (p. 65.)

What indeed is the popedom now, but a ladder for a family to mount unto great estate? What is it, but introducing an old man into a place, by advantage whereof a family must make hay while the sun shines[u]?

8. This pretence, upon divers obvious accounts, is apt to create great mischief in the world, to the disturbance of civil societies, and destruction or debilitation of temporal authority, which is certainly God's ordinance, and necessary to the well-being of mankind; so that supposing it, we may in vain *pray for kings, and all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.*

1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

For suppose the two powers (spiritual and temporal) to be coordinate, and independent each of other; then must all Christians be put into that perplexed state of repugnant and incompatible obligations, concerning which our Lord saith, *No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other.*

Matt. vi. 24.

They will often draw several ways, and clash in their designs, in their laws, in their decisions; one willing and commanding that which the other disliketh and prohibiteth.

Bell. v. 6. (p. 1415.)

It will be impossible by any certain bounds to

[u] —— Cum non ob religionem, et Dei cultum appetere pontificatum nostri sacerdotes videantur, sed ut fratrum vel nepotum, vel familiarium ingluviem et avaritiam expleant. *Plat. in Joh. XVI.* (p. 298.) Whereas our priests seem to desire the popedom, not for religion and the worship of God, but that they may fill the ravening appetite and covetousness of their brethren, or nephews, or familiars.

distinguish their jurisdiction, so as to prevent contest between them; all temporal matters being in some respect spiritual, (as being referrible to spiritual ends, and in some manner allied to religion,) and all spiritual things becoming temporal, as they conduce to the secular peace and prosperity of states: there is nothing which each of these powers will not hook within the verge of its cognizance and jurisdiction; each will claim a right to meddle in all things; one pretending thereby to further the good of the church, the other to secure the interest of the state: and what end or remedy can there be of the differences hence arising; there being no third power to arbitrate or moderate between them?

Each will prosecute its cause by its advantages; the one by instruments of temporal power, the other by spiritual arms of censures and curses.

And in what a case must the poor people then be! how distracted in their consciences, how divided in their affections, how discordant in their practices! according as each pretence hath influence upon them, by its different arguments or peculiar advantages.

How can any man satisfy himself in performing or refusing obedience to either? How many (by the intricacy of the point, and contrary pulling) will be withdrawn from yielding due compliance on the one hand or the other!

What shall a man do, while one in case of disobedience to his commands doth brandish a sword, the other thundereth out a curse against him; one threateneth death, the other excision from the church; both denounce damnation?

What animosities and contentions, what discomposures and confusions must this constitution of

Matt. xii. 25. things breed in every place! and how can *a kingdom so divided in itself stand*, or not *come into desolation?*

Such an advantage infallibly will make popes affect to invade the temporal power.

P. Pasch. II. Ep. 7. It was the reason which pope Paschal allege against Henry IV. because he did *ecclesiæ regnum auferre.*

It is indeed impossible that a coordination of thes powers should subsist; for each will be continuall encroaching on the other; each for its own defenc and support will continually be struggling and clam bering to get above the other: there will never b any quiet, till one come to subside and truckle unde the other; whereby the sovereignty of the one o the other will be destroyed. Each of them soon wi come to claim a supremacy in all causes, and th power of both swords; and one side will carry it.

It is indeed necessary, that men for a time conti nuing possessed with a reverence to the ecclesiasti cal authority, as independent and uncontrollable, i should at last overthrow the temporal, by reason c its great advantages above it; for

The spiritual power doth pretend an establish ment purely divine; which cannot by any accident undergo any change, diminutions, or translation, t which temporal dominions are subject: its powe therefore being perpetual, irreversible, dependin immediately of God, can hardly be checked, ca never be conquered[x].

[x] Vid. Mach. Hist. Flor. p. 18.——Impeti possunt humani præsumptionibus quæ divino sunt judicio constituta, vinci autem quorumlibet potestate non possunt. *P. Gel.* Ep. 8. *Felix P.* Ep. i (p. 597.)

It fighteth with tongues and pens, which are the most perilous weapons.

It can never be disarmed, fighting with weapons that cannot be taken away, or deprived of their edge and vigour.

It worketh by most powerful considerations upon the consciences and affections of men, upon pain of damnation, promising heaven, and threatening hell; which upon some men have an infinite sway, upon all men a considerable influence; and thereby will be too hard for those who only can grant temporal rewards or inflict temporal punishments. It is surely a notable advantage that the pope hath above all princes, that he commandeth not only as a prince, but as a guide; so that whereas we are not otherwise bound to obey the commands of princes, than as they appear concordant with God's law, we must observe his commands absolutely, as being therefore lawful, because he commandeth them, that involving his assertion of their lawfulness, to which (without further inquiry or scruple) we must submit our understanding, his words sufficiently authorizing his commands for just. We are not only obliged to obey his commands, but to embrace his doctrines.

It hath continual opportunities of conversing with men; and thereby can insinuate and suggest the obligation to obey it, with greatest advantage, in secrecy, in the tenderest seasons.

It claimeth a power to have its instruction admitted with assent: and will it not instruct them for its own advantage? All its assertions must be believed—is not this an infinite advantage?

By such advantages the spiritual power (if admitted for such as it pretendeth) will swallow and de-

vour the temporal; which will be an extreme mischief to the world.

The very pretence doth immediately crop and curtail the natural right of princes, by exempting great numbers of persons (the participants and dependents of this hierarchy) from subjection to them; by withdrawing causes from their jurisdiction; by commanding in their territories, and drawing people out of them to their judicatories; by having influence on their opinion; by draining them of wealth, &c.[y]

Arietes furiosos, *Bell.* v. 7.

To this discourse experience abundantly doth yield its attestation; for, how often have the popes thwarted princes in the exercise of their power, challenging their laws and administrations as prejudicial to religion, as contrary to ecclesiastical liberty[z]!

Vid. Tort. T. p. 216. Greg. VII. Ep. i. 7. cxii. 13, 63.

Bodin (l. 9.) observeth, that if any prince were a heretic, (that is, if the pope could pick occasion to call him so,) or a tyrant, (that is, in his opinion,) or anywise scandalous, the pope would excommunicate him; and would not receive him to favour, but upon his acknowledging himself a feudatory to the pope: so he drew in most kingdoms to depend on him.

How often have they excommunicated them, and interdicted their people from entertaining communion with them!

[y] Non enim volumus aut propter principum potentiam ecclesiasticam minui dignitatem, aut pro ecclesiastica dignitate principum potentiam mutilari. *P. Pasch. II.* Ep. 28, 29. For we will not that either the ecclesiastical dignity should be diminished, by reason of the prince's power, or that the prince's power should be curtailed for the ecclesiastical dignity.

[z] In vain did St. Bernard, (de Consid. 1.) cry, Quid fines alienos invaditis? quid falcem vestram in alienam messam extenditis? Why do you invade other men's territories? why thrust you your sickle into other men's harvest?

How many commotions, conspiracies, rebellions, and insurrections against princes have they raised in several countries[a]!

How have they inveigled people from their allegiance! How many massacres and assassinations have they caused! How have they depressed and vilified the temporal power!

Have they not assumed to themselves superiority over all princes? The emperor himself (the chief of Christian princes) they did call their vassal, exacting an oath from them, whereof you have a form in the canon law, and a declaration of pope Clement V. that it is an oath of fealty. Vid. Conc. Lugd. p. 851.

Have they not challenged propriety in both swords; *Ecce duo gladii?*

How many princes have they pretended to depose, and dispossess of their authority[b]!

Consider the pragmatical sanctions, provisors, compositions, concordats, &c. which princes have been forced to make against them, or with them, to secure their interest.

Many good princes have been forced to oppose them, as Henry the Second of England, king Lewis Thuan. lib. 1.

[a] Vid. Plat. de Bonif. VIII. p. 467. Jul. 2. Non sine suspicione, quod illorum temporum pontifices, qui bella extinguere, discordias tollere debuissent, suscitarent ea potius atque nutrirent. *Episc. Modrus. in Conc. Lat. V.* sess. 6. (p. 72.) Not without suspicion, that the popes of those times, who ought to have extinguished wars, and put an end to dissensions, did rather raise them up and cherish them. See *Greg. VII.* Ep. iv. 2. viii. 21.

[b] Auctoritate apostolica de fratrum nostrorum consilio declaramus illa juramenta prædicta fidelitatis existere et censeri debere. *Clement.* lib. ii. tit. 9. cap. unicum. We declare out of our apostolical authority, by the advice of our brethren, that the foresaid oaths of fealty ought to be, and be so esteemed.

the Twelfth of France, (that just prince, *pater patriæ*,) *Perdam Babylonis nomen.*

How often have they used this as a pretence of raising and fomenting wars! confiding in their spiritual arms; interdicting princes, that would not comply with their designs, for advancing the interests not only of their see, but of their private families[c]!

Observ. Bodin observeth, that pope Nicholas I. was the first who excommunicated princes. Platina doth mention some before him: but it is remarkable, that although pope Leo I. (a high-spirited pope, (*fortissimus Leo*,) as Liberatus calleth him) was highly provoked against Theodosius junior; pope Gelasius, and divers of his predecessors and followers; pope Gregory II. against Leo; Vigilius against Justinian, &c. yet none of them did presume to excommunicate the emperors.

All these dealings are the natural result of this pretence; and, supposing it well grounded, are capable of a plausible justification: for is it not fit, (seeing one must yield,) that temporal should yield to spiritual?

Indeed, granting the papal supremacy in spirituals, I conceive the high-flying zealots of the Roman church, who subject all temporal powers to them, have great reason on their side; for coordinate power cannot subsist, and it would be only an eternal seminary of perpetual discords.

[c] Abutente Christianorum pastore Christianorum principum viribus, ut privatæ ambitioni, et suorum libidini inserviret. *Thuan.* lib. i. p. 42. The pastor of Christians abusing the power of Christian princes, that he might gratify his private ambition, and the will and lust of his friends.

The quarrel cannot otherwise be well composed, than by wholly disclaiming the fictitious and usurped power of the pope: for

Two such powers (so inconsistent and cross to each other, so apt to interfere, and consequently to breed everlasting mischiefs to mankind between them) could not be instituted by God.——

He would not appoint two different vicegerents in his kingdom at the same time.——

But it is plain that he hath instituted the civil power; and endowed it with a sword. That princes are his lieutenants*. Tort. T. p. 210.

That in the ancient times the popes did not claim such authority, but avowed themselves subjects to princes. * P. Anast. calleth the emperor Anast. *Vicarium. Epist.* (p. 670.) Eccl. Leod p. 522.

9. Consequently this pretence is apt to engage Christian princes against Christianity; for they will not endure to be crossed, to be depressed, to be trampled on.

This popes often have complained of; not considering it was their own insolence that caused it.

10. Whereas now Christendom is split into many parcels, subject to divers civil sovereignties, it is expedient that correspondently there should be distinct ecclesiastical governments, independent of each other, which may comply with the respective civil authorities in promoting the good and peace both of church and state[d].

It is fit that every prince should in all things govern all his subjects; and none should be exempted from subordination to his authority: as philosophers,

[d] Secundum mutationes temporum transferuntur etiam regna terrarum; unde etiam ecclesiasticarum parochiarum fines in plerisque provinciis mutari expedit et transferri. *P. Pasch. II.* Ep. 19.

and physicians of the body; so priests, and physicians of the soul; not in exercising their function, but in taking care that they do exercise it duly for the honour of God, and in consistence with public good; otherwise many grievous inconveniences must ensue.

It is of perilous consequence that foreigners should have authoritative influence upon the subjects of any prince, or have power to intermeddle in affairs.

Princes have a natural right to determine with whom their subjects shall have intercourse: which is inconsistent with a right of foreigners to govern or judge them in any case, without their leave.

Every prince is obliged to employ the power intrusted to him, to the furtherance of God's service, and encouragement of all good works; as a supreme power, without being liable to obstruction from any other power.

It would irritate his power, if another should be beyond his coercion.

It is observable, that the pope by intermeddling in the affairs of kingdoms did so wind himself into them, as to get a pretence to be master of each; princes being his vassals and feudatories[e].

[e] Vid. Bod. de Rep. i. 9. (p. 195.) Car les princes Chrétiens avoient presque tous opinion, que le pape étoit absolument seigneur souverain de tous les royaumes de la Chrétienté. *Bod. ibid.* p. 196. *Tort. Tort.* p. 216, &c.——*Greg. VII.* Ep. 1, 7, 2, 13. *Alex. II.* Ep. 8. Ἡ τοσαύτη διαφωνία καὶ μάχη τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ γίνεται, ἑκαστοῦ τῆς μὲν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν I. X. διδασκαλίας ἀφισταμένου, λογισμοὺς δέ τινας καὶ ὅρους ἰδίους ἐκδικοῦντος ἐξ αὐθεντίας, καὶ μᾶλλον ἄρχειν ἀπ' ἐναντίας τοῦ Κυρίου, ἢ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου βουλομένου. Bas. de Jud. Dei, t. ii. p. 259. So great a dissonancy and jarring there is among men in the church, while every one swerves from the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, and asserts certain conceits

11. Such an authority is needless and useless; it not serving the ends which it pretendeth; and they being better compassed without it.

It pretendeth to maintain truth; but indeed it is more apt to oppress it.

Truth is rather (as St. Cyprian wisely observeth) preserved by the multitude of bishops, whereof some will be ready to relieve it, when assaulted by others.

Truth cannot be supported merely by human authority; especially that authority is to be suspected which pretendeth dominion over our minds. What controversy, being doubtful in itself, will not after his decision continue doubtful? His sentence may be eluded by interpretation, as well as other testimonies or authorities.

The opinion of a man's great wisdom or skill may be the ground of assent, in defect of other more cogent arguments; but authority of name or dignity is not proper to convince a man's understanding. Men obey, but not believe princes more than others, if not more learned than others.

It pretendeth to maintain order: but how? by introducing slavery; by destroying all rights; by multiplying disorders; by hindering order to be quietly administered in each country.

It pretendeth to be the only means of unity and concord in opinion, by determining controversies: which its advocates affirm necessary[f].

But how can that be necessary which never was *de facto*, not even in the Roman church?

and rules of his own by his own authority, and had rather rule contrary to the Lord, than be ruled by the Lord.

[f] Necesse est, ut omnes fideles idem sentiant. *Bell.* i. 9. It is necessary that all the faithful should be of the same opinion.

Hath the pope effected this? Do all his followers agree in all points? Do they agree about his authority? Do not they differ and dispute about infinity of questions? Are all the points frivolous, about which their divines and schoolmen dispute? Why did not the council of Trent itself, without more ado, and keeping such a disputing, refer all to his oracular decision?

Ἱκανωτέρα ἡ θεία γραφή. Ath. Necessary points may and will, by all honest people, be known and determined without him, by the clear testimony of scripture, by consent of Fathers, by general tradition.—And other points need not to be determined.

That he may be capable of that office, he must be believed appointed by God thereto; which is a question itself to be decided without him, to satisfaction. His power is apt no otherwise to knock down controversies, than by depressing truth; not suffering any truth to be asserted, which doth not favour its interests.

Concord was maintained, and controversies decided, without them in the ancient church; in synods, wherein he was not the sole judge, nor had observable influence.

Nemini præscribentes. The Fathers did not think such authority needful, otherwise they would have made more use of it.

A more ready way to define controversies is for every one not to prescribe to others, or to persecute; for then men would more calmly see the truth, and consent.

It pretendeth to maintain peace and unity. But nothing hath raised more fierce dissensions, or so many bloody wars in Christendom, as it.

It is apt by tyrannical administration to become

intolerable, and so to break the ecclesiastical state; to raise schisms and troubles.

It is like to extinguish genuine charity, which is free and uncompelled.

All the peace and charity which it endureth is by force and compulsion, not out of choice and good affection.

V. The ancients did assert to each bishop a free, absolute, independent authority, subject to none, directed by none, accountable to none on earth, in the administration of affairs properly concerning his particular church.

This is most evident in St. Cyprian's writings; out of which it will not be amiss to set down some passages, manifesting the sense and practice of the church in his time, to the satisfaction of any ingenuous mind.

[g] *The bond of concord abiding, and the sacrament* (or doctrine) *of the catholic church persisting undivided, every bishop disposeth and directeth his own acts, being to render an account of his purpose to the Lord.* This he writeth, when he was pleading the cause of pope Cornelius against Novatian; but then, it seemeth, not dreaming of his supremacy over others.

[h] *But we know that some will not lay down what*

[g] Manente concordiæ vinculo, et perseverante catholicæ ecclesiæ individuo sacramento, actum suum disponit et dirigit unusquisque episcopus, rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus. *Cypr.* Ep. 52. (*ad Antonianum.*)

[h] Cæterum scimus quosdam quod semel imbiberint nolle deponere, nec propositum suum facile mutare, sed salvo inter collegas, pacis et concordiæ vinculo quædam propria, quæ apud se semel sint usurpata, retinere; qua in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, aut legem damus; cum habeat in ecclesiæ administratione volun-

once they have imbibed, nor will easily change their mind; but, the bond of peace and concord with their colleagues being preserved, will retain some peculiar things, which have once been used by them; in which matter neither do we force any, or give law; whenas every prelate hath in the administration of his church the free power of his will, being to render unto the Lord an account of his acting. This saith he, writing to pope Stephanus, and in a friendly manner, [i] ***out of common respect and single love,*** (not out of servile obeisance,) acquainting him what he and his brethren in a synod, [k] ***by common consent and authority,*** had established concerning the degradation of clergymen who had been ordained by heretics, or had lapsed into schism.

[l] ***For seeing it is ordained by us all, and it is likewise equal and just, that each man's cause should be there heard, where the crime is committed; and to each pastor a portion of the flock is assigned, which each should rule and govern, being to render an account to his Lord; those indeed over whom we preside ought not to ramble about.*** This saith he, in his Epistle to pope Cornelius,

tatis suæ liberum arbitrium unusquisque præpositus, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus. *Cypr.* Ep. 72. (*ad Stephanum.*)

[i] Hæc ad conscientiam tuam, frater charissime, et pro honore communi et pro simplici dilectione pertulimus, &c.

[k] Consensu et auctoritate communi.

[l] Nam cum statutum sit omnibus nobis, et æquum sit pariter ac justum, ut uniuscujusque causa illic audiatur, ubi est crimen admissum, et singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus, oportet utique eos quibus præsumus, non circumcursare, &c. *Cypr.* Ep. 55. (*ad Cornelium.*)

upon occasion of some factious clergymen addressing themselves to him with factious suggestions, to gain his countenance.

[m] ***These things I have briefly written back, according to our meanness, dear brother; prescribing to none, nor prejudging, that every bishop should not do what he thinks good, having a free power of his will.***

[n] ***In which matter our bashfulness and modesty doth not prejudge any one; so that every one may not judge as he thinketh, and act as he judgeth:*** prescribing to none, [o] ***so that every bishop may not resolve what he thinks good, being to render an account to the Lord,*** &c.

[p] ***It remaineth that each of us do utter his opinion about this matter, judging no man, nor remov-***

[m] Hæc tibi breviter pro nostra mediocritate rescripsimus, frater charissime; nemini præscribentes, aut præjudicantes, quo minus unusquisque episcoporum quod putat faciat, habens arbitrii sui liberam potestatem. *Cypr.* Ep. 73. (*ad Jubabaianum.*)

[n] Qua in parte nemini verecundia et modestia nostra præjudicat, quo minus unusquisque quod putat sentiat, et quod senserit faciat. *Cypr.* Ep. 76. (*ad Magnum.*)

[o] Nemini præscribentes, quo minus statuat quod putat unusquisque præpositus, actus sui rationem Domino redditurus; secundum quod apostolus, &c. *Ibid.*

[p] Superest ut de hac re singuli quid sentiamus proferamus, neminem judicantes, aut a jure communionis aliquem si diversum senserit amoventes; neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se esse episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit; quando habeat omnis episcopus pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ arbitrium proprium, tamque judicari ab alio non possit, quam nec ipse potest alterum judicare; sed expectemus universi judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus et solus habet potestatem et præponendi nos in ecclesiæ suæ gubernatione, et de actu nostro judicandi. *Cypr. in præf. Conc. Carthag.*

ing any man, if he dissenteth, from the right of communion; for neither doth any of us constitute himself bishop of bishops, or by tyrannical terror driveth his colleagues to a necessity of obeying; whenas every bishop hath upon account of his liberty and authority his own free choice, and is no less exempted from being judged by another, than he is uncapable to judge another; but let us all expect the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, and who alone, hath power both to prefer us to the government of his church, and to judge of our acting. These words did St. Cyprian speak as prolocutor of the great synod of bishops at Carthage: and what words could be more express, or more full, in assertion of the episcopal liberties and rights, against almost every branch of Romish pretences?

He disavoweth the practice of one bishop excluding another from communion for dissent in opinion about disputable points; he rejecteth the pretence that any man can have, to be a bishop of bishops, or superior to all his brethren; he condemneth the imposing opinions upon bishops, and constraining them to obedience; he disclaimeth any power in one bishop to judge another; he asserteth to each bishop a full liberty and power to manage his own concerns according to his discretion; he affirmeth every bishop to receive his power only from Christ, and to be liable only to his judgment.

Aug. de Bapt. cont. Donat. lib. ii. 3, &c.

We may observe, that St. Austin, in his reflections upon the passages in that synod, doth approve, yea admire that preface, passing high commendations on the smartest passages of it which assert common liberty, professing his own conformity in practice to them: *In this consultation,* saith he, *is*

shewed a pacific soul, overflowing with plenty of charity; and, [q]***We have therefore a free choice of inquiry granted to us, by the most mild and most veracious speech of Cyprian himself***; and, [r]***Now if the proud and tumid minds of heretics dare to extol themselves against the holy humility of this speech—than which what can be more gentle, more humble?***

Would St. Austin have swallowed those sayings, could he have so much applauded them, if he had known a just power then extant and radiant in the world, which they do impeach and subvert? No, I trow; he did not know, nor so much as dream of any such; although the pope was under his nose while he was discussing that point, and he could hardly talk so much of St. Cyprian without thinking of pope Stephen.

However let any man of sense honestly read and weigh those passages, considering who did write them, to whom he writ them, upon what occasions he writ them, when he writ them; that he was a great primate of the church, a most holy, most prudent, most humble and meek person; that he addressed divers of them to bishops of Rome; that many of them were touching the concerns of popes; that he writ them in times of persecution and distress, which produce the most sober and serious thoughts; then let him, if he can, conceive that all

[q] Habemus ergo quærendi liberum arbitrium ipsius Cypriani nobis mitissimo et veracissimo sermone concessum. Lib. iii. cap. 3.

[r] Nunc si se audent superbæ et tumidæ cervices hæreticorum adversus sanctam humilitatem hujus sententiæ extollant. Lib. ii. cap. 3. Quid mansuetius, quid humilius? Lib. iii. cap. 3.

Christian bishops were then held subject to the pope, or owned such a power due to him as he now claimeth.

We may add a contemporary testimony of the Roman clergy, addressing to St. Cyprian these words; [s]*Although a mind well conscious to itself, and supported by the vigour of evangelical discipline, and having in heavenly doctrines become a true witness to itself, is wont to be content with God for its only judge; and not to desire the praises, nor to dread the accusations, of another; yet they are worthy of double praise, who when they know they owe their consciences to God only as judge, yet desire also their actions to be approved by their brethren themselves; the which it is no wonder that you, brother Cyprian, should do, who, according to your modesty and natural industry, would have us not so much judges as partakers of your counsels*——. Then it seems the college of cardinals, not so high in the instep as they are now, did take St. Cyprian to be free, and not accountable for his actions to any other judge but God.

That this notion of liberty did continue a good time after in the church, we may see by that canon

[s] Quanquam bene sibi conscius animus, et evangelicæ disciplinæ vigore subnixus, et verus sibi in decretis cœlestibus testis effectus, soleat solo Deo judice esse contentus, nec alterius aut laudes petere, aut accusationes pertimescere; tamen geminata sunt laude condigni, qui cum conscientiam sciant Deo soli debere se judici, actus tamen suos desiderant etiam ab ipsis suis fratribus comprobari: quod te, frater Cypriane, facere non mirum est, qui pro tua verecundia, et ingenita industria consiliorum tuorum nos non tam judices voluisti, quam participes inveniri——. *Cler. Rom. ad Cypr.* Ep. 31.

of the Antiochene synod, [t]*ordaining that every bishop have power of his own bishopric, govern it according to the best of his care and discretion, and provide for all the country belonging to his city, so as to ordain priests and deacons, and dispose things aright.*

The monks of Constantinople, in the synod of Chalcedon, said thus; [u]*We are sons of the church, and have one father, after God, our archbishop:* they forgot their sovereign father the pope.

The like notion may seem to have been then in England, when the church of Canterbury was called [x]*the common mother of all under the disposition of its spouse Jesus Christ.*

VI. The ancients did hold all bishops, as to their office, originally according to divine institution, or abstracting from human sanctions framed to preserve order and peace, to be equal: for that all are successors of the apostles; all derive their commission and power in the same tenor from God; all of them are *ambassadors, stewards, vicars of Christ,* intrusted with the same divine ministries of instructing, dispensing the sacraments, ruling and exercising discipline: to which functions and privileges the least bishop hath right, and to greater the biggest cannot pretend.

Vid. Ep. P. Celest. I. in Conc. Eph. Act. ii. (p. 324.)

[t] Ἕκαστον γὰρ ἐπίσκοπον ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παροικίας, διοικεῖν κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστῳ ἐπιβάλλουσαν εὐλάβειαν, καὶ πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι πάσης τῆς χώρας τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν; ὡς καὶ χειροτονεῖν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους, καὶ μετὰ κρίσεως ἕκαστα διαλαμβάνειν—. Syn. Ant. Can. 9.

[u] Ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τέκνα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔσμεν, καὶ ἕνα πατέρα μετὰ τὸν Θεὸν, τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον ἔχομεν. Syn. Chalc. Act. i. p. 114.

[x] Omnium nostrum mater communis sub sponsi sui Jesu Christi dispositione. *Gervas. Dorob.* (p. 1663.) *apud Twisd.* p. 72.

One bishop might exceed another in splendour, in wealth, in reputation, in extent of jurisdiction, as one king may surpass another in amplitude of territory; but as all kings, so all bishops are equal in office and essentials of power, derived from God.

Baron. an. 57. §. 30. Ps. xlv. 16. Hence they applied to them that in the Psalm, *Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children, whom thou mayest make princes in all the earth.*

This was St. Jerome's doctrine in those famous words; [y] *Wherever a bishop be, whether at Rome or at Eugubium, at Constantinople or at Rhegium, at Alexandria or at Thanis, he is of the same worth and of the same priesthood; the force of wealth and lowness of poverty doth not render a bishop more high or more low; for that all of them are successors of the apostles:* to evade which plain assertion, they have forged distinctions, whereof St. Jerome surely did never think, he speaking simply concerning bishops, as they stood by divine institution, not according to human models, which gave some advantages over other.

That this notion did continue long in the church, we may see by the elogies of bishops in later synods; for instance, that in the synod of Compeigne; [z] *It is convenient all Christians should know what kind of office the bishop's is,—who it is plain are the vicars of Christ, and keep the keys of the kingdom of heaven.*

And that of the synod of Melun; *And though*

[y] Ubicunque fuerit episcopus, sive Romæ sive Eugubii, &c. *Hieron. ad Evagr.* Ep. 85.

[z] Omnibus in Christiana religione constitutis scire convenit quale sit ministerium episcoporum—quos constat esse vicarios Christi, et clavigeros regni cœlorum, &c. *Syn. Compend.* ann. Dom. 833. (*apud Bin.* tom. vi. p. 361.)

all of us unworthy, yet are the vicars of Christ, and successors of the apostles [a].

In contemplation of which verity, St. Gregory Nazianzen, observing the declension from it introduced in his times by the ambition of some prelates, did vent that famous exclamation; [b] ***O that there were not at all any presidency, or any preference in place, and tyrannical enjoyment of prerogatives!***—which earnest wish he surely did not mean to level against the ordinance of God, but against that which lately began to be intruded by men. And what would the good man have wished, if he had been aware of those pretences about which we discourse; which then did only begin to bud and peep up in the world?

1. Common practice is a good interpreter of common sentiments in any case; and it therefore sheweth, that in the primitive church the pope was not deemed to have a right of universal sovereignty: for if such a thing had been instituted by God, or established by the apostles, the pope certainly with evident clearness would have appeared to have possessed it; and would have sometimes (I might say frequently, yea continually) have exercised it in the first ages: which that he did not at all, we shall make, I hope, very manifest, by reflecting on the chief passages occurring then; whereof indeed there is scarce any one, which, duly weighed, doth not serve to overthrow the Roman pretence: but that

[a] Nos omnes licet indigni, Christi tamen vicarii, et apostolorum ipsius successores. *Syn. Meldens.* ann. Dom. 845. (*apud Bin.* tom. vi. p. 402.)

[b] Ὡς ὄφελόν γε μηδὲ ἦν προεδρία, μηδέ τις τόπου προτίμησις, καὶ τυραννικὴ προνομία——. Greg. Naz. Orat. 28.

matter I reserve to another place; and shall propound other considerations, declaring the sense of the Fathers; only I shall add, that indeed,

2. The state of the most primitive church did not well admit such an universal sovereignty. For that did consist of small bodies incoherently situated, and scattered about in very distant places, and consequently unfit to be modelled into one political society, or to be governed by one head. Especially considering their condition under persecution and poverty. What convenient resort for direction or justice could a few distressed Christians in Egypt, Ethiopia, Parthia, India, Mesopotamia, Syria, Armenia, Cappadocia, and other parts, have to Rome! What trouble, what burden had it been, to seek instruction, succour, decision of cases thence! Had they been obliged or required to do so, what offences, what clamours would it have raised! seeing that afterward, when Christendom was connected and compacted together, when the state of Christians was flourishing and prosperous, when passages were open, and the best of opportunities of correspondence were afforded, yet the setting out of these pretences did cause great oppositions and stirs; seeing the exercise of this authority, when it had obtained most vigour, did produce so many grievances, so many complaints, so many courses to check and curb it, in countries feeling the inconveniences and mischiefs springing from it.

The want of the like in the first ages is a good argument that the cause of them had not yet sprung up; Christendom could not have been so still, if there had been then so meddlesome a body in it as the pope now is.

The Roman clergy, in their Epistle to St. Cyprian, told him, that [c]*because of the difficulty of things and times, they could not constitute a bishop who might moderate things* immediately belonging to them in their own precincts: how much more in that state of things would a bishop there be fit to moderate things over all the world; when, as Rigaltius truly noteth, [d]*the church being then oppressed with various vexations, the communication of provinces between themselves was difficult and unfrequent.*

Wherefore Bellarmine himself doth confess, that in those times, before the Nicene synod, [e]*the authority of the pope was not a little hindered, so that because of continual persecutions he could not freely exercise it.*

The church therefore could so long subsist without the use of such authority, by the vigilance of governors over their flocks, and the friendly correspondence of neighbour churches: and if he would let it alone, it might do so still.

That could be no divine institution, which had no vigour in the first and best times; but an innovation raised by ambition.

VII. The ancients, when occasion did require,

[c] Nobis, post excessum nobilissimæ memoriæ viri Fabiani, nondum est episcopus propter rerum et temporum difficultatem constitutus, qui omnia ista moderetur—. *Cl. Rom. ad Cypr.* Ep. 31.

[d] Variis tunc ecclesia vexationibus oppressa, difficilis et infrequens erat provinciarum inter sese communicatio. *Rigalt. in Cypr.* Ep. 67.

[e] Verum enim est impeditam fuisse eo tempore non parum pontificis auctoritatem——propter persecutiones continuas non potuisse Romanos pontifices libere exercere eam, quam a Christo acceperant auctoritatem, &c. *Bell. de R. P.* ii. 17.

did maintain their equality of office and authority, particularly in respect to the Roman bishops; not only interpretatively by practice, but directly and formally in express terms asserting it.

Thus when Felicissimus and his complices, being rejected by St. Cyprian, did apply themselves to pope Cornelius for his communion and countenance, St. Cyprian affirmed that to be an irregular and unjust course; subjoining, [f]*Except to a few desperate and wicked persons, the authority of the bishops constituted in Afric, who have already judged of them, do seem less;* that is, inferior to any other authority, particularly to that of Rome, unto which they had recourse: what other meaning could he have? Doth not his argument require this meaning?

Another instance is that of the Fathers of the Antiochene synod[g], (being ninety-seven bishops,) the which St. Hilary calleth [h]*a synod of saints congregated,* (the decrees whereof the catholic church did admit into its code, and the canons whereof popes have called *venerable*[i]:) these in their Epistle to pope Julius, complaining of his demeanour in the case of Athanasius, did flatly assert to themselves an equality with him; [k]*They did not,* as Sozomen reciteth out of their Epistle, *therefore think it*

[f] Nisi si paucis desperatis et perditis minor esse videtur auctoritas episcoporum in Africa constitutorum, qui jam de illis judicaverunt——.

[g] Fides quam exposuerunt qui affuerunt episcopi 97.—— *Hilar. de Synodis.* (p. 367.)

[h] Congregatam sanctorum synodum. *Hilar.* ibid.

[i] Venerabiles Antiocheni canones. *P. Nicol. I.* Ep. ix. (p. 519.)

[k] Οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο τὰ δευτερεῖα φέρειν ἠξίουν, ὅτι μὴ μεγέθει, ἢ πλήθει ἐκκλησίας πλεονεκτοῦσιν. Soz. iii. 8.

equal, that they should be thought inferiors, because they had not so big and numerous a church.

That pope himself testifieth the same in his Epistle to them, extant in the second Apology of Athanasius; [l]*If*, saith he, *ye do truly conceive the honour of bishops to be equal, and the same; and ye do not, as ye write, judge of bishops according to the magnitude of cities:* which assertion of theirs so flatly thwarting papal supremacy he doth not at all confute, yea not so much as contradict; and therefore reasonably may be interpreted to yield consent thereto; the rule, *He that holdeth his peace seemeth to consent*, never holding better than in this case, when his copyhold was so nearly touched: indeed he had been very blameable to wave such an occasion of defending so important a truth, or in letting so pestilent an error to pass without correction or reproof.

Qui tacet consentiri videtur.

After the pope had climbed higher than at that time, (upon the ladders of dissension and disorders in the church,) yet he was reproved by Euphemius, bishop of Constantinople, for preferring himself before his brethren; as we may collect from those words of a zealous pope, [m]*We desire not to be placed above others, (as you say,) so much as to have fellowship holy and well-pleasing to God with all the faithful.*

That pope Gregory I. did not hold himself supe-

[l] Εἰ οὖν ἀληθῶς ἴσην καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡγεῖσθε τιμὴν τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν πόλεων, ὡς γράφετε, κρίνετε τοὺς ἐπισκόπους. P. Jul. I. apud Athan. in Apol. ii. (p. 744.)

[m] Hic non tam optamus præponi aliis (sicut prædicas) quam cum fidelibus cunctis sanctum et Deo placitum habere consortium. *P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 1. (*ad Euphemium.*)

rior to other bishops, many sayings of his do infer: for in this he placeth the fault of the bishop of Constantinople, which he so often and so severely reprehendeth, that he did [n]*prefer himself before, and extol himself above, other bishops.*

And would he directly assume that to himself which he chargeth on another, although only following his position by consequence?

And when Eulogius the bishop of Alexandria had complimentally said, *Sicut jussistis, As ye commanded;* he doth thus express his resentment; [o]*That word of* command *I desire you let me not hear; because I know who I am, and who ye are: by place ye are my brethren; in goodness, fathers: I did not therefore command; but what seemed profitable I hinted to you.*

That many such instances may not be alleged out of antiquity, the reason is, because the ancient popes did not understand this power to belong to them, and therefore gave no occasion for bishops to maintain their honour; or were more just, prudent, and modest, than to take so much upon them, as their successors did, upon frivolous pretences.

VIII. The style used by the primitive bishops in their applications to the Roman bishop doth sig-

[n] —— In elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit, quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit. *P. Greg. I.* Ep. vi. 30. Super cæteros sacerdotes se extollit. *Ibid.* Christi sibi student membra judicare. *Id.* Ep. iv. 36. Solus omnibus præesse. *Id.* Ep. iv. 38. —— quibus (episcopis) cupis temetipsum vocabulo elationis præponere. *Id. ibid.*

[o] Quod verbum jussionis peto a meo auditu removeri; quia scio quis sum, qui estis; loco enim mihi fratres estis, moribus patres, non ergo jussi, sed quæ utilia visa sunt, indicare curavi, &c. *Greg. I.* Ep. vii. 30. (*ad Eulog. Alex.*)

nify, that they did not apprehend him their sovereign, but their equal.

Brother, colleague, fellow-bishop, are the terms which St. Cyprian doth use in speaking about the Roman bishops, his contemporaries, Fabianus, Cornelius, Lucius, Stephanus; and in his Epistles to the three last of them; nor doth he ever use any other, importing higher respect due to them; as indeed his practice demonstrateth he did not apprehend any other due, or that he did take them for his superiors in office. ***Know now, brother***, was the compellation of Dionysius (bishop of Alexandria) to pope Stephanus. The synod of Antioch, which rejected Paulus Samosatenus, inscribeth its epistle to [p] ***Dionysius*** (then bishop of Rome) ***and Maximus, and all our fellow-ministers through the world.***

Cypr. Ep. 4, 41, 58, 67, 68, 45, 49, &c.

Ἴσθι νῦν, ἀδελφὲ, — Euseb. vii. 5.

The old synod of Arles directeth their epistle *to Seignior Sylvester, their brother.* Athanasius saith, [q] ***These things may suffice, which have been written by our beloved and fellow-minister Damasus, bishop of great Rome.*** Marcellus inscribed to pope Julius, to his [r] ***Most blessed fellow-minister.*** So Cyril spake of pope Celestine I. [s] ***Our brother and fellow-minister, the bishop of Rome.*** So St. Basil, and his fellow-bishops of the east, did inscribe their

[p] Διονυσίῳ καὶ Μαξίμῳ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσι συλλειτουργοῖς ἡμῶν. Euseb. vii. 30.

[q] Ἱκανὰ μὲν τὰ γραφέντα παρά τε τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ Δαμάσου. Athan. Ep. ad Afr. (p. 931.)

[r] Τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ συλλειτουργῷ Ἰουλίῳ. Marcell. ad P. Jul. Epiph. Hær. 72.

[s] Ἀδελφοῦ καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ ἡμῶν τοῦ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπου——. Cyril. ad Nest. in Syn. Eph. p. 207.

Epistle, [t]*To the beloved of God, and our most brethren and fellow-ministers, the unanimous shops through Italy and France.* In this sty the Fathers of Sardica salute pope Julius; the
Theod. v. 9. Constantinople, pope Damasus; those of Eph pope Celestine I. [u]*Our brother and fellow-ister, Celestine;* those of Carthage, pope Cele I. in the very same terms wherein St. Austin salute Maximinus, a Donatist bishop, [x]*Seignio beloved and most honoured brother.* The ori bishops, Eustathius, Theophilus, and Silvanus inscribe their remonstrance to pope Liberius, *seignior, our brother and fellow-minister,* rius. So John of Antioch to Nestorius wr [z]*To my master.* The synod of Illyricum cal pidius, [a]*Our seignior, and fellow-minister.*

In which instances, and some others of later we may observe that the word κύριος, or *dom* was then (as it is now) barely a term of civ being then usually given to any person of qu or to whom they would express common res so that St. Chrysostom in his epistles comm doth give it, not only to meaner bishops, but to priests; and St. Austin doth thus salute

[t] Τοῖς θεοφιλεστάτοις καὶ ὁσιωτάτοις ἀδελφοῖς συλλειτουργοῖς κ 'Ιταλίαν καὶ Γαλλίαν ὁμοψύχοις ἐπισκόποις. Bas. Ep. 69. A Apol. ii. (p. 761, 756.)

[u] Τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ ἡμῶν Κελεστίνου. Syn. Eph. Domino dilectissimo et honoratissimo fratri——. *Conc. A*

[x] Domino dilectissimo et honorabili fratri Maximino. Ep. 203.

[y] Κυρίῳ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ συλλειτουργῷ Λιβερίῳ Εὐστάθιος, Θεόφιλος, νὸς ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν——. Socr. iv. 12.

[z] Τῷ δεσπότῃ μοῦ. Conc. Eph. 202.

[a] Τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ συλλειτουργόν. Theod. iv. 9.

Donatist bishops, reflecting thereon thus; [a]*Since therefore by charity I serve you in this office of writing letters to you, I do not improperly call you master, for the sake of our one true Master, who has commanded us so to do.* [b]—— *my most honoured master.* [c]—— *now therefore having with me my most honoured seignior and most reverend presbyter,* &c. [d]—— *my most honoured master Asyncritus the elder.*

Pope Celestine himself did salute the Ephesine Fathers, [e]*κύριοι ἀδελφοὶ, masters, brethren.* Even in the sixth council, Thomas, bishop of Constantinople, did inscribe according to the old style, to pope Vitalianus, *his brother and fellow-minister.* Conc. 6. Act. xiii. p. 224.

The French bishops had good reason to expostulate with pope Nicholas I. [f]*You may know that we are not, as you boast and brag, your clerks; whom, if pride would suffer, you ought to acknowledge for your brethren and fellow-bishops.*

Such are the terms and titles which primitive integrity, when they meant to speak most kindly and respectfully, did allow to the pope, being the same which all bishops did give to one another; (as may

[a] Cum ergo vel hoc ipso officio literarum per charitatem tibi serviam, non absurde te dominum voco, propter unum et verum Dominum nostrum qui nobis ista præcepit. *Aug.* Ep. 103.

[b] Δέσποτά μου τιμιώτατε. Chrys. Ep. 26.

[c] Νῦν γοῦν ἐπιλαβόμενοι τοῦ κυρίου μοῦ τιμιωτάτου καὶ εὐλαβεστάτου πρεσβυτέρου. Id. ibid.

[d] Δεσπότην μοῦ τιμιώτατον Ἀσύγκριτον τὸν πρεσβύτερον. Ep. 68, (71, 75, 77, 84, 91, &c.)

[e] Κύριοι ἀδελφοί. P. Celest. I. Ep. ad Syn. Eph. Act. ii. (p. 324.)

[f] Scias nos non tuos esse, ut te jactas et extollis, clericos, quos ut fratres et coepiscopos recognoscere, si elatio permitteret, debueras. *An. Franc. Pith.* (an. 858.)

be seen in all solemn addresses and reports concerning them:) which is an argument sufficiently plain, that bishops in those times did not take themselves to be the pope's subjects, or his inferiors in office; but his fellows and mates, coordinate in rank.

Were not these improper terms for an ordinary gentleman or nobleman to accost his prince in? yet hardly is there such a distance between any prince and his peers, as there is between a modern pope and other bishops.

It would now be taken for a great arrogance and sauciness for an underling bishop to address to the pope in such language, or to speak of him in that manner; which is a sign that the world is altered in its notion of him, and that he beareth a higher conceit of himself than his primitive ancestors did. Now nothing but *Beatissimus Pater, Most blessed Father;* and *Dominus noster Papa, Our Lord the Pope,* in the highest sense, will satisfy him.

Now a pope in a general synod, in a solemn oration, could be told to his face, that [g] *the most holy senate* of cardinals had chosen *a brother into a father, a colleague into a lord.* Verily so it is now, but not so anciently.

In the same ancient times the style of the Roman bishops writing to other bishops was the same; he calling them brethren and fellow-ministers.

So did Cornelius write to Fabius of Antioch, [h] *Beloved brother;* so did he call all other bishops,—

[g] Vere divina providentia factum censendum est, quod te sacerrimus iste senatus——fratrem, et ita dixerim filium in patrem, collegam in dominum—elegerint, assumpserint, adoraverint. *Balt. Delrio. in Conc. Later. ad Leonem X.* sess. viii. (p. 85.)

[h] Ἀδελφὲ ἀγαπητέ. Euseb. vi. 43.

[j] ***Be it known to all our fellow-bishops and brethren.*** So Julius to the oriental bishops, [k] *To our beloved brethren.* So Liberius to the Macedonian bishops, [l] *To our beloved brethren and fellow-ministers:* and to the oriental bishops, [m] *To our brethren and fellow-bishops.* So Damasus to the bishops of Illyricum. So Leo himself frequently in his epistles. So pope Celestine calleth John of Antioch, [n] *Most honoured brother;* to Cyril and to Nestorius himself, [o] *Beloved brother;* to the fathers of Ephesus, [p] *Seigniors, brethren.* Pope Gelasius to the bishops of Dardania, [q] *Your brotherhood.* St. Gregory to Cyriacus, *Our brother and fellow-priest, Cyriacus.* Soz. vi. 23.

If it be said, the popes did write so then out of condescension, or humility and modesty; it may be replied, that if really there was such a difference as is now pretended, it may seem rather affectation, and indecency or mockery: for it would have more become the pope to maintain the majesty and authority of his place, by appellations apt to cherish their reverence, than to collogue with them in terms void of reality, or signifying that equality which he did not mean.

But Bellarmine hath found out one instance (which he maketh much of) of pope Damasus, who writing Bell. ii. 14. Theod. v. 10.

[j] Omnibus coepiscopis nostris et fratribus innotescat. *P. Corn. apud Cypr. Epist.* 48.

[k] Ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. Athan. p. 739.

[l] Ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ συλλειτουργοῖς. Socr. iv. 12.

[m] Fratribus et coepiscopis. *Hil. Frag.* p. 450.

[n] Τιμιώτατε ἀδελφέ. Conc. Eph. p. 196.

[o] Τῷ ἀγαπητῷ ἀδελφῷ. P. 179, 183.

[p] Κύριοι ἀδελφοί. Act. ii. p. 324.

[q] Fraternitas vestra. *P. Gelas.* Ep. 12. *Greg.*—Ep. vi. 24. Fratris et consacerdotis nostri Cyriaci ——.

(not, as he allegeth, to the Fathers of Constantinople, * but) to certain eastern bishops, calleth them *most honoured sons.* That whole epistle I do fear to be foisted into Theodoret; for it cometh in abruptly; and doth not much become such a man: and if it be supposed genuine, I should suspect some corruption in the place: for why, if he writ to bishops, should he use a style so unsuitable to those times, and so different from that of his predecessors and successors? Why should there be such a disparity between his own style now and at other times? for writing to the bishops of Illyricum, he calleth them *beloved brethren:* why then is he so inconstant and partial as to yield these oriental bishops less respect? wherefore perhaps υἱοὶ was thrust in for ἀδελφοί· or perhaps the word ἐπισκόποις was intruded, and he did write to laymen; *those who governed the east,* who well might be called *most honoured sons;* otherwise the epithet doth not seem well to suit; but however, a single example of arrogance or stateliness (or of what shall I call it?) is not to be set against so many modest and mannerly ones.

* Vales. in Theod. ib. υἱοὶ τιμιώτατοι.

Ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. Soz. vi. 23.

Τοῖς τὴν ἑῴαν ἰθύνουσι.

In fine, that this salutation doth not always imply superiority, we may be assured by that inscription of Alexander, bishop of Thessalonica, to Athanasius of Alexandria, [r] *To my beloved son and unanimous colleague, Athanasius.*

IX. The ground of that eminence which the Roman bishop did obtain in the church, so as in order to precede other bishops, doth shake this pretence. The church of Rome was indeed allowed to be *the principal church,* as St. Cyprian calleth it: but

Ecclesia principalis. *Cypr.* Ep. 55.

[r] Ἀγαπητῷ υἱῷ καὶ ὁμοψύχῳ συλλειτουργῷ Ἀθανασίῳ. Apud Athan. Apol. ii. p. 783.

why? Was it preferred by divine institution? No surely; Christianity did not make laws of that nature, or constitute differences of places. Was it in regard to the succession of St. Peter? No; that was a slim, upstart device; that did not hold in Antioch, nor in other apostolical churches.

But it was for a more substantial reason; the very same on which the dignity and preeminency of other churches was founded; that is, the dignity, magnitude, opulency, opportunity of that city in which the bishop of Rome did preside; together with the consequent numerousness, quality, and wealth of his flock; which gave him many great advantages above other his fellow-bishops: it was, saith Rigaltius, called by St. Cyprian the principal church, [s] *because constituted in the principal city.*

That church in the very times of severest persecutions, [t] *by the providence of God,* (as pope Cornelius said in his Epistle to Fabius,) *had a rich and plentiful number, with a most great and innumerable people;* so that he reckoneth forty-four presbyters, seven deacons, (in imitation of the number in the Acts,) seven sub-deacons, forty-two acoluthi, fifty-two others of the inferior clergy, and above fifteen hundred alms-people.

To that church there must needs have been a great resort of Christians, going to the seat of the

[s] Ecclesia principalis, id est in urbe principali constituta. *Rigalt. in Cypr.* Ep. 55.

[t] Διὰ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ προνοίας πλούσιός τε καὶ πληθύων ἀριθμὸς μετὰ μεγίστου καὶ ἀναριθμήτου λαοῦ. Euseb. vi. 43. Et quanquam sciam, frater, pro mutua dilectione quam debemus et exhibemus invicem nobis florentissimo illic clero tecum præsidenti, et sanctissimæ atque amplissimæ plebi, legere te semper literas nostras ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 55. (*ad Corn.*)

empire in pursuit of business; as in proportion there was to each other metropolis; according to that canon of the Antiochene synod, which ordered, that [u]*the bishop of each metropolis should take care of the whole province, because all that had business did resort to the metropolis.*

That church was most able to yield help and succour to them who needed it; and accordingly did use to do it; according to that of Dionysius, (bishop of Corinth,) in his epistle to bishop Soter of Rome; [x]*This*, saith he, *is your custom from the beginning, in divers ways to do good to the brethren, and to send supplies to many churches in every city, so refreshing the poverty of those who want.*

Whence it is no wonder that the head of that church did get most reputation, and the privilege of precedence without competition.

[y]*To this church*, said Irenæus, *it is necessary that every church* (*that is, the faithful who are all about*) *should resort, because of its more powerful principality:* what is meant by that *resort* will be easy to him who considereth how men here are wont to go up to London, drawn thither by interests of trade, law, &c. What he did understand *by more powerful principality*, the words themselves do sig-

(Δυνατωτέραν ἀρχὴν, I conjecture he said.)

[u] Καὶ τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας. Διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει συντρέχειν πάντας τοὺς τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντας. Syn. Ant. can. 9.

[x] Ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὑμῖν ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῦτο, πάντας μὲν ἀδελφοὺς ποικίλως εὐεργετεῖν, ἐκκλησίαις τε πολλαῖς ταῖς κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἐφόδια πέμπειν, ὧδε μὲν τὴν τῶν δεομένων πενίαν ἀναψύχοντας, &c. Dionys. Corinth. apud Euseb. iv. 23.

[y] Ad hanc ecclesiam, propter potentiorem principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt ubique fideles. *Iren.* iii. 3.

nify, which exactly do agree to the power and grandeur of the imperial city, but do not well suit to the authority of a church; especially then when no church did appear to have either principality or puissance. And that sense may clearly be evinced by the context, wherein it doth appear, that St. Irenæus doth not allege the judicial authority of the Roman church, but its credible testimony, which thereby became more considerable, because Christians commonly had occasions of recourse to it.

Such a reason of precedence St. Cyprian giveth in another case, [z] *Because*, saith he, *Rome for its magnitude ought to precede Carthage.*

For this reason a pagan historian did observe the Roman bishop [a] *had a greater authority* (that is, a greater interest and reputation) *than other bishops.*

This reason Theodoret doth assign in his Epistle to pope Leo, wherein he doth highly compliment and cajole him; [b] *For this city*, saith he, *is the greatest, and the most splendid, and presiding over the world; and flowing with multitude of people; and which moreover hath produced the empire now governing.*——

This is the sole ground upon which the greatest of all ancient synods, that of Chalcedon, did affirm the papal eminency to be founded; for, [c] *To the*

[z] Quoniam pro magnitudine sua debeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere. *Cypr.* Ep. 49.

[a] Auctoritate qua potiores æternæ urbis episcopi. *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xv. (p. 47.)

[b] Ἡ γὰρ αὐτὴ πασῶν μεγίστη, καὶ λαμπροτάτη, καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὑπικαθημένη, καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν οἰκητόρων κυμαίνουσα· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἣν κρατοῦσαν ἡγεμονίαν ἐβλάστησε——. Theod. Ep. 113.

[c] Τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν πόλιν ἐκείνην οἱ

throne, say they, *of ancient Rome, because that was the royal city, the Fathers reasonably conferred the privileges:* the fountain of papal eminence was in their judgment not any divine institution, not the authority of St. Peter deriving itself to his successors; but the concession of the Fathers, who were moved to grant it upon account that Rome was the imperial city.

To the same purpose the empress Placidia, in her Epistle to Theodosius in behalf of pope Leo, saith, [d]*It becometh us to preserve to this city (the which is mistress of all lands) a reverence in all things.*

This reason had indeed in it much of equity, of decency, of conveniency; it was equal, that he should have the preference, and more than common respect, who was thence enabled and engaged to do most service to religion. It was decent, that out of conformity to the state, and in respect to the imperial court and senate, the pastor of that place should be graced with repute; it was convenient, that he who resided in the centre of all business, and had the greatest influence upon affairs, who was the emperor's chief counsellor for direction, and instrument for execution of ecclesiastical affairs, should not be put behind others.

[c]Hence did the Fathers of the second general synod advance the bishop of Constantinople *to the*

Πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα. Syn. Chalc. Act. xvi. can. 28.

[d] Πρέπει ἡμᾶς ταύτῃ τῇ μεγίστῃ πόλει, ἥτις δέσποινα πασῶν ὑπάρχει τῶν γεῶν, ἐν πᾶσι τὸ σέβας παραφυλάξαι. Placid. in Syn. Chalc. p. 27.

[c] Τὸν μέντοι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν Ῥώμην——. Syn. Const. can. 3.

next privileges of honour after the bishop of Rome, because it was new Rome, and a seat of the empire.

And the Fathers of Chalcedon assigned [f] ***equal privileges to the most holy see of new Rome, with good reason,*** (say they,) ***judging that the city which was honoured with the royalty and senate, and which*** (otherwise) ***did enjoy equal privileges with the ancient royal Rome, should likewise in ecclesiastical affairs be magnified as it, being second after it.***

Indeed upon this score the church of Constantinople is said to have aspired to the supreme principality, when it had the advantage over old Rome, the empire being extinguished there; and sometime was styled, ***the head of all churches*** [g].

[f] Τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα ἐπένειμαν τῷ τῆς νέας Ῥώμης ἁγιωτάτῳ θρόνῳ, εὐλόγως κρίναντες τὴν βασιλεῖα καὶ συγκλήτῳ τιμηθεῖσαν πόλιν, καὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαύουσαν πρεσβείων τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ βασιλίδι Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ὡς ἐκείνην μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι, δευτέραν μετ' ἐκείνην ὑπάρχουσαν. Syn. Chal. can. 28.

[g] Sacrosanctam quoque hujus religiosissimæ civitatis ecclesiam, et matrem nostræ pietatis, et Christianorum orthodoxæ religionis omnium, et ejusdem regiæ urbis sanctissimam sedem, &c. *Imp. Leo.* Cod. lib. i. tit. 2. §. 16. The holy church of this most religious city, the mother of our devotion, and of all orthodox Christians, and the most holy see of that imperial city. Bonifacius III. a Phoca imperatore obtinuit, magna tamen contentione, ut sedes B. Petri apostoli, quæ caput est omnium ecclesiarum, ita et diceretur, et haberetur ab omnibus; quem quidem locum ecclesia Constantinopolitana sibi vendicare conabatur; faventibus interdum principibus, affirmantibusque eo loci primam sedem esse debere, ubi imperii caput esset. *Plat. in Bonif. III.* (p. 161.) Boniface III. (though with a great deal of stir) obtained of the emperor Phocas, that the see of St. Peter the apostle, which is the head of all churches, should be so called and accounted by all; which dignity the church of Constantinople did indeed endeavour to assert to itself, princes sometime favouring them, and affirming

It is also natural, and can hardly be otherwise, but that the bishop of a chief city (finding himself to exceed in wealth, in power, in advantages of friendships, dependencies, &c.) should not affect to raise himself above the level: it is an ambition that easily will seize on the most moderate, and otherwise religious minds. Pope Leo objected it to Anatolius, and pope Gregory to John, (from his austere life called *the Faster.*)

Upon the like account it was that the bishops of other cities did mount to a preeminency, ***metropolitan, primatical, patriarchal.***

Thence it was that the bishop of Alexandria, before Constantine's time, did acquire the honour of second place to Rome; because that city, being head of a most rich and populous nation, did in magnitude and opulency (as Gregory Nazianzen saith) [h]*approach next to Rome, so as hardly to yield the next place to it.*

Upon that account also did Antioch get the next place; as being the most large, flourishing, commanding city of the east; [i]*the which*, as Josephus

that there the chief see ought to be, where the head of the empire was. Phocas rogante papa Bonifacio statuit sedem Romanæ ecclesiæ caput esse omnium ecclesiarum, quia ecclesia Constantinopolitana primam se omnium ecclesiarum scribebat. *Anastas. in Bonif. III. Idem Sabellicus, Blondus, Lætus,* &c. *tradunt.* Phocas, at the entreaty of pope Boniface, appointed that the Roman see should be the head of all churches, because the church of Constantinople wrote herself the chief of all churches.

[h] Ὑμεῖς ἡ μεγάλη πόλις, οἱ μὲν τὴν πρώτην εὐθέως, ἢ μηδὲ τοῦτο παραχωροῦντες. Greg. Naz. Orat. 27. Ἡ Ἀλεξανδρέων μεγαλόπολις. Evagr. ii. 4. et passim.

[i] Ἡ μητρόπολίς ἐστι τῆς Συρίας, μεγέθους ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐδαιμονίας τρίτον ἀδηρίτως ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις οἰκουμένης ἔχουσα τόπον. Joseph. de Bello Jud. iii. 3.

n, *for bigness and for other advantages, had* ıout *controversy the third place in all the world* ject *to the Romans;* and the which St. Chrys- m calleth [k] *the head of all cities seated in the*

t. Basil seemeth to call the church thereof the cipal in the world; for, [l] *What,* saith he, *can be e opportune to the churches over the world n the church of Antioch? the which, if it uld happen to be reduced to concord, nothing ld hinder, but that as a sound head it would ply health to the whole body.*

Upon the same account the bishop of Carthage obtain the privilege to be standing primate of province, (although other primacies there were fixed to places, but followed seniority,) and a l of patriarch over all the African provinces.

Hence did Cæsarea, as exceeding in temporal adtages, and being the political metropolis of Paine, overtop Jerusalem, that most ancient, noble, venerable city, the source of our religion.

t was indeed the general rule and practice to form the privileges of ecclesiastical dignity in a portion convenient to those of the secular goıment, as the synod of Antioch in express terms ordain; the ninth canon whereof runneth thus: *he bishops in every province ought to know, that*

Πόλις οὕτω μεγάλη, καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω κειμένων ἡ κεφαλή. Chrys. . β'.

Τί δ' ἂν γένοιτο ταῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ὕτερον; ἣν εἰσυνέβη πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν ἐπανελθεῖν, οὐδὲν ἐκώλυεν, ὥσπερ λὴν ἐῤῥωμένην, παντὶ τῷ σώματι ἐπιχορηγεῖν τὴν ὑγίειαν. Bas. Ep. (ad Athanas.)

Τοὺς ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἐπισκόπους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει

the bishop presiding in the metropolis doth undertake the care of all the province; because all that have business do meet together in the metropolis; whence it hath been ordained, that he should precede in honour, and that the bishops should do nothing extraordinary without him; according to a more ancient canon holding from our Fathers; (that is, according to the thirty-fourth canon of the apostles.)

It is true, that the Fathers do sometimes mention the church of Rome being founded by the two great apostles, or the succession of the Roman bishop to them in pastoral charge, as a special ornament of that church, and a congruous ground of respect to that bishop, whereby they [m]*did honour the memory of St. Peter:* but even some of those, who did acknowledge this, did not avow it as a sufficient ground of preeminence; none did admit it for an argument of authoritative superiority.

Cypr. Ep. lv. 52. St. Cyprian did call the Roman see *the chair of St. Peter*, and *the principal church*; yet he disclaimed any authority of the Roman bishops above his brethren.

Firmilian did take notice, that pope Stephanus [n]*did glory in the place of his bishopric, and con-*

προεστῶτα ἐπίσκοπον, (καὶ) τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει συντρέχειν πάντας τοὺς τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντας ὅθεν ἔδοξε καὶ τῇ τιμῇ προηγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν, μηδέν τε πράττειν περιττὸν τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπισκόπους ἄνευ αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαιότερον κρατήσαντα ἐκ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν κανόνα. Syn. Ant. can. 9. Syn. Chalc. 17.

[m] Sedis apostolicæ primatum S. Petri meritum, (qui princeps est episcopalis coronæ) Romanæ dignitas civitatis, sacræ etiam synodi firmavit authoritas. *Valentin. Nov. 24. in fin. Cod. Theod.*

[n] Atque ego in hac parte juste indignor ad hanc tam apertam et manifestam Stephani stultitiam, quod qui sic de episcopatus

tend that he held the succession of Peter; yet did not he think himself thereby obliged to submit to his authority, or follow his judgment; but sharply did reprehend him, as a favourer of heretics, an author of schisms, and one who had cut himself off from the communion of his brethren.

The Fathers of the Antiochene synod [o] *did confess, that in writings all did willingly honour the Roman church, as having been from the beginning the school of the apostles, and the metropolis of religion; although yet from the east the instructors of the Christian doctrine did go and reside there; but from hence they desired not to be deemed inferiors; because they did not exceed in the greatness and numerousness of their church.* They allowed some regard (though faintly and with reservation) to the Roman church upon account of their apostolical foundation; they implied a stronger ground of pretence from the grandeur of that city; yet did not they therefore grant themselves to be inferiors; at least as to any substantial privilege, importing authority.

If by divine right, upon account of his succession to St. Peter, he had such preeminence, why are the other causes reckoned, as if they could add any thing to God's institution, or as if that did need

sui loco gloriatur, et se successionem Petri tenere contendit——. Stephanus qui per successionem cathedram Petri habere se prædicat——. *Firmil. apud Cypr.* Ep. 75.

[o] Φέρειν μὲν γὰρ πᾶσι φιλοτιμίαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν ὡμολόγουν, ὡς ἀποστόλων φροντιστήριον, καὶ εὐσεβείας μητρόπολιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γεγενημένην· εἰ καὶ ἐξ ἕω ἐνεδήμησαν αὐτῇ οἱ τοῦ δόγματος ἐξηγηταί· ὡ παρὰ τοῦτο δὲ τὰ δευτερεῖα φέρειν ἠξίουν, ὅτι μὴ μεγέθει ἢ πλήθει ἐκκλησίας πλεονεκτοῦσιν. Soz. iii. 8.

human confirmation? The pretence to that surely was weak, which did need corroboration, and to be propped by worldly considerations.

Indeed, whereas the apostles did found many churches, exercising apostolical authority over them, (eminently containing the episcopal,) why in conscience should one claim privileges on that score rather than or above the rest?

Why should the see of Antioch, [p] *that most ancient and truly apostolical church*, where the Christian name began, where St. Peter at first (as they say) did sit bishop for seven years, be postponed to Alexandria?

Epiph. Synod. Constant. ibid. Τῆς δέ γε μητρὸς ἁπασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἡ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις.

Especially why should the church of Jerusalem, *the seat of our Lord himself, the mother of all churches*, the fountain of Christian doctrine, the first consistory of the apostles, ennobled by so many glorious performances, (by the life, preaching, miracles, death, burial, resurrection, ascension of our Saviour; by the first preaching of the apostles, the effusion of the Holy Spirit, the conversion of so many people, and constitution of the first church, and celebration of the first synods,) upon these considerations, not obtain preeminence to other churches, but in honour be cast behind divers others; and as to power be subjected to Cæsarea, the metropolis of Palestine?

Optat. l. vi. (p. 169.) Hier. Ep. 61. Conc. Nic. can. 7.

The true reason of this even Baronius himself did see and acknowledge; for, *That*, saith he, *the an-*

[p] Τῆς πρεσβυτάτης καὶ ὄντως ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας——. Ep. Synod. Const. Theodoret. Hist. l. v. cap. 9. p. 211. Quæ quantumlibet a Petro ante Alexandrinam fuerat instituta, tamen quoniam præfectura Alexandrina Augustalis dicta——longe præstabat Syriæ præfecturæ, &c. *Baron.* ann. 39. §. 10.

cients observed no other rule in instituting the ecclesiastical sees, than the division of provinces, and the prerogative before established by the Romans, there are very many examples [q].

Of which examples, that of Rome is the most obvious and notable; and what he so generally asserteth may be so applied thereto, as to void all other grounds of its preeminence.

X. The truth is, all ecclesiastical presidencies and subordinations, or dependencies of some bishops on others in administration of spiritual affairs, were introduced merely by human ordinance, and established by law or custom, upon prudential accounts, according to the exigency of things: hence the prerogatives of other sees did proceed; and hereto whatever dignity, privilege, or authority the pope with equity might at any time claim, is to be imputed.

To clear which point we will search the matter nearer the quick; propounding some observations concerning the ancient forms of discipline, and considering what interest the pope had therein.

At first each church was settled apart under its own bishop and presbyters; so as independently and separately to manage its own concernments; each was αὐτοκέφαλος, and αὐτόνομος, *governed by its own head, and had its own laws.* Every bishop, as a prince in his own church, did act freely, according to his will and discretion, with the advice of his ecclesiastical senate, and [r] with the consent of his

[q] Majores enim in instituendis sedibus ecclesiarum non aliam iniisse rationem, quam secundum divisionem provinciarum, et prærogativas a Romanis antea stabilitas, quam plurima sunt exempla. *Id. ibid.*

[r] Cypr. Ep. 52, 55, 72, 73, 76. Omnis hic actus populo erat

people, (the which he did use to consult,) without being controllable by any other, or accountable to any, further than his obligation to uphold the verity of Christian profession, and to maintain fraternal communion in charity and peace with neighbouring churches did require; in which regard, if he were notably peccant, he was liable to be disclaimed by them as no good Christian, and rejected from communion, together with his church, if it did adhere to him in his misdemeanours. This may be collected from the remainders of state in the times of St. Cyprian.

But because little, disjointed, and incoherent bodies were like dust, apt to be dissipated by every wind of external assault or intestine faction; and peaceable union could hardly be retained without some ligature of discipline; and churches could not mutually support and defend each other without some method of intercourse and rule of confederacy engaging them: [s]therefore for many good purposes

insinuandus. *P. Corn. apud Cypr.* Ep. 46. All this business was to have been imparted to the people. Secundum arbitrium quoque vestrum, et omnium nostrum commune consilium— ea quæ agenda sunt disponere. *Cypr.* Ep. 40. (*Plebi Univ.*) To order what was to be done according to your judgment, and the common advice of us all. Et limanda plenius ratio non solum cum collegis meis, sed et cum plebe ipsa universa. *Id.* Ep. 28. And the reason is more throughly to be examined, not only with my colleagues, but with the whole people. Præjudicare ego et soli mihi rem communem vindicare non audeo. *Ep.* 18. I dare not therefore prejudge, nor assume to myself alone a matter which is common to all.

[s] Hoc enim et verecundiæ et disciplinæ et vitæ ipsi omnium nostrûm convenit, ut episcopi plures in unum convenientes, præsente et stantium plebe, (quibus et ipsis pro fide et timore suo honor habendus est) disponere omnia consilii communis religione

(for upholding and advancing the common interests of Christianity, for protection and support of each church from inbred disorders and dissensions, for preserving the integrity of the faith, for securing the concord of divers churches, for providing fit pastors to each church, and correcting such as were scandalously bad *or unfaithful) it was soon found needful that divers churches should be combined and linked together in some regular form of discipline; †that if any church did want a bishop, the neighbour bishops might step in to approve and ordain a fit one; ‡that if any bishop did notoriously swerve from the Christian rule, the others might interpose to correct or void him; that if any error or schism did peep up in any church, the joint concurrence of divers bishops might avail to stop its progress, and to quench it, by convenient means of instruction, reprehension, and censure; that if any church were oppressed by persecution, by indigency, by faction, the others might be engaged to afford effectual succour and relief: for such ends it was

* Particularly in the dispensation of church goods. *Conc. Ant.* can. 25.
† Nov. cxxxvii. cap. 4. cxxiii. cap. 10.
‡ Vid. Can. Apost. 38. (al. 30.) de Synodis.

possimus. *Cypr.* Ep. 14. For it becomes the modesty, the discipline, and the manner of our living, that many bishops meeting together, the people being also present, (to whom respect ought to be had for their faith and fear,) we may order all things with the common advice. —— quoniam non paucorum, nec ecclesiæ unius aut unius provinciæ, sed totius orbis hæc causa est ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 14. —— because this is the concern, not of a few men, or of one church, or one province, but of the whole world. Idcirco copiosum corpus est sacerdotum —— ut si quis ex collegio nostro hæresin facere, et gregem Christi lacerare et vastare tentaverit, subveniant cæteri ——. *Id.* Ep. 76. Therefore the clergy is a large body——that if any one of our own society should vent an heresy, and attempt to rent and waste the flock of Christ, the rest might come in to their help.

needful that bishops in certain precincts should convene, with intent to deliberate and resolve about the best expedients to compass them; and that the manner of such proceeding (to avoid uncertain distraction, confusion, arbitrariness, dissatisfaction, and mutinous opposition) should be settled in an ordinary course, according to rules known and allowed by all.

(οἰκονομίαι ἐκκλησιαστικαί. Syn. Const. can. 2.)

In defining such precincts it was most natural, most easy, most commodious, to follow the divisions of territory or jurisdiction already established in the civil state; that the spiritual administrations, being in such circumstances aptly conformed to the secular, might go on more smoothly and expeditely, the wheels of one not clashing with the other; according to the judgment of the two great synods, that of Chalcedon and the Trullane; which did ordain, that [u] *if by royal authority any city be, or should hereafter be reestablished, the order of the churches shall be according to the civil and public form.*

Whereas therefore in each nation or province subject to one political jurisdiction there was a metropolis, or head city, to which the greatest resort was for dispensation of justice, and despatch of principal affairs emergent in that province; it was also most convenient that also the determination of ecclesiastical matters should be affixed thereto; especially considering that usually those places were opportunely seated; that many persons upon other occasions did meet there; that the churches in those cities did exceed the rest in number, in opulency, in

P. Anacl. Dist. xcix. cap. 1. P. Greg. VII. Ep. vi. 35.

[u] Εἰ δὲ καί τις ἐκ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκαινίσθη πόλις, ἢ αὖθις καινισθείη, τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τύποις καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν παροικιῶν ἡ τάξις ἀκολουθείτω. Conc. Chalced. can. 17. et Conc. Trull. can. 38.

ility and opportunity to promote the common in-
rest in all kinds of advantages.

[x]Moreover because in all societies and confedera-
es of men for ordering public affairs, (for the set-
ng things in motion, for effectual despatch, for pre-
nting endless dissensions and confusions both in
solving upon and executing things,) it is needful
at one person should be authorized to preside
nong the rest, unto whom the power and care
ould be intrusted to convoke assemblies in fit sea-
n, to propose matters for consultation, to moderate
e debates and proceedings, to declare the result,
d to see that what is agreed upon may be duly
ecuted; such a charge then naturally would de-
lve itself upon the prelate of the metropolis, as
ing supposed constantly present on the place; as
ing at home in his own seat of presidence, and
ceiving the rest under his wing; as incontestably
rpassing others in all advantages answerable to
e secular advantages of his city; for that it was
seemly and hard, if he at home should be post-
ned in dignity to others repairing thither; for
at also commonly he was in a manner the spi-
tual father of the rest, (religion being first planted
great cities, and thence propagated to others,) so

[x] Ad hoc divinæ dispensationis provisio gradus et diversos con-
tuit ordines in se distinctos, ut dum reverentiam minores po-
ribus exhiberent, et potiores minoribus diligentiam impende-
at, una concordiæ fieret a diversitate contentio et recte officio-
m gereretur administratio singulorum. *Joh. VIII.* Ep. 95. To
is end Divine Providence hath appointed degrees and diverse
ders distinct from one another, that while the less reverence the
eater, and the greater take care of the less, from this diversity
ere might arise one frame of concord, and all offices be duly
lministered.

that the reverence and dependence on colonies to the mother city was due from other churches to his see.

Wherefore by consent of all churches, grounded on such obvious reason of things, the presidency in each province was assigned to the bishop of the metropolis, who was called the first bishop, the *metropolitan* (in some places the **primate*, the *archbishop*, the *patriarch*, the *pope*) of the province. The Apostolical Canons call him the first bishop[y], (which sheweth the antiquity of this institution;) the African synods did appoint that name to him as most modest, and calling him primate in that sense; other ancient synods style him the metropolite; and to the metropolites of the principal cities they gave the title of *archbishop*. The bishops of Rome and Alexandria peculiarly were called *popes;* although that name was sometimes deferred to any other bishop.

* Primas provinciæ. *Cod. Afr.* can. 19.

Cod. Afr. can. 39. Dist. xcix. cap. 3.

During this state of things the whole church did consist of so many provinces, being αὐτοκέφαλοι, independent on each other in ecclesiastical administrations; each reserving to itself the constitution of bishops, the convocation of synods, the enacting of canons, the decision of causes, the definition of questions; yet so that each province did hold peaceful and amicable correspondence with others; upon the like terms as before each παροικία, or episcopal precinct, did hold intercourse with its neighbours.

And whoever in any province did not comply with or submit to the orders and determinations resolved upon in those assemblies, was deemed a schismatical,

[y] Τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἑκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον. Can. Apost. 27. The bishops of each nation ought to know who is chief among them.

contentious, and contumacious person; with good reason, because he did thwart a discipline plainly conducible to public good; because declining such judgments he plainly shewed that he would admit none, (there not being any fairer way of determining things than by common advice and agreement of pastors;) because he did in effect refuse all good terms of communion and peace. Παράταξις. Syn. Nic. can. 18.

Thus, I conceive, the metropolitical governance was introduced, by human prudence following considerations of public necessity or utility. There are indeed some who think it was instituted by the apostles: but their arguments do not seem convincing; and such a constitution doth not (as I take it) well suit to the state of their times, and the course they took in founding churches.

Into such a channel, through all parts of Christendom, (though with some petty differences in the methods and measures of acting,) had ecclesiastical administrations fallen of themselves; plain community of reason and imitation insensibly propagating that course; and therein it ran for a good time, before it was by general consent and solemn sanction established.

The whole church then was a body consisting of several confederations of bishops, acting in behalf of their churches under their respective metropolitans, who did manage the common affairs in each province; convoking synods at stated times and upon emergent occasions; [z] in them deciding causes and controversies incident, relating to faith or practice; framing rules serviceable to common edification and Can. Apost. 38. Tertull. de Jej. cap. 13. Syn. Nic. can. 5.

[z] Διὰ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς χρείας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων διαλύσεις ——. Syn. Ant. can. 20.

decent uniformity in God's service; quashing heresies and schisms, declaring truths impugned or questioned; maintaining the harmony of communion and concord with other provinces adjacent or remote.

Such was the state of the church, unto which the Apostolical Canons and Constitutions do refer, answerable to the times in which they were framed; and which we may discern in the practice of ancient synods.

Such it did continue, when the great synod of Nice was celebrated[a], which by its authority, (presumed to represent the authority of all bishops in the world, who were summoned thereto,) backed by the imperial authority and power, did confirm those orders, as they found them standing by more general custom and received rules in most provinces[b]; reducing them into more uniform practice; so that what before stood upon reason, customary usage, particular consent, by so august sanction did become universal law; and did obtain so great veneration, as by some to be conceived everlastingly and immutably obligatory; according to those maxims of pope Leo.

It is here further observable, that whereas divers provinces did hold communion and intercourse; so that upon occasion they did (by their formed letters) render to one another an account of their proceedings, being of great moment, especially of those which concerned the general state of Christianity and common faith; calling, when need was, for assistance one of another, to resolve points of faith, or

[a] Παλαιός τε ὡς ἴστε θεσμὸς κεκράτηκε, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἐν Νικαίᾳ Πατέρων ὅρος ——. Syn. Constant. Theod. v. 9.

[b] Ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάντα ἐν πάσῃ παροικίᾳ ὁμοίως φυλάττεσθαι. Can. 20.

to settle order and peace; there was in so doing a special respect given to the metropolites of great cities: and to prevent dissensions, which naturally ambition doth prompt men to, grounded upon degrees of respect, an order was fixed among them, according to which in subscriptions of letters, in accidental congresses, and the like occasions, some should precede others; (that distinction being chiefly and commonly grounded on the greatness, splendour, opulency of cities; or following the secular dignity of them;) whence Rome had the *first* place, Alexandria the *second*, Antioch the *third*, Jerusalem the *fourth*, &c.

Afterward, Constantine having introduced a new partition of the empire, whereby divers provinces were combined together into one territory, under the regiment of a vicar, or a lieutenant of a *præfectus-prætorio*, which territory was called a *diocese*; the ecclesiastical state was adapted in conformity thereto; new ecclesiastical systems, and a new sort of spiritual heads thence springing up; so that in each diocese, consisting of divers provinces, an ecclesiastical [c]exarch (otherwise sometimes called a *primate*, sometimes a [d]*diocesan*, sometimes a [e]*patriarch*) was constituted, answerable to the civil exarch of a diocese; [f]who by such constitution did

Zos. lib. ii. p. 63. Sextus Rufus, Brev.

[c] Ἐπικολούθησα τῷ ἐξάρχῳ μου. Syn. Chalc. Act. x. p. 388.

[d] Διοικητής. Epist. Orient. ad Rufum. in Syn. Eph. p. 396. Dist. xcix. cap. 1, 2.

[e] Οἱ ὁσιώτατοι πατριάρχαι διοικήσεως ἑκάστης. Syn. Chalc. Act. 2. (p. 211.) Ephesi δίκαιον πατριαρχικόν. Evag. iii. 6.

[f] Τινὲς μὲν ἐξάρχους τῶν διοικήσεων τοὺς πατριάρχους φασί. Zon. ad 28. Can. Chalc. Novell. cxxxvii. cap. 5. et cxxiii. cap. 10. P. Greg. I. Ep. 11, 56. Ordo episcoporum quadripartitus est, id est, in patriarchis, archiepiscopis, metropolitanis, atque episco-

obtain a like authority over the metropolitans of provinces, as they had in their province over the bishops of cities; so that it appertained to them to call together the synods of the whole diocese, to preside in them, and in them to despatch the principal affairs concerning that precinct, to ordain metropolitans, to confirm the ordinations of bishops, to decide causes and controversies between bishops upon appeal from provincial synods.

Some conceive the synod of Nice did establish it; but that can hardly well be; for that synod was held about the time of that division, (after that Constantine was settled in a peaceful enjoyment of the empire,) and scarce could take notice of so fresh a change in the state; that doth not pretend to innovate, but professeth in its sanctions specially to regard *ancient custom, saving to the churches their privileges* of which they were possessed[g]; that only mentioneth provinces, and representeth the metropolitans in them as the chief governors ecclesiastical then being; that constituteth a peremptory decision of weighty causes in provincial synods, which is inconsistent with the diocesan authority; [h]that taketh no notice of Constantinople, the principal diocese in the east, as seat of the empire; (and the synod of

pis. *Isid. Dist.* xxi. cap. 1. Dionysius Ex. translates ἔξαρχων, *primatem*, in *Syn. Chalc.* can. 9, 17.

[g] Ὅπερ οὔτε ὁ κανὼν, οὔτε ἡ συνήθεια παρέδωκεν——. Can. 18. Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω. Can. 6. Ἐπειδὴ συνήθεια κεκράτηκε καὶ παράδοσις ἀρχαία——. Can. 7. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Ibid.

[h] Τοὺς ἐπισκόπους κρίσει τῶν μητροπολιτῶν, καὶ τῶν πέριξ ἐπισκόπων καθίστασθαι——. Syn. Laod. can. 12. The bishops should be constituted by the judgment of the metropolitans and the neighbouring bishops.

Antioch, insisting in the footsteps of the Nicene, doth touch only metropolitans, (can. 19.) and the synod of Laodicea doth only suppose that order.) In fine, that synod is not recorded by any old historian to have framed such an alteration; which indeed was so considerable, that Eusebius, who was present there, could not well have passed it over in silence.

Of this opinion was the synod of Carthage, in their Epistle to pope Celestine I. who understood no jurisdiction but that of metropolitans to be constituted in the Nicene synod.

Some think the Fathers of the second general synod did introduce it, seeing it expedient that ecclesiastical administrations should correspond to the political; for they did innovate somewhat in the form of government; they do expressly use the new word *diocese*, according to the civil sense, as distinct from a province; they do distinctly name the particular dioceses of the oriental empire, as they stood in the civil establishment; they do prescribe to the bishops in each diocese to act unitedly there, not skipping over the bounds of it; they order a kind of appeal to the synod of the diocese, prohibiting other appeals: the historians expressly do report of them, that they did *distinguish and distribute dioceses*, that they did *constitute patriarchs*, that they did prohibit that any of one diocese should intrude upon another[i].

[i] Εἰ δὲ συμβαίη ἀδυνατῆσαι τοὺς ἐπαρχιώτας πρὸς διόρθωσιν ἐπιφερομένων ἐγκλημάτων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, τότε αὐτοὺς προσιέναι μείζοσι συνόδῳ τῶν τῆς διοικήσεως ἐπισκόπων ἐκείνης ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης συγκαλουμένων——. Syn. Const. can. 6. But if it so happen that the bishops of any province cannot rectify those things which are laid to the charge

But if we shall attently search and scan passages, we may perhaps find reason to judge that this form did soon after the synod of Nice creep in, without any solemn appointment, by spontaneous assumption and submission, accommodating things to the political course; the great bishops (who by the amplification of their city, in power, wealth, and concourse of people, were advanced in reputation and interest) assuming such authority to themselves; and the lesser bishops easily complying: and of this we have some arguments. Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, being deposed and extruded by Acacius, metropolitan of Palestine, *did appeal to a greater judicatory*[1]; being the first (as Socrates noteth) who ever did use that course; because, it seemeth, there was no greater in being till about that time; which was some years before the synod of Constantinople; in which there is mention *of a greater synod of the diocese*——.

Theod. ii. 26.
Soz. iv. 25.

of a bishop, they shall then go to a greater synod of the bishops of that diocese, met together for that purpose. The Fathers of Constantinople, in their synodic Epistle, distinguish the province and diocese of Antioch, οἱ τε τῆς ἐπαρχίας, καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς διοικήσεως συνδραμόντες——. Theod. v. 9. Καὶ πατριάρχας κατέστησαν διανειμάμενοι τὰς ἐπαρχίας. Socr. v. 8. Ἐν ἐκείνῃ γὰρ τῇ βασιλευούσῃ πόλει συνελθόντες οἱ μακάριοι πατέρες συμφώνως τοῖς ἐν τῇ Νικαίᾳ συναθροισθεῖσι τὰς διοικήσεις διέκριναν, καὶ ἑκάστῃ διοικήσει τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἀπένειμαν, ἄντικρυς ἀπαγορεύοντες ἐξ ἑτέρας τινὰς διοικήσεως ἑτέρᾳ μὴ ἐπιέναι. Theodor. Ep. 86. (ad Flavianum.) For, says Theodoret, the blessed Fathers meeting together in the imperial city, distinguished dioceses agreeably to what the Nicene Fathers had done, and allotted to every diocese what belonged to it: on the contrary charging that no one of one diocese should encroach upon another—

[1] Βιβλίον τοῖς καθελοῦσι διαπεμψάμενος μεῖζον ἐπικαλέσατο δικαστήριον——τοῦτο μὲν οὖν μόνος καὶ πρῶτος παρὰ τῷ σύνηθες ἐκκλησιαστικῷ κανόνι Κύριλλος ἐποίησεν——. Socr. ii. 40.

There was a convention of bishops of the Pontic diocese at Tyana, (distinguished from the Asian bishops,) whereof Eusebius of Cæsarea is reckoned, in the first place, as president, in the time of Valens. Soz. vi. 12.

Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, is said by the synod of Chalcedon to have presided in the synod of Constantinople [k].

A good argument is drawn from the very canon of the synod of Constantinople itself [l]; which doth speak concerning *bishops over dioceses*, as already constituted, or extant; not instituting that order of bishops, but supposing it, and together with an implicit confirmation regulating practice according to it, by prohibiting bishops to leap over the bounds of their diocese, so as to meddle in the affairs of other dioceses; and by ordering *appeals to the synod of a diocese.*

Of authority gained by such assumption and concession, without law, there might be produced divers instances.

As particularly that the see of Constantinople did assume to itself ordination, and other acts of jurisdiction, in three dioceses, before any such power was granted to it by any synodical decree; the which to have done divers instances shew; some whereof are alleged in the synod of Chalcedon; as St. Chrysostom, of whom it is there said, [m] *That* Syn. Chalc. Act. xvi. (p. 463.)

[k] Τῶν δὲ Νεκτάριος σὺν Γρηγορίῳ ἠγεμονίαν ἤρατο. (In prosphonetico ad Imper.)

[l] Τοὺς ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν ἐπισκόπους——. Can. 2. Προσιέναι μείζονι συνόδῳ τῶν τῆς διοικήσεως ἐπισκόπων——. Can. 6.

[m] Ἰωάννης δεκαπέντε ἐπισκόπους καθεῖλεν, ἀπελθὼν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, καὶ ἐχειροτόνησεν ἄλλους ἀντ' αὐτῶν. Syn. Chalc. Act. 11. (p. 411.)

going into Asia he deposed fifteen bishops, and consecrated others in their room.

Soz. viii. 6. He also deposed Gerontius, bishop of Nicomedia, belonging to the diocese of Pontus.

Whence the Fathers of Chalcedon did aver, [n] ***That they had in a synod confirmed the ancient custom which the holy church of God in Constantinople had, to ordain metropolitans in the Asian, Pontic, and Thracian dioceses.***

The which custom (consistent with reason, and becoming the dignity of the empire, and grateful to the court) that great synod did establish, although the Roman church, out of jealousy, did contest and protest against it.

Syn. Chalc. Act. xvi. (p. 462.—)

But the most pertinent instances are those of the Roman, Alexandrine, and Antiochene churches, having by degrees assumed to themselves such power over divers provinces; in imitation of which churches the other diocesan bishops may well be thought to have enlarged their jurisdiction.

This form of government is intimated in the synod of Ephesus, by those words in which dioceses and provinces are distinguished; [o] ***and the same shall be observed in all dioceses and all provinces every where.***

However, that this form of discipline was perfectly settled in the times of the fourth general synod is

[n] Τὸ γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ κρατῆσαν ἔθος ὑπερ ἔσχεν ἡ Κωνσταντινουπολιτῶν ἁγία Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία εἰς τὸ χειροτωεῖν μητροπολίτας τῶν διοικήσεων τῆς τε Ἀσιανῆς, καὶ Ποντικῆς, καὶ Θρακικῆς καὶ νὺν κατὰ συνοδικὴν ἐκυρώσαμεν ψῆφον. Syn. Chalc. in Epist. ad P. Leonem.

[o] Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων καὶ τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ ἐπαρχιῶν παραφυλαχθήσεται. Syn. Eph. can. 8. [There is mention of dioceses in Strabo.]

evident by two notable canons thereof, wherein it is decreed, that [p] *if any bishop have a controversy with his metropolitan of his province, he shall resort to, and be judged by, the exarch of the diocese, or by the see of Constantinople.*

This was a great privilege conferred on the bishop of Constantinople; the which perhaps did ground (to be sure it did make way for) the plea of that bishop to the title of *Œcumenical Patriarch*, or *Universal Bishop*, which pope Gregory did so exagitate; and indeed it soundeth so fairly toward it, that the pope hath nothing comparable to it to allege in favour of his pretences; this being the decree of the greatest synod that ever was held among the ancients, where all the patriarchs did concur in making these decrees; which pope Gregory did reverence as *one of the Gospels.* If any ancient synod did ever constitute any thing like to *universal* monarchy, it was this; wherein a final determination of greatest causes was granted to the see of Constantinople, without any exception or reservation: I mean as to semblance, and the sound of words; for as to the true sense, I do indeed conceive that the canon did only relate to causes emergent in the eastern parts; and probably it did only respect the three dioceses (of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace) which were immediately subjected to his patriarchal jurisdiction.

Pope Nicholas I. doth very jocularly expound this canon; affirming that by the primate of the diocese

[p] Εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπαρχίας μητροπολίτην ἐπίσκοπος ἢ κληρικὸς ἀμφισβητοίη, καταλαμβανέτω ἢ τὸν ἔξαρχον τῆς διοικήσεως, ἢ τὸν τῆς βασιλευούσης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δικαζέσθω. Syn. Chalc. can. 19, 17.

is understood the pope, (*diocese* being put by a notable figure for *dioceses*,) and that an appeal is to be made to the bishop of Constantinople only by permission, in case the party will be content therewith [q].

We may note, that some provincial churches were by ancient custom exempted from dependence on any primacy or patriarchate.

Such an one the Cyprian church was adjudged to be in the Ephesine synod; wherein the privileges of such churches were confirmed against the invasion of greater churches, and to that purpose this general law enacted; [r] *Let the same be observed in all dioceses and provinces every where—that none of the bishops most beloved of God invade another province, which did not formerly belong to him or his predecessors; and if any one have invaded one, and violently seized it, that he restore it.*

Such a church was that of Britain anciently, before Austin did introduce the papal authority here, against that canon; as by divers learned pens hath been shewed.

Such was the church of Afric, as by their canons

[q] Quem autem primatem diœceseos S. synodus dixerit, præter apostoli primi vicarium, nullus penitus intelligitur——. None can understand whom the holy synod should call primate of a diocese, except the vicar of the prime apostle. Tantundem valet dixisse primatem diœceseos, quantum si perhibuisset diœceseon. *P. Nich. I.* Ep. 8. (p. 507.) To say the primate of a diocese is as much as to say of dioceses.

[r] Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων καὶ τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ ἐπαρχιῶν παραφυλαχθήσεται—ὥστε μηδένα τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων ἐπαρχίαν ἑτέραν οὐκ οὖσαν ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξαρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἤγουν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ χεῖρα καταλαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' εἰ καί τις κατέλαβεν, καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ πεποίηται—βιασάμενος τοῦτον ἀποδιδόναι, &c. Conc. Eph. can. 8.

against transmarine appeals, and about all other matters, doth appear.

It is supposed by some, that discipline was screwed yet one peg higher, by setting up the order of patriarchs higher than primates, or diocesan exarchs: but I find no ground of this supposal, except in one case; that is, of the bishop of Constantinople being set above the bishops of Ephesus, Cæsarea, and Heraclea, which were the primates of the three dioceses. Isid. Dist. ii. cap. 1.

It is a notable fib which pope Nicholas II. telleth, as Gratian citeth him; [s] *That the church of Rome instituted all patriarchal supremacies, all metropolitan primacies, episcopal sees, all ecclesiastical orders and dignities whatsoever.*

Now things standing thus in Christendom, we may, concerning the interest of the Roman bishop in reference to them, observe,

1. In all these transactions about modelling the spiritual discipline, there was no canon established any peculiar jurisdiction to the bishop of Rome, only the

2. Synod of Nice did suppose that he by custom did enjoy some authority within certain precincts of the west, like to that which it did confirm to the bishop of Alexandria in Egypt, and the countries adjacent thereto.

3. The synods of Constantinople did allow him *honorary privileges*, or precedence before all other πρεσβεῖα τιμῆς. Can. 3.

[s] Omnes sive patriarchæ cujuslibet apices, sive metropoleon primatus, aut episcopatuum cathedras, vel ecclesiarum cujuslibet ordinis dignitates instituit Romana ecclesia. *P. Nic. II. Dist.*

Τὰ πρωτεῖα καὶ ἐξαίρετος τιμή. Syn. Ch. Act. 16. Ἴσα πρεσβεῖα.

bishops, assigning the next place after him to the bishop of Constantinople.

4. In other privileges the synod of Chalcedon did equal the see of Constantinople to the Roman.

5. The canons of the two first and fourth general synods, ordering all affairs to be despatched, and causes to be determined in metropolitan or diocesan synods, do exclude the Roman bishop from meddling in those concerns.

6. The popes (out of a humour natural to them, to like nothing but what they did themselves, and which served their interests) did not relish those canons, although enacted by synods which themselves admitted for œcumenical. [t] *That subscription of some bishops made above sixty years since, as you boast, does no whit favour your persuasion; a subscription never transmitted to the knowledge of the apostolic see by your predecessors, which from its very beginning being weak, and long since ruinous, you endeavour now too late and unprofitably to revive.*

So doth pope Leo I. treat the second great synod, writing to Anatolius; and Gregory speaking of the same says, [u] *That the Roman church has not the acts of that synod, nor received its canons.*

[t] Persuasioni enim tuæ in nullo penitus suffragatur quorundam episcoporum ante sexaginta, ut jactas, annos facta subscriptio, nunquamque a prædecessoribus tuis ad apostolicæ sedis transmissa notitiam, cui ab initio sui caducæ, dudumque collapsæ sera nunc et inutilia subjicere fomenta voluisti ——. *P. Leo.* Ep. 53. (*ad Anatol.*) Vid. Ep. 54, 55, 61.

[u] Romana autem ecclesia eosdem canones vel gesta synodi illius hactenus non habet, nec accepit. *Greg. M.* Ep. vi. 31. (*ad Eulog. Alex.*)

7. Wherefore in the west they did obtain no effect, so as to establish diocesan primacies there.

The bishops of cities, which were heads of dioceses, either did not know of these canons, (which is probable, because Rome did smother the notice of them,) or were hindered from using them; the pope having so winded himself in, and got such hold among them, as he would not let go[x].

8. It indeed turned to a great advantage of the pope, in carrying on his encroachments, and enlarging his worldly interests, that the western churches did not, as the eastern, conform themselves to the political frame in embracing diocesan primacies; which would have engaged and enabled them better to protect the liberties of their churches from papal invasions[y].

9. For hence, for want of a better, the pope did claim to himself a patriarchal authority over the western churches; pretending a right of calling synods, of meddling in ordinations, of determining causes by appeal to him; of dictating laws and rules to them, against the old rights of metropolitans, and the later constitutions for primacies.

Of this we have an instance in St. Gregory; where he alleging an imperial constitution importing that

[x] N. B. A Roman synod, anno 378, consisting of Italian bishops, did give the pope such a privilege as the synod of Constantinople did to the bishop of that see. (*Marc. de Primat.* p. 103. ex *App. Cod. Theodos.* Vide Baron.) But there is difference between a general synod and an Italian synod: and what had an Italian synod to prescribe to all the provinces of the Roman empire, or rather of the west? *P. Greg. I.* Ep. 7, 8.

[y] Balusius thinketh that Hilarius of Arles did pretend and offer at this primatical power, *apud Marc.* v. 32. but pope Leo did mainly check and quash his attempt.

in case a clergyman should appeal from his metropolitan, *the cause should be referred to the archbishop and patriarch of that diocese, who judging according to the canons and laws should give an end thereto;* doth consequentially assume an appeal from a bishop to himself, adjoining, [z] *If against these things it be said that the bishop had neither metropolitan nor patriarch, it is to be said that this cause was to be heard and decided by the apostolical see, which is the head of all churches.*

Ruffin. Hist. i. 6.

10. Having got such advantage, and, as to extent, stretched his authority beyond the bounds of *his suburbicarian precincts,* he did also intend it in quality far beyond the privileges by any ecclesiastical law granted to patriarchs, or claimed or exercised by any other patriarch; till at length, by degrees, he had advanced it to an exorbitant omnipotency, and thereby utterly enslaved the western churches.

The ancient order did allow a patriarch or primate to call a synod of the bishops in his diocese, and with them to determine ecclesiastical affairs by majority of suffrages: but he doth not do so; but setting himself down in his chair, with a few of his courtiers about him, doth make decrees and dictates, to which he pretendeth all must submit.

The ancient order did allow a patriarch to ordain metropolitans duly elected in their dioceses; leaving bishops to be ordained by the metropolitans in their provincial synods: but he will meddle in the ordination of every bishop, suffering none to be consti—

[z] Contra hæc si dictum fuerit, quia nec metropolitam habuit nec patriarcham; dicendum est quia a sede apostolica, quæ omnium ecclesiarum caput est, causa hæc audienda ac dirimenda fuerat. *Greg. I.* Ep. xi. 56.

tuted without his confirmation, for which he must soundly pay.

The ancient order did allow a patriarch, with the advice and consent of his synod, to make canons for the well-ordering his diocese: but he sendeth about his decretal letters, composed by an infallible secretary, which he pretendeth must have the force of laws, equal to the highest decrees of the whole church.

The ancient order did suppose bishops by their ordination sufficiently obliged to render unto their patriarch due observance, according to the canons, he being liable to be judged in a synod for the transgression of his duty; but he forceth all bishops to take the most slavish oaths of obedience to him that can be imagined.

The ancient order did appoint, that bishops accused for offences should be judged in their provinces; or, upon appeal from them, in patriarchal synods: but he receiveth appeals at the first hand, and determineth them in his court, without calling such a synod in an age for any such purpose.

The ancient patriarchs did order all things, as became good subjects, with leave and under submission to the emperor, who as he pleased did interpose his confirmation of their sanctions: but this man pretendeth to decree what he pleaseth without the leave, and against the will of princes.

Wherefore he is not a patriarch of the western churches, (for that he acteth according to no patriarchal rule,) but a certain kind of sovereign lord, or a tyrannical oppressor of them.

11. In all the transactions for modelling the church, there never was allowed to the pope any

Isid. in Dist. 21. cap. 1.

dominion over his fellow-patriarchs, or of those great primates who had assumed that name to themselves; among whom indeed, for the dignity of his city, he had obtained a priority of honour or place; but never had any power over them settled by a title of law, or by clear and uncontested practice.

Insomuch, that if any of them had erred in faith, or offended in practice, it was requisite to call a general synod to judge them; as in the cases of Athanasius, of Gregory Nazianzen and Maximus, of Theophilus and St. Chrysostom, of Nestorius and of Dioscorus, is evident.

12. Indeed all the oriental churches did keep themselves pretty free from his encroachments, although, when he had swollen so big in the west, he sometimes did take occasion to attempt on their liberty; which they sometimes did warily decline, sometimes stoutly did oppose.

Vid. de Marc. lib. vii. cap. 4, 5.

But as to the main, those flourishing churches constantly did maintain a distinct administration from the western churches, under their own patriarchs and synods, not suffering him to interlope in prejudice to their liberty.

They, without his leave or notice, did call and celebrate synods, (whereof all the first great synods are instances;) their ordinations were not confirmed or touched by him; appeals were not (with public regard or allowance) thence made to him in causes great or little, but they decided them among themselves: they quashed heresies springing up among them, as the second general synod the Macedonians, Theophilus the Origenists, &c. Little in any case had his worship to do with them, or they with him, beyond what was needful to maintain general com-

munion and correspondence with him; which they commonly, as piety obliged, were willing to do.

And sometimes, when a pert pope, upon some incidental advantage of differences risen among them, would be more busy than they deemed convenient in tampering with their affairs, they did rap his fingers: so Victor, so Stephanus, so Julius and Liberius, of old did feel to their smart: so afterwards Damasus and other popes in the case of Flavianus; Innocent in the case of St. Chrysostom; Felix and his successors in the case of Acacius, did find little regard had to their interposals.

So things proceeded, till at length a final rupture was made between them, and they would not suffer him at all to meddle with their affairs.

Before I proceed any further, I shall briefly draw some corollaries from this historical account which I have given of the original and growth of metropolitical, primatical, and patriarchal jurisdiction.

1. Patriarchs are an human institution.

2. As they were erected by the power and prudence of men, so they may be dissolved by the same.

3. They were erected by the leave and confirmation of princes; and by the same they may be dejected, if great reason do appear.

4. The patriarchate of the pope beyond his own province or diocese doth not subsist upon any canon of a general synod.

5. He can therefore claim no such power otherwise than upon his invasion or assumption.

6. The primates and metropolitans of the western church cannot be supposed otherwise than by force, or out of fear, to have submitted to such an authority as he doth usurp.

7. It is not really a patriarchal power, (like to that which was granted by the canons and princes,) but another sort of power, which the pope doth exercise.

8. The most rightful patriarch, holding false doctrine, or imposing unjust laws, or tyrannically abusing his power, may and ought to be rejected from communion.

9. Such a patriarch is to be judged by a free synod, if it may be had.

10. If such a synod cannot be had by consent of princes, each church may free itself from the mischiefs induced by his perverse doctrine or practice.

11. No ecclesiastical power can interpose in the management of any affairs within the territory of any prince without his concession.

12. By the laws of God, and according to ancient practice, princes may model the bounds of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, erect bishoprics, enlarge, diminish, or transfer them as they please.

13. Wherefore each prince (having supreme power in his own dominions, and equal to what the emperor had in his) may exclude any foreign prelate from jurisdiction in his territories.

14. It is expedient for peace and public good that he should do thus.

15. Such prelate, according to the rules of Christianity, ought to be content with his doing so.

16. Any prelate, exercising power in the dominion of any prince, is *eatenus* his subject; as the popes and all bishops were to the Roman emperors.

17. Those joints of ecclesiastical discipline, established in the Roman empire by the confirmation of

emperors, were (as to necessary continuance) dissolved by the dissolution of the Roman empire.

18. The power of the pope in the territories of any prince did subsist by his authority and favour.

19. By the same reason as princes have curbed the exorbitancy of papal power in some cases, (of entertaining legates, making appeals, disposing of benefices, &c.) by the same they might exclude it.

20. The practice of Christianity doth not depend upon the subsistence of such a form instituted by man.

Having shewed at large that this universal sovereignty and jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome over the Christian church hath no real foundation either in scripture or elsewhere, it will be requisite to shew by what ways and means so groundless a claim and pretence should gain belief and submission to it from so considerable a part of Christendom; and that from so very slender roots (from slight beginnings, and the slimmest pretences one can well imagine) this bulk of exorbitant power did grow, the vastest that ever man on earth did attain, or did ever aim at, will be the less wonderful, if we do consider the many causes which did concur and contribute thereto; some whereof are proposed in the following observations.

De pusillo crescere. *P. Leo.* Ep. 55.

1. Eminency of any kind (in wealth, in honour, in reputation, in might, in place, or mere order of dignity) doth easily pass into advantages of real power and command over those who are inferior in those respects, and have any dealings or common transactions with such superiors.

For to persons endowed with such eminency by voluntary deference the conduct of affairs is wont to

be allowed; none presuming to stand in competition with them, every one rather yielding place to them than to their equals.

The same conduct of things, upon the same accounts, and by reason of their possession, doth continue fast in their hands, so long as they do retain such advantages.

Then from a custom of managing things doth spring up an opinion or a pretence of right thereto; they are apt to assume a title, and others ready to allow it.

Men naturally do admire such things, and so are apt to defer extraordinary respect to the possessors of them.

Advantages of wealth and might are not only instruments to attain, but incentives spurring men to affect the getting authority over their poorer and weaker neighbours: for men will not be content with bare eminency, but will desire real power and sway, so as to obtain their wills over others, and not to be crossed by any. Pope Leo had no reason to wonder that Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople, was not content with dry honour. Men are apt to think their honour is precarious, and standeth on an uncertain foundation, if it be not supported with real power; and therefore they will not be satisfied to let their advantages lie dead, which are so easily improvable to power, by inveigling some, and scaring or constraining others to bear their yoke: and they are able to benefit and gratify some, and thereby render them willing to submit; those afterwards become serviceable to bring others under, who are disaffected or refractory.

Quid illi satisfaciet, si tantæ urbis magnificentia et claritudo non sufficit? *Leo.* Ep. 55.

So the bishops of Constantinople and of Jerusa-

lem, at first, had only privileges of honour; but afterward they soon hooked in power.

Now the Roman bishops from the beginning were eminent above all other bishops in all kinds of advantages.

He was seated in the imperial city, the place of general resort; thence obvious to all eyes, and his name sounding in all mouths. He had a most numerous, opulent, splendid flock and clergy. He had the greatest income (from liberal oblations) to dispose of. He lived in greatest state and lustre. He had opportunities to assist others in their business, and to relieve them in their wants. He necessarily thence did obtain great respect and veneration. Hence in all common affairs the conduct and presidence were naturally devolved on him, without contest.

Euseb. vi. 43. (an. 254.) Oblationibus matronarum ditati. Circumspecte vestiti. *Amm. Marc.* l. xxvii. (p. 337.) an. 367. Euseb.

No wonder then that after some time the pope did arrive to some pitch of authority over poor Christians, especially those who lay nearest to him; improving his eminency into power, and his pastoral charge into a kind of empire; according to that observation of Socrates, that [a] *long before his time the Roman episcopacy had advanced itself beyond the priesthood into a potentacy.*

And the like he observeth to have happened in the church of Alexandria, upon the like grounds, or by imitation of such a pattern. Socr. vii. 7.

2. Any small power is apt to grow and spread itself; a spark of it soon will expand itself into a flame: it is very like to *the grain of mustard seed, which indeed is the least of all seeds; but when it* Matt. xiii. 31, 32.

[a] Τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς πέρα τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐπὶ δυναστείαν ἤδη πάλαι προελθούσης. Socr. vii. 11.

is grown, it is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof. [b]*Encroaching*, as Plutarch saith, *is an innate disease of potentacies.* Whoever hath any pittance of it, will be improving his stock; having tasted the sweetness of having his will, (which extremely gratifieth the nature of man,) he will not be satisfied without having more; he will take himself to be straitened by any bounds; and will strive to free himself of all restraints.

Any pretence will serve to ground attempts of enlarging power, and none will be balked. For power is bold, enterprising, restless: it always watcheth, or often findeth, [c]*never passeth opportunities of dilating itself.* Every accession doth beget further advantages to amplify it; as its stock groweth, so it with ease proportionably doth increase; being ever out at use. As it groweth, so its strength to maintain and enlarge itself doth grow: it gaining more wealth, more friends, more associates and dependents.

None can resist or obstruct its growth without danger and manifold disadvantages: for as its adherents are deemed loyal and faithful, so its opposers are branded with the imputations of rebellion, contumacy, disloyalty; and not succeeding in their resistance, they will be undone.

None ever doth enterprise more than to stop its career; so that it seldom loseth by opposition; and

[b] Τὸ σύμφυτον νόσημα ταῖς δυναστείαις, ἡ πλεονεξία. Plut. in Pyrrh.

[c] Subrependi occasiones non prætermittit ambitio—. *P. Leo. I.* Ep. 62. Facilius crescit dignitas quam incipit. *Sen.* Ep. 101. Primæ dominandi spes in arduo; ubi sis ingressus, adsunt studia et ministri. *Tacit. Ann.* iv. (p. 143.)

it ever gaineth by composition. If it be checked at one time, or in one place, it will, like the sea, at another season, in another point, break in. If it is sometimes overthrown in a battle, it is seldom conquered in the war.

It is always on its march forward, and gaineth ground; for one encroachment doth countenance the next, and is alleged for a precedent to authorize or justify it. It seldom moveth backward; for every successor thinketh he may justly enjoy what his predecessor did gain, or which is transmitted into his possession; so that there hardly can ever be any restitution of ill-gotten power.

Thus have many absolute kingdoms grown; the first chief was a leader of volunteers; from thence he grew to be a prince with stated privileges; after, he became a monarch invested with high prerogatives; in fine, he creepeth forward to be a grand seignior, usurping absolute dominion: so did Augustus Cæsar first only assume the style of prince of the senate, demeaning himself modestly as such; but he soon drew to himself the administration of all things; and upon that foundation his successors very suddenly did erect a boundless power. If you trace the footsteps of most empires to the beginning, you may perceive the like.

So the pope, when he had got a little power, continually did swell it. The puny pretence of the succeeding St. Peter, and the name of the apostolical see; the precedence, by reason of the imperial city; the honorary privileges allowed him by councils; the authority deferred to him by one synod of revising the causes of bishops; the countenance given to him in repressing some heresies, he did

improve to constitute himself sovereign lord of the church.

3. Spiritual power especially is of a growing nature, and more especially that which deriveth from divine institution: for it hath a great awe upon the hearts and consciences of men; which engageth them to a firm and constant adherence. It useth the most subtle arms, which it hath always ready, which needeth no time or cost to furnish, which cannot be extorted from its hand; so that it can never be disarmed. And its weapons make strong impression, because it proposeth the most effectual encouragements to its abettors, and discouragements to its adversaries; alluring the one with promises of God's favour and eternal happiness, terrifying the other with menaces of vengeance from heaven, and endless misery: the which do ever quell religious, superstitious, weak people; and often daunt men of knowledge and courage.

It is presumed unchangeable and unextinguishable by any human power, and thence is not (as all other power) subject to revolutions. Hence, like Achilles, it is hardly vincible, because almost immortal. If it be sometimes rebuffed or impaired, it soon will recover greater strength and vigour.

Dist. xxi. cap. 2, 3. The popes derive their authority from divine institution; and their weapons always are sentences of scripture: they pretend to dispense remission of sins, and promise heaven to their abettors. They excommunicate, curse, and damn the opposers of their designs.

They pretend they never can lose any power that ever did belong to their see: they are always stiff, and they never recede or give back. *The privi-*

leges of the Roman church can sustain no detriment[d].

4. Power is easily attained and augmented upon occasion of dissensions. Each faction usually doth make itself a head, the chief in strength and reputation which it can find inclinable to favour it; and that head it will strive to magnify, that he may be the abler to promote its cause; and if the cause doth prosper, he is rewarded with accession of privileges and authority: especially those who were oppressed, and find relief by his means, do become zealously active for his aggrandizement.

Thus usually in civil broils the captain of the prevalent party groweth a prince, or is crowned with great privileges, (as Cæsar, Octavian, Cromwell, &c.)

So upon occasion of the Arian faction, and the oppression of Athanasius, Marcellus, Paulus, and other bishops, the pope (who by their application to him had occasion to head the catholic party) did grow in power; for thereupon the Sardican synod did decree to him that privilege, which he infinitely enhanced, and which became the main engine of rearing himself so high.

And by his interposal in the dissensions raised by the Nestorians, the Pelagians, the Eutychians, the Acacians, the Monothelites, the Image-worshippers, and Image-breakers, &c. his authority was advanced; for he, adhering in those causes to the prevailing party, was by them extolled, obtaining both reputation and sway.

5. All power is attended by dependencies of persons sheltered under it, and by it enjoying subordi-

[d] Privilegia Romanæ ecclesiæ nullum possunt sustinere detrimentum——. *P. Nic. I.* Ep. xxxvi. (32——.)

nate advantages; the which proportionably do grow by its increase.

Such persons therefore will ever be inciting their chief and patron to amplify his power; and in aiding him to compass it, they will be very industriously, resolutely, and steadily active, their own interest moving them thereto.

Wherefore their mouths will ever be open in crying him up, their heads will be busy in contriving ways to further his interests, their care and pains will be employed in accomplishing his designs; they with their utmost strength will contend in his defence against all oppositions.

Thus the Roman clergy first, then the bishops of Italy, then all the clergy of the west, became engaged to support, to fortify, to enlarge the papal authority; they all sharing with him in domination over the laity; and enjoying wealth, credit, support, privileges, and immunities thereby. Some of them especially were ever putting him on higher pretences; and furthering him by all means in his acquist and maintenance of them.

6. Hence if a potentate himself should have no ambition, nor much ability to improve his power; yet it would of itself grow, he need only be passive therein; the interest of his partisans would effect it: so that often power doth no less thrive under sluggish and weak potentates, especially if they are void of goodness, than under the most active and able: let the ministers alone to drive on their interest.

7. Even persons otherwise just and good do seldom scruple to augment their power by undue encroachment, or at least to uphold the usurpations of

their foregoers: for even such are apt to favour their own pretences, and afraid of incurring censure and blame, if they should part with any thing left them by their predecessors. They apprehend themselves to owe a dearness to their place, engaging them to tender its own weal and prosperity, in promoting which they suppose themselves not to act for their own private interest; and that it is not out of ambition or avarice, but out of a regard to the grandeur of their office, that they stickle and bustle; and that in so doing they imitate St. Paul, who did *magnify his office.* They are encouraged hereto by the applause of men, especially of those who are allied with them in interest, and who converse with them; who take it for a maxim, *Boni principis est ampliare imperium:* the extenders of empire are admired and commended, however they do it, although with cruel wars, or by any unjust means.

Hence usually the worthiest men in the world's eye are greatest enlargers of power; and such men bringing appearances of virtue, ability, reputation, to aid their endeavours, do most easily compass designs of this nature, finding less obstruction to their attempts; for men are not so apt to suspect their integrity, or to charge them with ambition and avarice; and the few, who discern their aims and consequences of things, are overborne by the number of those who are favourably conceited and inclined toward them.

Thus Julius I. Damasus I. Innocent I. Gregory I. and the like popes, whom history representeth as laudable persons, did yet confer to the advancement of papal grandeur. But they who did most advance that interest, as pope Leo I. Gelasius I. pope Nicho-

las I. pope Gregory VII. in the esteem of true zea-
Sixtus V. lots, pass for the best popes. Hence the distinction between a good man, a good prince, a good pope.

8. Men of an inferior condition are apt to express themselves highly in commendation of those who are in a superior rank, especially upon occasion of address and intercourse; which commendations are liable to be interpreted for acknowledgments or attestations of right, and thence do sometimes prove means of creating it.

Of the generality of men it is truly said, that it [e] *doth fondly serve fame, and is stunned with titles and images;* readily ascribing to superiors whatever they claim, without scanning the grounds of their title. Simple and weak men, out of abjectedness or fear, are wont to crouch, and submit to any thing upon any terms. Wise men do not love brangling, nor will expose their quiet and safety without great reason; thence being inclinable to comply with greater persons. Bad men, out of design to procure advantages or impunity, are prone to flatter and gloze with them. Good men, out of due reverence to them, and in hope of fair usage from them, are ready to compliment them, or treat them with the most respectful terms. Those who are obliged to them will not spare to extol them; paying the easy return of good words for good deeds.

Thus all men conspire to exalt power; the which snatcheth all good words as true, and construeth them to the most favourable sense; and alleget them as verdicts and arguments of unquestionable right. So are the compliments, or terms of respect,

[e] —— qui famæ servit ineptus,
Ac stupet in titulis et imaginibus ——. *Hor.*

ıed by Jerome, Austin, Theodoret, and divers others, oward popes, drawn into an argument for papal au-ıority; whenas the actions of such Fathers, and ıeir discourses upon other occasions, do manifest ıeir serious judgment to have been directly con-ary to his pretences: wherefore the emperor of onstantinople, in the Florentine synod, had good ason to decline such sayings * for arguments, for, *'f,* saith he, *any of the saints doth in an epistle nour the pope, shall he take that as importing rivileges?*

* Κατὰ ῥητὰ τῶν ἁγίων.

9. Good men commonly (out of charitable simpli-ty, meekness, modesty and humility, love of peace, ıd averseness from contention) are apt to yield to e encroachments of those who anywise do excel em; and when such men do yield, others are ready follow their example. Bad men have little interest resist, and no heart to stand for public good; but ther strike in presently, taking advantage by their ımpliance to drive a good market for themselves. ence so many of all sorts in all times did comply ith popes, or did not obstruct them; suffering them ithout great obstacle to raise their power.

10. If in such cases a few wise men do apprehend ıe consequences of things, yet they can do little to revent them. They seldom have the courage with ıfficient zeal to bustle against encroachments; fear-ıg to be overborne by its stream, to lose their la-ɔur, and vainly to suffer by it: if they offer at re-stance, it is usually faint and moderate: whereas ower doth act vigorously, aud push itself forward

[f] Μήπως, φησὶ, τὶς τῶν ἁγίων ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τιμᾷ τὸν πάπαν, καὶ ἐκλάβῃ ὕτο ὡστὶ προνομίων. Syn. Flor. sess. xxv. (p. 848.)

with mighty violence; so that it is not only difficult to check it, but dangerous to oppose it.

[g]Ambiguity of words (as it causeth many debates, so) yieldeth much advantage to the foundation and amplification of power: for whatever is said of it, will be interpreted in favour of it, and will afford colour to its pretences. Words innocently or carelessly used are by interpretation extended to signify great matters, or what you please. For instance,

The word *bishop* may import any kind of superintendency or inspection: hence St. Peter came to be reckoned bishop of Rome, because in virtue of his apostolical office he had inspection over that church founded by him, and might exercise some episcopal acts.

Καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι πέτρας. Can. Apost. 34.

The word *head* doth signify any kind of eminency; the word *prince*, any priority; the word to *preside*, any kind of superiority or preeminence: hence some Fathers attributing those names to St. Peter, they are interpreted to have thought him sovereign in power over the apostles. And because some did give like terms to the pope, they infer his superiority in power over all bishops; notwithstanding such Fathers did express a contrary judgment.

The word *successor* may import any derivation of power: hence because St. Peter is said to have founded the church of Rome, and to have ordained the first bishop there, the pope is called his successor.

The word *authority* doth often import any kind

[g] Ita de vocabulorum occasionibus plurimum quæstiones subornantur, sicut et de verborum in communionibus. *Tertull. de Resur. Carn.* 54.

of influence upon the opinions or actions of men, (grounded upon eminence of place, worth, reputation, or any such advantage:) [h]hence because the pope of old sometimes was desired to interpose his authority, they will understand him to have had right to command or judge in such cases; although authority is sometimes opposed to command, as where Livy saith, that [i]*Evander did hold those places by authority, rather than by command;* and Tacitus of the German princes saith, [k]*They are heard rather according to their authority of persuading, than power of commanding.* [l]*The word* judge (saith Canus) *is frequently used to signify no more than, I do think or conceive;* whereby he doth excuse divers popes from having decreed a notable error; (for Alexander III. says of them, *That they judged, that after a matrimony contracted, not consummated, another may be valid, that being dissolved.*) Yet if the pope is said to have *judged* so or so in any case, it is alleged for a certain argument of proper *jurisdiction.*

11. There is a strange enchantment in words; which being (although with no great colour of reason) assumed, do work on the fancies of men, espe-

[h] Quia duobus episcopis, quorum ea tempestate summa authoritas erat non illuserat ——. *Sulp. Sev.* ii. 63. Because he had not deluded the two bishops who had the greatest authority in those times. Non mediocris authoritatis episcopus Carthag. *Aug.* Ep. 162. The bishop of Carthage was of no mean authority.

[i] Evander —— ea authoritate magis quam imperio retinebat loca. *Liv.* i.

[k] —— audiuntur authoritate suadendi potius quam jubendi potestate. *Tac. de Mor. Ger.* (p. 640.)

[l] Verbum *judico* frequenter in ea significatione usurpatur, ut idem sit quod sentio seu opinor. *Can.* loc. vi. cap. 8. (Comp. lib. vi. 1.)

cially of the weaker sort. Of these power doth ever arrogate to itself such as are most operative, by their force sustaining and extending itself.

So divers prevalent factions did assume to themselves the name of *catholic;* and the Roman church particularly hath appropriated that word to itself, even so as to commit a bull, implying Rome and the universe to be the same place; and the perpetual canting of this term hath been one of its most effectual charms to weak people: *I am a catholic,* that is, *an universal; therefore all I hold is true:* this is their great argument.

The words *successor of Peter, apostolic see, prima sedes,* have been strongly urged for arguments of papal authority; the which have beyond their true force (for indeed they signify nothing) had a strange efficacy upon men of understanding and wisdom.

12. The pope's power was much amplified by the importunity of persons condemned or extruded from their places, whether upon just accounts, or wrongfully, and by faction; [m]for they finding no other more hopeful place of refuge and redress, did often apply to him: for what will not men do, whither will not they go in straits?

Thus did Marcion go to Rome, and sue for admission to communion there. So Fortunatus and Felicissimus in St. Cyprian, being condemned in Afric, did fly to Rome for shelter; of which absurdity St.

Cypr. Ep. 68.

[m] —— ut ad domini mei tanti pontificis et piissimi patris, omnium ad se confugientium tutissimi defensoris ac protectoris, &c. *Rothaldi Appell.* (*in P. Nich. I.* Ep. xxxvii. p. 563.) —— my lord so great a pontiff, and most pious a father, the safe defender and protector of all those that flee unto him for succour.

Cyprian doth so complain. So likewise Martianus and Basilides, in St. Cyprian, being outed of their sees for having lapsed from the Christian profession, did fly to Stephen for succour, to be restored. So Maximus (the Cynic) went to Rome, to get a confirmation of his election at Constantinople. So Marcellus, being rejected for heterodoxy, went thither to get attestation to his orthodoxy, (of which St. Basil complaineth.) So Apiarius, being condemned in Afric for his crimes, did appeal to Rome. Ep. 55.

And on the other side, Athanasius being with great partiality condemned by the synod of Tyre; Paulus and other bishops being extruded from their sees for orthodoxy; St. Chrysostom being condemned and expelled by Theophilus and his complices; Flavianus being deposed by Dioscorus and the Ephesine synod; Theodoret being condemned by the same—did cry out for help to Rome. Chelidonius, bishop of Resanon, being deposed by Hilarius of Arles, (for crimes,) did fly to pope Leo. Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, being extruded from his see by Photius, did complain to the pope. Calendion of Antioch, liber. cap. 18. P. Leo. Ep. 89. Marc. v. 32. P. Nich. I. Ep. xxxviii. (p. 564.) Rothaldus.

13. All princes are forward to heap honour on the bishop of their imperial city; it seeming a disgrace to themselves that so near a relation be an inferior to any other; who is, as it were, their spiritual pastor, who is usually by their special favour advanced. The city itself, and the court, will be restless in assisting him to climb.

Thus did the bishop of Constantinople arise to that high pitch of honour, and to be second patriarch; who at first was a mean suffragan to the bishop of Heraclea: this by the synods of Constantinople and Chalcedon is assigned for the reason of

Cod. lib. i. tit. 2. cap. 16. his advancement. And how ready the emperors were to promote the dignity of that bishop, we see by many of their edicts to that purpose; as particularly that of Leo.

So, for the honour of their city, the emperors usually did favour the pope, assisting him in the furtherance of his designs, and extending his privileges by their edicts at home, and letters to the eastern emperors, recommending their affairs.

So in the synod of Chalcedon we have the letters of Valentinian, together with those of Placidia and of Eudoxia, the empresses, to Theodosius, in behalf of pope Leo, for retractation of the Ephesine synod; wherein they do express themselves engaged to maintain the honour of the Roman see; [n] *Seeing that,* saith Placidia, mother of Theodosius, *it becometh us in all things to preserve the honour and dignity of this chief city, which is the mistress of all others.*

So pope Nicholas confesseth, that the emperors had [o] *extolled the Roman see with divers privileges, had enriched it with gifts, had enlarged it with benefits,* (or benefices,) &c.

14. The popes had the advantage of being ready at hand to suggest what they pleased to the court, and thereby to procure his edicts (directed or dictated by themselves) in their favour, for extending

[n] Ὁπότε πρέπει ἡμᾶς ταύτῃ τῇ μεγίστῃ πόλει, ἥτις δέσποινα πασῶν ὑπάρχει τῶν γεῶν, ἐν πᾶσι τὸ σέβας παραφυλάξαι. Syn. Chalc. (p. 27.)

[o] Qualiter (imperatores) eam diversis beneficiis extulerint, donis ditaverint, beneficiis ampliaverint, qualiter illam, &c. *P. Nich. I.* Ep. viii. (p. 513.)

——Romanus tempore prisco
Pauper erat præsul, regali munere crevit, &c. *Gunth. Lig.* lib. 6.

their power, or repressing any opposition made to their encroachments.

Baronius observeth that the bishops of Constantinople did use this advantage for their ends: for thus he reflecteth on the edict of the emperor Leo in favour of that see: [p] *These things Leo; but questionless conceived in the words of Acacius, swelling with pride.*

And no less unquestionably did the popes conceive words for the emperor in countenance of their authority. Apud Marc. v. 32.

Such was that edict of Valentinian in favour of Leo against Hilarius, bishop of Arles, (in an unjust cause, as Binius confesseth,) who contested his authority to undo what was done in a Gallican synod. Bin. ad P. Hill. Ep. 11. (p. 576.) And we may thank Baronius himself for this observation, [q] *By this, reader, thou understandest that when the emperors ordained laws concerning religion, they did it by transcribing and enacting the laws of the church, upon the admonition of the holy bishops requiring them to do their duty.* It was a notable edict, which pope Hilarius allegeth; [r] *It was also decreed by the laws of Christian princes, that whatsoever the bishop of the apostolic see should upon examination pronounce concerning churches and their governors,* &c. *should with reverence be received, and strictly observed,* &c.

[p] Hæc Leo, sed Acacii fastu tumentis proculdubio verbis concepta, et stylo superbiæ exarata. *Baron.* ann. 473. §. 4.

[q] Ex his intelligis, lector, cum de rebus sacris imperatores leges sanxivere, id ipsum admonitione ss. præsulum requirentium eorum officium ex scriptis legibus statuisse. *Baron.* ann. 458. §. 4.

[r] Christianorum quoque principum lege decretum est, &c. *P. Hilarius,* Ep. xi. (p. 576.)

Such edicts by crafty suggestions being at opportune times from easy and unwary princes procured, did hold, not being easily reversed: and the power which the pope once had obtained by them, he would never part with; fortifying it by higher pretences of divine immutable right.

P. Nich. I. Ep. 36.

Theod. v. 2. The emperor Gratian, having gotten the world under him, did order the churches to those who would communicate with pope Damasus. This and the like countenances did bring credit and authority to the Roman see.

15. It is therefore no wonder that popes, being seated in the metropolis of the western empire, (the head of all the Roman state,) should find interest sufficient to make themselves by degrees what they would be: for they not only surpassing the provincial bishops in wealth and repute, but having power in court, who dared to pull a feather with them, or to withstand their encroachments? What wise man would not rather bear much, than contest upon such disadvantages, and without probable grounds of success?

16. Princes who favoured them with such concessions, and abetted their undertakings, did not foresee what such increase of power in time would arise to; or suspect the prejudice thence done to imperial authority. They little thought that in virtue thereof popes would check and mate princes, or would claim superiority over them: for the popes at that time did behave and express themselves with modesty and respect to emperors.

17. Power once rooted doth find seasons and favourable junctures for its growth; the which it will be intent to embrace.

The confusions of things, the eruptions of barbarians, the straits of emperors, the contentions of princes, &c. did all turn to account for him; and in confusion of things he did snatch what he could to himself.

The declination and infirmity of the Roman empire gave him opportunity to strengthen his interests, either by closing with it, so as to gain somewhat by its concession; or by opposing it, so as to head a faction against it. As he often had opportunity to promote the designs of emperors and princes, so those did return to him increase of authority; so they trucked and bartered together. For when princes were in straits, or did need assistance (from his reputation at home) to the furtherance of their designs, or support of their interest in Italy, they were content to honour him, and grant what he desired: as in the case of Acacius, which had caused so long a breach, the emperor, to engage pope Hormisdas, did consent to his will. And at the Florentine synod, the emperor did bow to the pope's terms, in hopes to get his assistance against the Turks.

When the eastern emperors, by his means chiefly, were driven out of Italy, he snatched a good part of it to himself, and set up for a temporal prince [s].

When princes did clash, he, by yielding countenance to one side, would be sure to make a good market for himself: for this pretended successor to the fisherman was really skilled to angle in troubled waters.

They have been the incendiaries of Christendom,

[s] Δρυὸς πεσούσης πᾶς ἀνὴρ ξυλίζεται——. When the oak is fallen, every one gets some wood.

Anast. in Vit. Zach. P. Nich. I. Ep. 25, 30, &c.

the kindlers and fomenters of war; and would often stir up wars; and inclining to the stronger part, would share with the conqueror; as when he stirred up Charles against the Lombards. They would, upon spiritual pretence, be interposing in all affairs[t].

He did oblige princes by abetting their cause when it was unjust or weak; his spiritual authority satisfying their conscience: whence he was sure to receive good acknowledgment and recompense. As

An. 752. when he did allow Pepin's usurpation.

He pretended to dispose of kingdoms, and to constitute princes; reserving obeisance to himself. Gre-

An. 1060. gory VII. granted to Robert Guislard Naples and

An. 1139. Sicily, *beneficiario jure*. Innocent II. gave to Roger the title of king.

There is scarce any kingdom in Europe which he hath not claimed the sovereignty of, by some pretence or other. Princes sometime, for quiet sake, have desired the pope's consent and allowance of things appertaining of right to themselves, whence the pope took advantage to claim an original right of disposing such things.

The proceeding of the pope upon occasion of wars is remarkable: when he did enter league with a prince, to side with him in a war against another, he did covenant to prosecute the enemy with spiritual arms, (that is, with excommunications and interdicts,) engaging his confederates to use temporal arms. So making ecclesiastical censures tools of interest.

[t] Non sine suspicione, quod illorum temporum pontifices, qui bella extinguere, discordias tollere debuissent, suscitarent ea potius atque nutrirent. *Modruviensis Episc. in Conc. Lat. sub Leone X.* sess. vi. (p. 72.)

When princes were in difficulties, (by the mutinous disposition of princes, the emulation of antagonists,) he would, as served his interest, interpose; hooking in some advantage to himself.

In the tumults against our king John, he struck in, and would have drawn the kingdom to himself.

He would watch opportunity to quarrel with princes, upon pretence they did intrench on his spiritual power: as about the point of the investiture of bishops, and receiving homage from them.

Gregory VII. did excommunicate	Hen. III. (an. 1076.)
Calixtus II. - - -	Hen. IV. (an. 1120.)
Adrian IV. - - -	Fred. (an. 1160.)
Celestinus III. - - -	Hen. V. (an. 1195.)
Innocent III. - - -	Otho (an. 1219.)
Honorius III. and Gregory IX.	Fred. II. (an. 1220.)
Innocent IV. in the Lugd. Conc.	(1245.)

18. The ignorance of times did him great service: for then all the little learning which was, being in his clients and factors, they could instil what they pleased into the credulous people. Then his dictates would pass for infallible oracles, and his decrees for inviolable laws: whence his veneration was exceedingly increased.

19. He was forward to support factious churchmen against princes, upon pretence of spiritual interest and liberty. And usually by his importunity and arts getting the better in such contests, he thereby did much strengthen his authority.

Anselme an. 1109. Becket an. 1154. *Eadmer. Matt. Par.*

20. He making himself the head of all the clergy, and carrying himself as its protector and patron, did engage thereby innumerable most able heads, tongues, and pens, who were devoted to maintain whatever he did, and had little else to do.

21. So great a party he cherished with exorbitant liberties, suffering none to rule over them, or touch them, beside himself.

22. He did found divers militias and bands of spiritual janisaries, to be combatants for his interests; who, depending immediately upon him, subsisting by his charters, enjoying exemptions by his authority from other jurisdictions, being sworn to a special obeisance of him, were entirely at his devotion, ready with all their might to advance his interests, and to maintain all the pretences of their patron and benefactor.

These had great sway among the people, upon account of their religious guises and pretences to extraordinary heights of sanctimony, austerity, contempt of the world. And learning being mostly confined to them, they were the chief teachers and guides of Christendom; so that no wonder if he did challenge and could maintain any thing by their influence.

They did cry up his power, as superior to all others. They did attribute to him titles strangely high, *Vice-god, Spouse of the Church*, &c. strange attributes of *omnipotency, infallibility*, &c.

Pro pallio omnino aliquid dare prohibeo. *Greg. I.* Ep. iv. 44.

23. Whereas wealth is a great sinew of power, he did invent divers ways of drawing great store thereof to himself.

By how many tricks did he proll money from all parts of Christendom? as by

Dispensations for marriage within degrees prohibited, or at uncanonical times; — for vows and oaths; for observance of fasts and abstinences; for pluralities and incompatible benefices, non-residences, &c.

Indulgences, and pardons, and freeing souls from the pains of purgatory.

Reservations, and provisions of benefices, not bestowed *gratis*. Vendit plumbum pro auro.

Consecrated presents; *Agnus Dei's, swords, roses,* &c. Taxa camerariæ.—

Confirmation of bishops; [u]sending palls.

Appeals to his court.

Tributes of *Peter-pence, annates, tithes,*—introduced upon occasion of holy wars, and continued. Peter-pence. *Plat.* p. 257.

Playing fast and loose, tying knots, and undoing them for gain.

Sending legates to drain places of money.

Commutations of penance for money.

Inviting to pilgrimage at Rome.

Hooking in legacies. What a mass of treasure did all this come to! What a trade did he drive! Quantas nobis divitias peperit hæc fabula Christi?

24. He did indeed easily, by the help of his mercenary divines, transform most points of divinity in accommodation to his interests of power, reputation, and gain.

25. Any pretence, how slender soever, will in time get some validity; being fortified by the consent of divers authors, and a current of suitable practice.

Any story serving the designs of a party will get credit by being often told, especially by writers bearing a semblance of gravity; whereof divers will never be wanting to abet a flourishing party.

26. The histories of some ages were composed only by the pope's clients, friars and monks, and such people; which therefore are partial to him, addicted to his interests, and under awe of him.

[u] In the times of Henry I. the bishop of York did pay 10,000*l.* sterling for his pall. *Matt. Par.* (p. 274.)

For a long time none dared open his mouth to question any of his pretences, or reprehend his practices, without being called *heretic*, and treated as such.

27. Whereas the pope had two sorts of opposites to subdue, temporal princes and bishops; his business being to overtop princes and to enslave all bishops, or to invade and usurp the rights of both; he used the help of each to compass his designs on the other; by the authority of princes oppressing bishops, and by the assistance of bishops mating princes.

28. When any body would not do as he would have them, he did incessantly clamour or whine that *St. Peter was injured*[v].

29. The forgery of the Decretal Epistles (wherein the ancient popes are made expressly to speak and act according to some of his highest pretences, devised long after their times, and which they never thought of, good men) did hugely conduce to his purpose; authorizing his encroachments by the suffrage of ancient doctrine and practice: a great part of his canon law is extracted out of these, and grounded on them.

The donation of Constantine, fictitious acts of councils, and the like counterfeit stuff, did help thereto; the which were soon embraced, as we see in pope Gregory II.——

Ἀπάτη τῆς ἀδικίας. 2 Thess. ii. 10. As also legends, fables of miracles, and all such *deceivableness of unrighteousness.*

30. Popes were so cunning as to form grants, and

[v] Quando et apostolica præceptio ad injuriam B. Petri in illis partibus non observatur, et a te spernitur et violatur. *P. Nich. I.* Ep. 37.

impute that to privileges derived from them, which princes did enjoy by right or custom.

Twisd. p. 17. Non necessitatis, sed honoris causa peto. Extortis assentationibus. *P. Leo. Epist. (ad Syn. Chalc.)*

31. Synods of bishops called by him at opportune seasons, consisting of his votaries or slaves. None dared therein to whisper any thing to the prejudice of his authority. He carried whatever he pleased to propose, without check or contradiction. Who dared to question any thing done by such numbers of pastors, styling themselves the *representative of Christendom?*

32. The having hampered all the clergy with strict oaths of universal obedience to him, (beginning about the times of pope Gregory VII.) did greatly assure his power.

33. When intolerable oppressions and exactions did constrain princes to struggle with him, if he could not utterly prevail, things were brought to composition; whereby he was to be sure for that time a gainer, and gained establishment in some points, leaving the rest to be got afterward in more favourable junctures.

Witness the *Concordates* between
- Henry II. and P. Alex. III. an. 1172.
- Edw. III. and P. Greg. XI. an. 1373.
- Henry V. and P. Mart. V. an. 1418.

34. When princes were fain to curb their exorbitances by *Pragmatical Sanctions*, they were restless till they had got those sanctions revoked. And when they found weak princes, or any prince in circumstances advantaging their design, they did obtain their end. So pope Leo X. got Lewis XI. to repeal the *Pragmatical Sanctions* of his ancestors.

35. The power he did assume to absolve men from oaths and vows, to dispense with prohibited marriages, &c. did not only bring much grist to his

mill, but did enable him highly to oblige divers persons (especially great ones) to himself. For to him they owed the quiet of their conscience from scruples; to him they owed the satisfaction of their desires, and legitimation of their issue, and title to their possessions.

36. So the device of indulgences did greatly raise the veneration of him: for who would not adore him, that could loose his bands, and free his soul from long and grievous pains?

SUPPOSITION VI.

The next *Supposition* is this, *That in fact the Roman bishops continually from St. Peter's time have enjoyed and exercised this sovereign power.*

THIS is a question of fact, which will best be decided by a particular consideration of the several branches of sovereign power; that so we may examine the more distinctly whether in all ages the popes have enjoyed and exercised them, or not.

And if we survey the particular branches of sovereignty, we shall find that the pope hath no just title to them, in reason, by valid law, or according to ancient practice; whence each of them doth yield a good argument against his pretences.

I. If the pope were sovereign of the church, he would have power to convocate its supreme councils and judicatories; and would constantly have exercised it.

This power therefore the pope doth claim; and indeed did pretend to it a long time since, before they could obtain to exercise it: [x] *It is manifestly*

[x] Distinct. 17. Cum etiam solum Rom. pontificem pro tempore existentem, tanquam auctoritatem super omnia concilia ha-

pparent, saith pope Leo X. with approbation of is Lateran synod, *that the Roman bishop for the ime being* (*as who hath authority over all councils*) *hath alone the full right and power of indicting, translating, and dissolving councils:* and long efore him, *To the apostolical authority*, said pope drian I.[y] *by our Lord's command, and by the erits of St. Peter, and by the decrees of the holy anons, and of the venerable Fathers, a right and pecial power of convocating synods hath manywise een committed:* and yet before him, [z] *The authorty*, saith pope Pelagius II, *of convocating synods ath been delivered to the apostolical see by the ingular privilege of St. Peter.*

But it is manifest that the pope cannot pretend o this power by virtue of any old ecclesiastical caon, none such being extant or produced by him; or can he allege any ancient custom; there having een no general synod before Constantine: and as) the practice from that time, it is very clear, that ır some ages the popes did not assume or exercise ıch a power, and that it was not taken for their ue. Nothing can be more evident, and it were ĸtreme impudence to deny, that the emperors, at

ɛntem, conciliorum indicendorum, transferendorum ac dissolvenɔrum plenum jus et potestatem habere——manifeste constet. *on. Later.* sess. xi. (p. 152.) ann.

y —— Cui jussione Domini, et meritis B. Petri apostoli, sinılaris congregandarum synodorum authoritas, et sanctorum canoım ac venerandorum Patrum decretis multipliciter privata tradita ıt potestas. *P. Hadrian I. apud Bin.* tom. v. p. 565. (ann. 785.)

z Cum generalium synodorum convocandi auctoritas apostolicæ ɛdi B. Petri singulari privilegio sit tradita ——. *P. Pelag. II.* Ep. . (*Bin.* tom. iv. p. 476.) ann. 587. *Qu.* An hæc epistola sit Pegii II.? Negat Launoius.

their pleasure, and by their authority, did congregate all the first general synods; for so the oldest historians in most express terms do report, so those princes in their edicts did aver, so the synods themselves did declare. The most just and pious emperors, who did bear greatest love to the clergy, and had much respect for the pope, did call them without scruple; it was deemed their right to do it, none did remonstrate against their practice; the Fathers in each synod did refer thereto, with allowance, and commonly with applause; popes themselves did not contest their right, yea commonly did petition them to exercise it.

These things are so clear and so obvious, that it is almost vain to prove them; I shall therefore but touch them.

In general Socrates doth thus attest to the ancient practice; [a] *We*, saith he, *do continually include the emperors in our history, because upon them, ever since they became Christians, ecclesiastical affairs have depended, and the greatest synods have been and are made by their appointment:* and Justinian in his prefatory type to the fifth general council beginneth thus; [b] *It hath been ever the care of pious and orthodox emperors, by the assembling of the most religious bishops, to cut off heresies, as they*

[a] Συνεχῶς καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῇ ἱστορίᾳ περιλαμβάνομεν, διότι ἀφ' οὗ Χριστιανίζειν ἤρξαντο, τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πράγματα ἤρτητο ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ αἱ μέγισται σύνοδοι τῇ αὐτῶν γνώμῃ γεγόνασί τε καὶ γίνονται. Socr. 5. Procem.

[b] Semper studium fuit orthodoxis et piis imperatoribus, pro tempore exortas hæreses per congregationem religiosissimorum episcoporum amputare, et recta fide sincere prædicata in pace sanctam Dei ecclesiam custodire ——. *Justin. in Syn.* 5. *Collat.* i. (p. 209.) Græce p. 368. magis emphatice.

lid spring up; and by the right faith, sincerely reached, to keep the holy church of God in peace: ınd to do this was sq proper to the emperors, that rhen Ruffin did affirm St. Hilary to have been ex-ɔmmunicated in a synod, St. Jerome, to confute iim, did ask; [c] *Tell me, what emperor did command this synod to be congregated?* implying it ɔ be illegal or impossible that a synod should be ɔongregated without the imperial command.

Particularly Eusebius saith of the first Christian ɛmperor, that [d] *as a common bishop appointed by God he did summon synods of God's ministers;* so lid he *command a great number of bishops to meet at Arles,* (for decision of the Donatists' cause;) so lid he also *command* the bishops from all quarters ɔ meet at Tyre, for examination of the affairs con-ɛerning Athanasius; and that he did convocate the ɣreat synod of Nice (the first and most renowned of ıll general synods) all the historians do agree, he lid himself affirm, the Fathers thereof in their syn-ɔdical remonstrances did avow; as we shall here-ıfter, in remarking on the passages of that synod, ɜhew.

The same course did his son Constantius follow, without impediment; for although he was a favour-er of the Arian party, yet did the catholic bishops

[c] Doce——quis imperator hanc synodum jusserit congregari? *Hier.*

[d] Οἷά τις κοινὸς ἐπίσκοπος ἐκ Θεοῦ καθιστάμενος συνόδους τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ λειτουργῶν συνεκρότει. Euseb. de Vit. Const. I. 44. Πλείστους ἐκ διαφόρων καὶ ἀμυθήτων τόπων ἐπισκόπους εἰς τὴν Ἀρελατησίων πόλιν συνελθεῖν ἐκελεύσαμεν. Euseb. Hist. x. 5. Ep. ad Chrestum. Ad Arelatensium civitatem piissimi imperatoris voluntate adducti, say the Fathers in their Epistle to P. Sylvester himself. Vid. Euseb. de Vit. Const. lib. iv. cap. 41, 42, 43, et Socr. i. 28.

readily at his call assemble in the great synods of [e]Sardica, of [f]Ariminum, of [g]Seleucia, of [h]Sirmium, of [i]Milan, &c. Which he out of a great zeal to compose dissensions among the bishops did convocate.

After him the emperor Valentinian, understanding of dissensions about divine matters, to compose them, did indict a synod in Illyricum[k].

A while after, for settlement of the Christian state, (which had been greatly disturbed by the persecution of Julian and of Valens, and by divers factions,) Theodosius I. did [l]*command*, saith Theodoret, *the bishops of his empire to be assembled together at Constantinople;* the which meeting accordingly did make the second general synod: in the congregation of which the pope had so little to do, that Baronius saith it was celebrated against his will.

Afterwards, when Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, affecting to seem wiser than others in explain-

[e] Προσέταξεν εἰς Σαρδικὴν συνδραμεῖν ἐπισκόπους. Theod. ii. 4. Soz. iii. 11. Socr. ii. 16, 20. Athan. tom. i. p. 761. Hil. in Fragm. p. Jubet ex toto orbe apud Sardicam episcopos congregari. *Sulp.* ii. 52.

[f] Ἔκ τε τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ κελεύσεως, καὶ τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας προστάγματος, &c. Syn. Arim. Ep. ad Const. Socr. ii. 37.

[g] Socr. ii. 39. ἦν—γενέσθαι τὸ βασιλέως ἐκέλευσε πρόσταγμα. Ann. 381.

[h] Ὁ βασιλεὺς σύνοδον ἐπισκόπων ἐν τῷ Σιρμίῳ γενέσθαι ἐκέλευσε. Socr. ii. 29. Soz. iv. 6.

[i] Πρόσταγμα δὲ ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ πόλει ποιεῖσθαι τὴν σύνοδον. Socr. i. 36. Soz. iv. 9.

[k] Ἐν μὲν τῷ Ἰλλυρικῷ σύνοδον γενέσθαι προσέταξε. Theod. iv. 7.

[l] Σύνοδον ὁμοδόξων αὐτῷ συνεκάλεσε. Soz. vii. 7. Socr. v. 8. Μόνης τῆς οἰκείας βασιλείας τοὺς ἐπισκόπους εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν συναθροισθῆναι προσέταξεν. Theod. v. 7. Repugnante Damaso celebrata, &c. *Baron.* ann. 553. §. 224.

ng the mystery of Christ's incarnation, had raised a angle to the disturbance of the church; for remov- ıg it, the emperor Theodosius II. did [m]*by his edict ommand the bishops to meet at Ephesus;* who ıere did celebrate the third general council: in ıe beginning of each action it is affirmed, that the mod was [n]*convocated by the imperial decree;* the mod itself doth often profess it; the pope's own gate doth acknowledge it; and so doth Cyril the esident thereof[o].

The same emperor, upon occasion of Eutyches eing condemned at Constantinople, and the stirs ience arising, did indict the second general synod Ephesus, (which proved abortive by the miscar- ages of Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria,) as ap- eareth by his imperial letters to Dioscorus, and the her bishops, summoning them to that synod: [p]*We*

[m] Πρόσταγμα τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν σύνοδον συνιέναι ἐκέλευσεν. Socr. i. 34. Evagr. i. 3.

[n] Ἐκ θεσπίσματος τῶν βασιλέων συγκροτηθεῖσα.

[o] Ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος, ἡ χάριτι Θεοῦ κατὰ τὸ θέσπισμα τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ φιλοχρίστων ἡμῶν βασιλέων συγκροτηθεῖσα. Syn. Eph. Act. i. p. 291. he holy synod assembled by the grace of God, according to the ecree of our most religious emperors, &c. —— ἡ χάριτι Θεοῦ καὶ πνεύματι τοῦ ὑμετέρου κράτους συναχθεῖσα. p. 297. Τὰ προστεταγμένα τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ παρὰ τοῦ ὑμετέρου κράτους, &c. Act. v. p. 347. εἰς ἀθροισθεῖσι κατὰ πρόσταγμα τῶν βασιλέων. p. 404. Ἥντινα σύνοδον οἱ Χριστιανικώτατοι καὶ φιλανθρωπότατοι βασιλεῖς ὥρισαν. Which nod our most Christian and gracious emperors appointed, saith ilip, the pope's legate. *Act.* iii. p. 330. Τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ τῇ κατὰ οῦ χάριν καὶ θέσπισμα τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων καὶ φιλοχρίστων βασιλέων ναχθείσῃ ——. To the holy synod assembled by the grace of od, and the command of our emperors, &c. So do Cyril and emnon inscribe their Epistle. *Act.* iv. p. 337.

[p] Ἐθεσπίσαμεν κατὰ ταῦτο συνελθόντων ὁσιοτάτων, &c.

have decreed, that the most holy bishops meeti together, &c. [q]*After the same manner the oth most reverend bishops were written to, to come the synod.* And as pope Leo doth confess, calli it [r]*the council of bishops, which you* (Theodosi *commanded to be held at Ephesus.*

Ann. 451. The next general synod of Chalcedon was con cated by the authority of the emperor Marcian; is expressed in the beginning of each action[s], as t emperor declareth, as the synod itself, in the fir of its Definition, doth avow; [t]*The holy, great, a œcumenical synod, gathered together by the gra of God and the command of our most dread emp rors*, &c. *has determined as follows.*

Ann. 533. The fifth general synod was also congregated Act. p. 368. Gr. p. 309. Lat. the authority of Justinian I.; and the emperor's l ter authorizing it, beginneth (as we saw before) w an assertion, (backed with a particular enumeratio that all former great synods were called by the sa power: the Fathers themselves do say, that th had [u]*come together according to the will of G and the command of the most pious emperor.* little had the pope to do in it, that, as Baronius hi

[q] Τῷ αὐτῷ τύπῳ ἐγράφη καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐλαβεστάτοις ἐπισκόποις ὧ παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὴν σύνοδον. Syn. Chalc. pars i. p. 53.

[r] Episcopale consilium, quod haberi apud Ephesum præce stis. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 25. (et 24.) *ad Theod.*

[s] Κατὰ θεῖον θέσπισμα συναθροισθεῖσα. Τὴν ἁγίαν ὑμῶν ἠθροίσα σύνοδον. (Act. vi. p. 345.)

[t] Ἡ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος, ἡ κατὰ Θεοῦ χάριν, θέσπισμα τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων καὶ φιλοχρίστων ἡμῶν βασιλέων συναχθε ——ὥρισε τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα. Act. vi. 346.

[u] Pro Dei voluntate, et jussione piissimi imperatoris ad h urbem convenimus. *Collat.* 8.

self telleth us, it was congregated [x] *against his will, or with his resistance.*

The sixth general synod at Constantinople was also indicted by the emperor Constantine Pogonatus; as doth appear by his letters, as is intimated at the entrance of each action, as the synod doth acknowledge, as pope Leo II. (in whose time it was concluded) doth affirm. The synod, in its Definition, as also in its Epistle to pope Agatho, doth inscribe itself, [y] *The holy and œcumenical synod, congregated by the grace of God, and the altogether religious sanction of the most pious and most faithful great emperor Constantine:* and in their Definition they say, [z] *By this doctrine of peace dictated by God, our most gracious emperor, through the divine wisdom being guided, as a defender of the true faith, and an enemy to the false, having gathered us together in this holy and œcumenical synod, has united the whole frame of the church,* &c. In its acclamatory oration to the emperor it saith, Ταῖς θειοτάταις ὑμῶν προστάξεσιν εἴκοντες ὅτε τῆς πρεσβυτάτης καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἀρχιερατικώτατος πρόεδρος καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐλάχιστοι, &c. Act. xviii. p. 271. *We all acquiescing in your most sacred commands;*

[x] Ut quæ resistente Romano pontifice fuerit congregata. *Baron.* nn. 553. §. 219.

[y] Ἡ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος, ἡ κατὰ Θεοῦ χάριν καὶ ἀνυσεβὲς θέσπισμα τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ πιστοτάτου μεγάλου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου συναχθεῖσα. Act. xviii. p. 255, 285. (in Epist. ad P. Agath.)

[z] Ταύτῃ τῇ θεολέκτῳ τῆς εἰρήνης διδασκαλίᾳ θεοσόφως ὁ πραότατος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς ὁδηγούμενος, ὁ τῆς μὲν ὀρθοδοξίας ὑπέρμαχος, τῆς δὲ κακοδοξίας ἀνίμαχος, τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἁγίαν ταύτην καὶ οἰκουμενικὴν ἀθροίσας ὁμήγυριν, τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἅπαν ἥνωσε σύγκριμα. Act. xviii. p. 256. in Definitione synodica.

both the most holy president of (Rome) ***the most ancient and apostolical city, and we the least,*** &c.[a]

These are all the great synods which posterity with clear consent did admit as general: for the next two have been disclaimed by great churches (the seventh by most of the western churches, the eighth by the eastern,) so that even [b]divers popes after them did not reckon them for general councils; and all the rest have been only assemblies of western bishops, celebrated after the breach between the oriental and occidental churches.

Yet even that second synod of Nice, which is called the seventh synod, doth avow itself to have [c]***convened by the emperor's command;*** and in the front of each action, as also of their Synodical Definition, the same style is retained.

Hitherto it is evident, that all general synods were convocated by the imperial authority; and about this matter divers things are observable.

It is observable in how peremptory a manner the emperors did require the bishops to convene at the time and place appointed by them. Constantine, in his letter indicting the synod of Tyre, hath these words; ***If any one presuming to violate our command and sense,*** &c.

Euseb. de Vit. Const. iv. 42. (Vid. in v. p. 30.)

Theodosius II. summoneth the bishops to the

[a] Καὶ γὰρ ἐπέγνωμεν ὅτι ἡ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ ἕκτη σύνοδος, ἥτις κατὰ Θεοῦ χάριν, τῷ βασιλικῷ προστάγματι ἔναγχος ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι συνηθροίσθη πόλει ——. P. Leo II. in Ep. ad Con. Imp. p. 305.

[b] P. Joh. VIII. Ep. 247. P. Nic. I. Ep. 7, 8, 10. P. Hadr. II. Ep. 26.

[c] Πᾶσα ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἡ κατ' εὐδοκίαν Θεοῦ, προστάξει τε τῆς φιλοχρίστου ὑμῶν βασιλείας συνελθοῦσα. Act. vii. p. 831. i. 519. ii. 551. iii. 586. iv. 609. v. 696. vi. 722. vii. 812. Defin. Synod. Act. vii. p. 817.

Ephesine synod in these terms; [d] *We, taking a great deal of care about these things, will not suffer any one, if he be absent, to go unpunished; nor shall he find excuse either with God or us, who presently without delay does not by the time set appear in the place appointed.*

In like terms did he call them to the second Ephesine synod; [d] *If any one shall choose to neglect meeting in a synod so necessary and grateful to God, and by the set time do not with all diligence appear in the place appointed, he shall find no excuse,* &c.

Marcian thus indicteth the synod of Nice, (after by him translated to Chalcedon;) [e] *It properly seemeth good to our clemency, that an holy synod meet in the city of Nice, in the province of Bithynia.*

Again we may observe, that in the imperial edicts, or epistles, whereby councils effectually were convened, there is nothing signified concerning the pope's having any authority to call them; it is not as by license from the pope's holiness, but in their own name and authority they act: which were very

[d] Καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ τούτων πολλὴν ποιούμενοι φροντίδα ἀπολιμπάνεσθαι οὐδένα φορητῶς ἀνεξόμεθα· οὐδεμίαν τε ἕξει πρὸς Θεὸν, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπολογίαν, ὁ μὴ παραχρῆμα κατὰ τὸν προειρημένον καιρὸν, εἰς τὸν ἀφορισθέντα τόπον σπουδαίως παραγενόμενος. Theod. Jun. Ep. ad Cyril. Conc. Eph. pars i. p. 2, 6.

[d] Εἰ δέ τις τὴν οὕτως ἀναγκαίαν καὶ τῷ Θεῷ φίλην παριδεῖν ἕλοιτο σύνοδον, καὶ μὴ πάσῃ δυνάμει κατὰ τὸν προειρημένον καιρὸν τὸν ἀφορισθέντα καταλάβοι τόπον, οὐδεμίαν ἕξει πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον, ἢ πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν εὐσέβειαν ἀπολογίαν. Theod. in Ep. ad Diosc. in Conc. Chalc. Act. i. p. 53.

[e] Τοῦτο ἰδικῶς τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἤρεσεν ἡμερότητι, ἵνα ἁγία σύνοδος ἐν τῇ Νικαιέων πόλει τῆς Βιθυνῶν ἐπαρχίας συγκροτηθῇ. In Epist. ad Episc. Syn. Chalc. pars i. p. 34.

strange, if the popes had any plea then commonly approved for such a power.

As commonly emperors did call synods by the suggestion of other bishops[f], so again there be divers instances of popes applying themselves to the emperors with petitions to indict synods; wherein sometimes they prevailed, sometimes they were disappointed: so pope Liberius did request of Constantius to indict a synod for deciding the cause of Athanasius. [g] *Ecclesiastical judgment* (said he, as Theodoret reports) *should be made with great equity: wherefore, if it please your piety, command a judicatory to be constituted:* and in his Epistle to Hosius, produced by Baronius, he saith, [h] *Many bishops out of Italy met together, who together with me had beseeched the most religious emperor that he would command, as he had thought fit, the council of Aquileia to meet.*

So pope Damasus, having a desire that a general synod should be celebrated in Italy for repressing heresies and factions then in the church, did obtain the imperial letters for that purpose directed to the eastern bishops, as they in their epistle to the western bishops do intimate: [i] *But because expressing*

[f] Κύριλλος——εἰκότως ἐδέησε νεύμασι τοῦ νέου Θεοδοσίου τὰ σκῆπτρα τῆς ἑώας διέποντος τὴν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πρώτην σύνοδον ἁλισθῆναι. Evagr. i. 3.

[g] Διόπερ εἴ σου δοκεῖ τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, κριτήριον συσταθῆναι κέλευσον. Theod. ii. 16.

[h] Multi ex Italia episcopi convenerunt, qui mecum religiosissimum imperatorem fuerant deprecati, ut juberet sicut ipsi placuerat, dudum concilium Aquileiense congregari. *Baron.* ann. 353. §. 19.

[i] Ἐπειδὰν μέντοι τὴν ἀδελφικὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀγάπην ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, σύνοδον ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης Θεοῦ βουλήσει συγκροτοῦντες, καὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς οἰκεῖα μέλη

[a] brotherly affection toward us, ye have called us, as your own members, by the most pious emperor's letters, to that synod which by the will of God ye are gathering at Rome.

It is a wonder that Bellarmine should have the confidence to allege this passage for himself. Bell. de Pont. R. ii. 13.

So again pope Innocent I. being desirous to restore St. Chrysostom, [k] *did,* as Sozomen telleth us, *send five bishops and two priests of the Roman church to Honorius, and to Arcadius the emperor, requesting a synod, with the time and the place thereof:* in which attempt he suffered a repulse; for the courtiers of Arcadius did repel those agents, [l] *as troubling another government, which was beyond their bounds,* or wherein the pope had nothing to do that they knew of.

So also pope Leo I.[m] (whom no pope could well exceed in zeal to maintain the privileges and advance the eminence of his see) did in these terms request Theodosius to indict a synod; [n] *Whence if your piety shall vouchsafe consent to our suggestion and supplication, that you would command an episco-*

προσεκαλέσασθε, διὰ τῶν τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως γραμμάτων. Theod. v. 9.

[k] Πέπομφεν ἐπισκόπους πέντε καὶ πρεσβυτέρους δύο τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας πρὸς Ὀνώριον, καὶ Ἀρκάδιον τὸν βασιλέα, σύνοδον αἰτήσοντας, καὶ καιρὸν ταύτης καὶ τόπον. Soz. viii. 28.

[l] Ὡς ὑπερορίαν ἀρχὴν ἐνοχλήσαντας. Ibid.

[m] Humiliter ac sapienter exposcite, ut petitioni nostræ, qua plenariam indici synodum postulamus, clementissimus imperator dignetur annuere, (saith pope Leo, to the clergy and people of Constantinople, *Ep.* 23.)

[n] Unde si pietas vestra suggestioni ac supplicationi nostræ dignetur annuere, ut intra Italiam haberi jubeatis episcopale concilium, cito auxiliante Deo poterunt omnia scandala resecari. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 9.

pal council to be held in Italy; soon, God aidin may all scandals be cut off. Upon this occasi the emperor did appoint a council (not in Ital according to the pope's desire, but) at Ephesu the which not succeeding well, pope Leo again d address to Theodosius in these words; [n]*All t churches of our parts, all bishops with groans a tears, do supplicate your grace, that you wou command a general synod to be celebrated with Italy.* To which request (although backed wi the desire of the western emperor) Theodosius wou by no means consent: for, as Leontius reportet [o]*when Valentinian, being importuned by po Leo, did write to Theodosius II. that he wou procure another synod to be held for examinin whether Dioscorus had judged rightly or no, Th odosius did write back to him, saying, I shall ma no other synod.*

The same pope did again of the same empe petition for a synod to examine the cause of A tolius, bishop of Constantinople; *Let your clemei* saith he, *be pleased to grant an universal cou to be held in Italy; as with me the synod, w for this cause did meet at Rome, doth req* Thus did that pope continually harp upon string, to get a general synod to be celebrat his own doors; but never could obtain his pu the emperor being stiff in refusing it.

[n] Omnes partium ecclesiæ nostrarum, omnes mansueti stræ cum gemitibus et lacrymis supplicant sacerdotes, ut lem synodum jubeatis intra Italiam celebrari. *P. Leo I.*

[o] Οὐαλεντινιανὸς ὀχλούμενος ὑπὸ Λέοντος τοῦ πάπα γράφει Θ μικρῷ, ἵνα ἐπιτρέψῃ σύνοδον γενέσθαι, εἰς τὸ γνῶναι εἰ καλῶς ἔκρι κορος ἢ οὐ· ὁ δὲ Θεοδόσιος ἀντέγραφεν αὐτῷ λέγων, ὅτι οὐ ποιῶ οδον. Leont. de Sect. Act. 4.

The same pope, with better success, (as [p]to the thing, though not as to the place,) did request of the emperor Marcian a synod; for he (concurring in opinion that it was needful) [q]*did*, saith Liberatus, *at the petition of the pope and the Roman princes, ommand a general council to be congregated at Vice.*

Now if the pope had himself a known right to onvocate synods, what needed all this supplication, r this application to the emperors? Would not the ope have endeavoured to exercise his authority? ould he not have clamoured or whined at any nterruption thereof? Would so spiritful and sturdy pope as Leo have begged that to be done by nother which he had authority to do of himself, hen he did apprehend so great necessity for it, and as so much provoked thereto? would he not at east have remonstrated against the injury therein one to him by Theodosius?

Fortissimus Leo. *Liber.* cap. 12.

All that this daring pope could adventure at was o wind in a pretence, that the synod of Chalcedon as congregated by his consent; for, [r]*It hath been*

[p] Sanctum clementiæ vestræ studium, quo ad reparationem acis ecclesiasticæ synodum habere voluistis, adeo libenter accepi, t quamvis eam fieri intra Italiam poposcissem, &c. *Leo*, Ep. 50. oposceram quidem a gloriosissima clementia vestra, ut synodum, uam pro reparanda orientalis ecclesiæ pace a nobis etiam petiam necessariam judicastis, aliquantisper differri ad tempus oportunius juberetis——. *P. Leo*, Ep. 43, 44, 50.

[q] Sed eo defuncto, cum Martianus imperii culmen fuisset adeptus, pro illa papæ et principum Romanorum petitione universale concilium in Nicena congregari jussit. *Lib. Brev.* cap. 13.

[r] —— in causa fidei, propter quam generale concilium et ex præcepto Christianorum principum, et ex consensu apostolicæ edis placuit congregari. *Ep.* 61.

the pleasure (of whom? I pray) *that a general council should be congregated, both by the command of the Christian princes, and with the consent of the apostolic see*, saith he very cunningly = yet not so cunningly, but that any other bishop might have said the same for his see.

This power indeed upon many just accounts peculiarly doth belong to princes; it suiteth to the dignity of their state, it appertaineth to their duty, they are most able to discharge it. They are the guardians of public tranquillity, which constantly is endangered, which commonly is violated, by dissensions in religious matters; (whence we must
1 Tim. ii. 2. pray for them, that by their care *we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty;*) they alone can authorize their subjects to take such journeys, or to meet in such assemblies; they alone can well cause the expenses needful for holding synods to be exacted and defrayed; they alone can protect them, can maintain order and peace in them, can procure observance to their determinations; they alone have a sword to constrain resty and refractory persons (and in no cases are men so apt to be such as in debates about these matters) to convene, to confer peaceably, to agree,
Isa. xlix. 23. Wisd. vi. 4. Rom. xiii. 3. to observe what is settled; they, as *nursing fathers of the church*, as *ministers of God's kingdom*, as *encouragers of all good works*, as the stewards of God, intrusted with the great talents of power, dignity, wealth, enabling them to serve God, are obliged to cause bishops in such cases to perform their duty; according to the example of good princes in holy scripture, who are commended for proceedings of this nature: for so king Josias did convocate

general synod of the church in his time; *Then,* with the text, *the king sent, and gathered together all the elders of Judah and Jerusalem:* in this synod he presided, *standing in his place, and making a covenant before the Lord;* its resolutions he confirmed, *causing all that were present in Jerusalem and Benjamin to stand to that covenant;* and he took care of their execution, *making all present in Israel effectually to serve the Lord their God.* 2 Chron. xxxiv. 29, &c.

So also did king Hezekiah *gather the priests and Levites together,* did warn, did command them to do their duty, and reform things in the church; *My sons,* said he, *be not now negligent; for the Lord hath chosen you to stand before him, to serve him, and that ye should minister unto him, and burn incense.* 2 Chron. xxix. 4, 15, 20, 21, &c. ver. 11.

Beside them none other can have reasonable preence to such a power, or can well be deemed able o manage it: so great an authority cannot be exrcised upon the subjects of any prince, without clipsing his majesty, infringing his natural right, nd endangering his state. He that at his pleasure an summon all Christian pastors, and make them rot about, and hold them when he will, is in effect mperor, or in a fair way to make himself so. It is ot fit therefore that any other person should have ll the governors of the church at his beck, so as to raw them from remote places whither he pleaseth; o put them on long and chargeable journeys; to deain them from their charge; to set them on what eliberations and debates he thinketh good. It is ot reasonable that any one, without the leave of rinces, should authorize so great conventions of

men, having such interest and sway; it is not safe that any one should have such dependencies on him, by which he may be tempted to clash with princes, and withdraw his subjects from their due obedience. Neither can any success be well expected from the use of such authority by any, who hath not power by which he can force bishops to convene, to resolve, to obey; whence we see that Constantine, who was a prince so gentle and friendly to the clergy, was put to threaten those bishops who would absent themselves from the synod indicted by him at Tyre; and Theodosius[s] (also *a very mild and religious prince*) did the like in his summoning the two Ephesine synods. We likewise may observe, that when the *pope and western bishops*, in a synodical Epistle, [t]*did invite those of the east to a great synod indicted at Rome, these did refuse the journey, alleging that it would be to no good purpose:* so also when the western bishops did call those of the east, for resolving the difference between Flavianus and Paulinus, both pretending to be bishops of Antioch, what effect had their summons? And so will they always or often be ready to say, who are called at the pleasure of those who want force to constrain them: so that such authority in unarmed hands (and God keep arms out of the pope's hands) will be only a source of discords.

[s] Τῇ πραότητι καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀληθῶς ἱερωμένους ἐνίκα. —— ὁ βασιλεὺς Θεοδόσιος πραΰς σφόδρα παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ὄντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Socr. vii. 42.

[t] Τὴν ἀποδημίαν παρῃτήσαντο ὡς οὐδὲν ἔχουσαν κέρδος. Theod. v. 8. Ἔγραψεν αὐτοί τε, καὶ Γρατιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς, συγκαλοῦντες εἰς τὴν δύσιν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐπισκόπους. Soz. vii. 11. Both they and Gratian the emperor wrote, calling the eastern bishops into the west.

Either the pope is a subject, as he was in the first times, and then it were too great a presumption for him to claim such a power over his fellow-subjects in prejudice to his sovereign; (nor indeed did he presume so far, until he had in a manner shaken off subjection to the emperor;) or he is not a subject; and then it is not reasonable that he should have such power in the territories of another prince.

The whole business of general synods was an expedient for peace, contrived by emperors, and so to be regulated by their order. Hence even in times and places where the pope was most reverenced, yet princes were jealous of suffering the pope to exercise such a power over the bishops their subjects; and to obviate it, did command all bishops not to stir out of their territories without license; particularly our own nation, in the council at Clarendon, where it was decreed, [u] *That they should not go out of the kingdom without the king's leave.* Philip of France. *Bin.* tom. vii. p. 906. (an. 1302.)

To some things above said, a passage may be objected which occurreth in the acclamation of the sixth synod to the emperor Constantine Pogonatus; wherein it is said, that [x] Constantine and Sylvester did collect the synod of Nice; Theodosius I. and Damasus, (together with Gregory and Nectarius,)

[u] Decretum est——non licere——exire regnum absque licentia regis. *Conc. Clarend.* Vid. *Matt. Par.* ann. 1164.

[x] Syn. Sext. Act. xviii. p. 272. Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ ἀεισέβαστος, καὶ Σίλβεστρος ὁ ἀοίδιμος τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ μεγάλην τε καὶ περίβλεπτον συνέλεγεν σύνοδον. —— ἀλλ' ὁ μέγιστος βασιλεὺς Θεοδόσιος, καὶ Δάμασος ὁ ἀδάμας τῆς πίστεως——Γρηγόριός τε καὶ Νεκτάριος τὸν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ βασιλίδι πόλει συνήθροιζον σύλλογον. Πάλιν Νεστόριος, καὶ πάλιν Κελεστῖνος, καὶ Κύριλλος, ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὸν Χριστὸν διήρει, καὶ κατεδίχαζεν, οἱ δὲ τῷ δεσπότῃ συλλαμβανόμενοι σὺν τῷ τῶν σκήπτρων δεσπόζοντι τὸν κατατομέα κατέβαλ-

the synod of Constantinople; Theodosius II. with Celestine and Cyril, the Ephesine synod: and so of the rest. To which I answer, that the Fathers mean only for the honour of those prelates to signify, that they in their places and ways did concur and cooperate to the celebration of those synods; otherwise we might, as to matter of fact and history, contest the accurateness of their relation; and it is observable, that they join other great bishops, then flourishing, with the popes; so that if their suffrage prove any thing, it proveth more than our adversaries would have, viz. that all great bishops and patriarchs have a power or right to convocate synods.

As for passages alleged by our adversaries, that no synod could be called, or ecclesiastical law enacted, without consent of the pope, they are nowise pertinent to this question; for we do not deny that the pope had a right to sit in every general synod; and every other patriarch at least had no less; [y] as all reason and practice do shew; and as they of the seventh synod do suppose, arguing the synod of Constantinople, which condemned the worship of images, to be no general council, [z] *because it had not the pope's cooperation, nor the consent of the eastern patriarchs.* Syncellus, the patriarch of Jerusalem's legate in the eighth synod, says, [a] *For this*

[y] Ἀναγνωσθέντων τίνων συνοδικῶν τῶν διαγορευόντων μὴ δεῖν γίνεσθαι ποτὲ σύνοδον οἰκουμενικὴν παρεκτὸς συμφωνίας τῶν λοιπῶν ἁγιωτάτων πατριάρχων. Anteacta Syn. Nic. II. p. 518.

[z] Οὐκ ἔσχε συνεργὸν τὸν τηνικαῦτα τῆς Ῥωμαίων πάπαν——καθὼς νόμος ἐστὶ ταῖς συνόδοις· ἀλλ' οὔτε συμφρονοῦντας αὐτὴ τοὺς πατριάρχας τῆς ἕω, &c. Syn. 7. Act. vi. p. 725.

[a] Διὰ τοῦτο τὰς πατριαρχικὰς κεφαλὰς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἔθετο τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ

reason did the Holy Spirit set up patriarchs in the world, that they might suppress scandals arising in the church of God: and Photius is in the same synod told, [b] ***That the judgment passed against him was most equal and impartial, as proceeding not from one, but all the four patriarchs.***

That a general synod doth not need a pope to call it, or preside in it, appeareth by what the synods of Pisa and Constance define, for provision in time of schisms. Sess. xxxix. (p. 1109.)

II. It inseparably doth belong to sovereigns in the general assemblies of their states to preside, and moderate affairs; proposing what they judge fit to be consulted or debated; stopping what seemeth unfit to be moved; keeping proceedings within order and rule, and steering them to a good issue; checking disorders and irregularities, which the distemper or indiscretion of any persons may create in deliberations or disputes.

This privilege therefore the pope doth claim; not allowing any general council to be legitimate, wherein he in person, or by his legates, doth not preside and sway. [c] ***All catholics,*** says Bellarmine, ***teach this to be the chief pontiff's proper office, that either in person or by his legate he preside, and as chief judge moderate all.***

But for this prerogative no express grant from

ἅγιον, ἵνα τὰ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναφυόμενα σκάνδαλα δι' αὐτῶν ἀναφαιρίζωνται. Syn. 8. Act. i. p. 930.

[b] Ἀπροσωπόληπτος ἡ κρίσις, ὡς οὐκ ἐξ ἑνὸς μόνου θρόνου, ἀλλὰ τῶν τεσσάρων πατριαρχικῶν γινομένη. Act. v. p. 945.

[c] Catholici omnes id munus proprium esse docent summi pontificis, ut per se, vel per legatos præsideat, et tanquam supremus judex omnia moderetur. *Bell. de Conc.* i. 19.

God, no ancient canon of the church, no certain custom can be produced.

Nor doth ancient practice favour the pope's claim to such a prerogative, it appearing that he did not exercise it in the first general synods.

Act. xv. St. Peter himself did not preside in the apostolical synod at Jerusalem, where he was present; but rather St. James, as we before have shewed.

In all the first synods, convocated by emperors, they did either themselves in person, or by honourable persons authorized by them, in effect preside, governing the proceedings.

In the synod of Nice, Constantine was the chief manager, director, and moderator of the transactions; and under him other chief bishops did preside; but that the pope's legates had any considerable influence or sway there, doth by no evidence appear, as we shall hereafter out of history declare.

Προεδίδου τὸν λόγον τοῖς προεδρεύουσι. Euseb. iii. 13.

In the synod of Sardica, (which in design was a general council, but in effect did not prove so, being divided by a schism into two great parts,) Hosius, bishop of Corduba, did preside, or (by reason of his age and venerable worth) had the first place assigned to him, and bore the office of prolocutor; so the synod itself doth imply; [d]*All we bishops* (say they in their catholic Epistle) *meeting together, and especially the most ancient Hosius, who for his age, and for his confession, and for that he hath undergone so much pains, is worthy all reverence:* so Athanasius expressly doth call him;

[d] Πάντων ἡμῶν συνελθόντων ἐπισκόπων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ εὐγηροτάτου Ὁσίου, τοῦ καὶ διὰ τὸν χρόνον, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν, καὶ διὰ τὸν τοσοῦτον κάματον ὑπομεμενηκέναι, πάσης αἰδοῦς ἄξιον τυγχάνοντος, &c. Athan. Apol. ii. p. 761.

he holy synod, saith he, *the prolocutor of which s the great Hosius, presently sent to them*, &c. e canons of the synod intimate the same, wherein proposeth matters, and asketh the pleasure of the iod: the same is confirmed by the subscriptions their general Epistle, wherein he is set before ɔe Julius himself; ([f]*Hosius from Spain, Julius Rome, by the presbyters Archidamus and Phi-enus.*) In this all ecclesiastical histories do agree; ıe speaking of the pope's presiding there by his ates.

[n the second general synod at Constantinople pope had plainly no stroke; the oriental bishops ne did there resolve on matters, [g]*being headed* by ir patriarchs, (of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jeru-ɜm,) as Sozomen saith; *being guided by Necta-s and St. Gregory Nazianzen*, as the council of alcedon in its Epistle to the emperor doth aver.

[n the third general synod at Ephesus, Cyril, bi-p of Alexandria, did preside, as pope Leo himself h testify: he is called [h]*the head of it*, in the ts.

Εὐθὺς ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος, ἧς προήγορος ἦν ὁ μέγας Ὅσιος, ἔγραψεν αὐτοῖς, Athan. ad Solit. p. 819. Ἀμέλει Ὅσιος, καὶ πρωτογένης, οἳ τότε χον ἄρχοντες τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως ἐν Σαρδικῇ συνεληλυθότων——. Soz. 13. Τῶν ἐν Σαρδικῇ συνεληλυθότων πρωτεύσας. Theod. ii. 15. μὲν Ὅσιος ἐξῆρχε τῆς γνώμης——. Syn. Chalc. ad Imp. Marc. 68.

Ὅσιος ἀπὸ Σπανίας, Ἰούλιος Ῥώμης δι' Ἀρχιδάμου, καὶ Φιλοξένου πρε-έρων, &c. apud Athan. p. 767.

Baron. ann. 553. §. 224. Ἡγοῦντο. Soz. vii. 7. Τῶν δὲ Νεκτά-τιν Γρηγορίῳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἤρατο. Conc. Chalc. in Epist. ad Imp. c. (p. 469.)

Prioris Ephesinæ synodi, cui sanctæ memoriæ Cyrillus epi-us tunc præsedit. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 47. Κεφαλὴ τῶν συνειλεγμένων τάτων ἐπισκόπων Κύριλλος. Relat. Act. Eph. cap. 60.

Digress. We may note, that the bishop of the place where the synod is held did bear a kind of presidency in all synods; so did St. James, bishop of Jerusalem, in the first synod, as St. Chrysostom noteth; so did Protogenes at Sardica, and Nectarius at Constantinople, and Memnon in this of Ephesus.

It is true, that according to the acts of that synod, and the reports of divers historians, pope Celestine (according to a new politic device of popes) did authorize Cyril to represent his person, and act as his proctor in those affairs; assigning to him, as he saith, *jointly, both the authority of his throne,* (that is, his right of voting,) *and the order of his place,* (the first place in sitting;) but it is not consequent thence, that Cyril upon that sole account did preside in the synod[i]. He thereby had the disposal of one so considerable suffrage, or a legal concurrence of the pope with him in his actings; he thereby might pretend to the first place of sitting and subscribing, (which kind of advantages it appeareth that some bishops had in synods by the virtue of the like substitution in the place of others,) but he thence could have no authoritative presidency; for that the pope himself could by no delegation impart, having himself no title thereto warranted by any law or by any precedent; that depended on the emperor's will, or on the election of the Fathers, or on a tacit regard to personal eminence in comparison to others present: this distinc-

[i] Συναφθείσης σοι τῆς αὐθεντίας τοῦ ἡμετέρου θρόνου, καὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τῶ τόπου διαδοχῇ. Celest. ad Cyril. Relat. cap. 16. *N.* Yet the Fathers in their Epistle to pope Celestine do only take notice of Arcadius, Projectus, and Philippus supplying his place. *Act.* p. 353.

ion Evagrius seemeth to intimate, when he saith, hat the divine Cyril did [k]*administer it, and the lace of Celestine,* (where a word seemeth to have allen out:) and Zonaras more plainly doth express, aying, that [l]*Cyril, pope of Alexandria, did preide over the orthodox Fathers, and also did hold he place of Celestine:* and Photius; [m]*Cyril did upply the seat and the person of Celestine.* If ny latter historians do confound these things, we re not obliged to comply with their ignorance or nistake.

Indeed as to presidency there we may observe, hat sometime it is attributed to Cyril alone, as eing the first bishop present, and bearing a great way; sometimes to pope Celestine, as being in reresentation present, and being the first bishop of he church in order; sometimes to both Cyril and elestine; sometimes to Cyril, and Memnon, bishop f Ephesus, who, as being very active, and having reat influence on the proceedings, are styled the residents and rulers of the synod[n]. The which

[k] Κυρίλλου τοῦ θεσπεσίου διέποντος καὶ τὸν Κελεστίνου τόπον. Evagr. i. 4.

[l] Προισταμένου τῶν ὀρθοδόξων πατέρων τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Κυρίλλου πάπα Ἀλεξανδρείας, ἐπέχοντος δὲ καὶ τὸν τόπον Κελεστίνου. Zon. in Syn. Eph. an. 1.

[m] Τοῦ Ῥώμης Κελεστίνου ἐπλήρου τὴν καθέδραν καὶ πρόσωπον.

[n] Ἧς ἡγεῖτο ὁ μακάριος πατὴρ ἡμῶν Κύριλλος. Conc. Chalc. Act. iv. . 302. Συνόδου καθηγητής. Cler. Const. in Syn. Eph. p. 418. Cui præfuit Cyrillus. *Syn. Chalc.* Act. i. p. 173. Ἧς ἡγεμόνες οἱ ἁγιώτατοι Κελεστῖνος καὶ Κύριλλος. Syn. Chalc. Defin. in Act. v. p. 338. . p. 300. The bishops of Isauria to the emperor Leo, say, that yril was partaker with pope Celestine, &c. Dum B. Celestino columis ecclesiæ Romanorum particeps ——. *Part.* 3. *Syn. halc.* p. 522. Τῆς συνόδου πρόεδροι. Eph. Act. iv. p. 338. (p. 420, 22.) Πρόεδροι τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Act. v. p. 347. Ἡμέτεροι πρόεδροι. elat. Syn. p. 406. Ἔξαρχοι τῆς συνόδου. Relat. p. 411.

sheweth, that presidency was a lax thing, and no peculiarity in right or usage annexed to the pope; nor did altogether depend on his grant or representation, to which Memnon had no title.

The pope himself and his legates are divers times in the Acts said *συνεδρεύειν*, *to sit together* with the bishops; which confidence doth not well comport with his special right to presidency[o].

Yea, it is observable, that the oriental bishops, which with John of Antioch did oppose the Cyrillian party in that synod, did charge on Cyril, that [p]*he (as if he lived in a time of anarchy) did proceed to all irregularity;* and that [q]*snatching to himself the authority, which neither was given him by the canons, nor by the emperor's sanctions, did rush on to all kind of disorder and unlawfulness*: whence it is evident, that, in the judgment of those bishops, (among whom [r]were divers worthy and excellent persons,) the pope had no right to any authoritative presidency.

This word *presidency* indeed hath an ambiguity, apt to impose on those who do not observe it; for it may be taken for a privilege of precedence, or for authority to govern things: the first kind of presidence the pope without dispute, when present at a synod, would have had among the bishops, (as

[o] Σύνοδος, ἣ συνεδρεύει καὶ ὁ τῆς μεγάλης Ῥώμης ἀρχιεπίσκοπος. Relat. ad Imp. p. 422. Συνεδρευσάντων ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας, &c. Act. ii. p. 322. Τὸν ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον συνεδρεύοντα ἡμῖν. Act. iv. p. 340.

[p] Ὡς ἐν ἀβασιλεύτοις καιροῖς χωρεῖ πρὸς πᾶσαν παρανομίαν——.

[q] Ἁρπάσας ἑαυτῷ τὴν αὐθεντίαν τὴν μήτε παρὰ τῶν κανόνων αὐτῷ δεδομένην, μήτε ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων θεσπισμάτων, ὁρμᾷ πρὸς πᾶν εἶδος ἀταξίας καὶ παρανομίας. Relat. ad Imper. Act. Eph. p. 380.

[r] The bishops of Syria being then the most learned in the world; as John of Antioch doth imply, p. 377.

being the [s]*bishop of the first see*, as the sixth synod calleth him; and [t]*the first of priests*, as Justinian calleth him;) and in his absence his legates might take up his chair, (for in general synods each see had its chair assigned to it, according to its order of dignity by custom.) And according to this sense the patriarchs and chief metropolitans are also often (singly or conjunctly) said to preside, as sitting in one of the first chairs.

But the other kind of presidency was (as those bishops in their complaint against Cyril do imply, and as we shall see in practice) disposed by the emperor, as he saw reason; although usually it was conferred on him, who, among those present, in dignity did precede the rest: this is that authority, *αὐθεντία*, which the Syrian bishops complained against Cyril for assuming to himself, without the emperor's warrant, and whereof we have a notable instance in the next general synod at Ephesus. For,

In the second Ephesine synod, (which in design was a general synod, lawfully convened, for a public cause of determining truth and settling peace in the church; but which by some miscarriages proved abortive,) although the pope had his legates there, yet by the emperor's order Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, did preside; [u]*We*, said Theodosius in his Epistle to him, *do also commit to thy godliness*

[s] Πρωτόθρονος τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Syn. vi. p. 285. Τῶν τε συνθρόνων αὐτῇ μετ' αὐτὴν ἁγιωτάτων πατριαρχῶν. Ibid. p. 297.

[t] Πρῶτος ἱερέων. Justin. Cod. tit. 1.

[u] Καὶ μὴν (συνῆν) καὶ Ἰούλιος ἐπίσκοπος τόπον πληρῶν Λέοντος, τοῦ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης ἐπισκόπου. Evag. i. 10. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων τῶν ἀνηκόντων τῇ νῦν συναθροιζομένῃ συνόδῳ τὴν αὐθεντίαν, καὶ τὰ πρωτεῖα τῇ σῇ θεοσεβείᾳ παρέχομεν. Syn. Chalc. Act. i. p. 59.

the authority and the preeminency of all things appertaining to the synod now assembled: and in the synod of Chalcedon it is said of him, that [u] *he had received the authority of all affairs, and of judgment:* and pope Leo I. in his Epistle to the emperor saith, that Dioscorus did [x] *challenge to himself the principal place;* (insinuating a complaint, that Dioscorus should be preferred before him, although not openly contesting his right.)

The emperor had indeed some reason not to commit the presidency to pope Leo, because he was looked upon as prejudiced in the cause, having declared in favour of Flavianus, against Eutyches; whence Eutyches declined his legate's interessing in the judgment of his cause, saying, [y] *They were suspected to him, because they were entertained by Flavianus with great regard.* And Dioscorus, being bishop of the next see, was taken for more indifferent, and otherwise a person (however afterward it proved) of much integrity and moderation; [z] *He did,* saith the emperor, *shine by the grace of God, both in honesty of life, and orthodoxy of faith:* and Theodoret himself, before those differences arose, doth say of him, that he was by common fame [a] *reported a man adorned with many*

[u] Τὴν ἐξουσίαν πάντων εἰληφὼς πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς κρίσεως. Ibid. p. 160. [v] Ἡς ἔξαρχος καθειστήκει Διόσκορος. Evag. i. 10.

[x] —— Si is qui sibi locum principalem vindicabat, sacerdotalem moderationem custodire voluisset ——. *Leo I.* Ep. 25, 26, &c.

[y] Ὑποπτοί μοι γεγόνασι, &c. Syn. Chalc. Act. i. p. 80.

[z] —— τῇ σῇ ἁγιωσύνῃ ἐκλαμπούσῃ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριν ἐπί τε τῇ τοῦ βίου σεμνότητι, καὶ τῇ ὀρθοτάτῃ πίστει. Theod. Ep. ad Diosc. in Syn. Chalc. Act. i. p. 59.

[a] Πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις εἴδεσιν ἀρετῆς κοσμεῖσθαι τὴν σὴν ἁγιωσύνην

other kinds of virtue, and that especially he was celebrated for his moderation of mind.

It is true, that the legates of pope Leo did take in dudgeon this preferment of Dioscorus; and (if we may give credence to Liberatus) [b]*would not sit down in the synod, because the presession was not given to their holy see;* and afterwards, in the synod of Chalcedon, the pope's legate, Paschasinus[c], (together with other bishops,) did complain that Dioscorus was preferred before the bishop of Constantinople: but notwithstanding those ineffectual mutinies, the emperor's will did take place, and according thereto Dioscorus had (although he did not use it so wisely and justly as he should) the chief managery of things.

It is to be observed, that to other chief bishops the presidency in that synod is also ascribed, by virtue of the emperor's appointment; [d]*Let the most reverend bishops* (say the imperial commissaries in the synod of Chalcedon) *to whom the authoritative management of affairs was by the royal sovereignty granted, speak why the epistle of the most holy archbishop Leo was not read:* and, [e]*You,* say they again, *to whom the power of judging was given:*

ἀκούομεν—οὐκ ἥκιστα δὲ ἅπαντες ἄδουσι τὸ τοῦ φρονήματος μέτριον. Theod. Ep. 60.

[b] Ecclesiæ Romanæ diaconi, vices habentes P. Leonis assidere non passi sunt, eo quod non data fuerit præsessio sanctæ sedi eorum. *Liber.* cap. 12.

[c] Πασχασῖνος εἶπεν—ἡδε ἡμεῖς Θεοῦ θέλοντος Κύριον τὸν Ἀνατόλιον πρῶτον ἔχομεν· οὗτοι πέμπτον ἔταξαν τὸν μακάριον Φλαυιανόν. Syn. Chalc. Act. i. p. 62.

[d] Οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι, οἷς ἡ αὐθεντία τότε τῶν πραττομένων παρὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐδέδοτο κορυφῆς, λεγέτωσαν ——. Ibid. p. 65.

[e] Ὑμεῖς, οἷς ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ δικάζειν ἐδέδοτο ——. Ibid. p. 77.

and of Dioscorus, Juvenalis (bishop of Jerusalem), Thalassius (of Cæsarea), Eusebius (of Ancyra), Eustathius (of Beristus), Basilius (of Seleucia), it is by the same commissioners said, that they [f]*had received the authority, and did govern the synod which was then;* and Elpidius, the emperor's agent in the Ephesine synod itself, did expressly style them *presidents;* and pope Leo himself calleth them [g]*presidents and primates of the synod.*

Whence it appeareth, that at that time, according to common opinion and practice, authoritative presidency was not affixed to the Roman chair.

In the synod of Chalcedon, pope Leo did indeed assume to himself a kind of presidency by his legates[h]; and no wonder that a man of a stout and ardent spirit (impregnated with high conceits of his see, and resolved with all his might to advance its interests, as his legates themselves did in effect declare to the world) should do so; having so favourable a time, by the misbehaviour of Dioscorus and his adherents; against whom the clergy of Constantinople, and other Fathers of the synod, being incensed, were ready to comply with Leo, (who had been the champion and patron of their cause,) in

[f] Τοὺς ἐξουσίαν εἰληφότας, καὶ ἐξάρχοντας τῆς τότε συνόδου ——. Act. ii. p. 202. iv. 288. (Evagr. 24. ἔξαρχοι.) Κοινῆς ἁπάντων φωνῆς συνθεμένης τε καὶ εὐφημησάσης τὴν ὑμῶν τῶν προεδρευσάντων ψῆφον ——. Ibid. p. 70.

[g] Siquidem pene omnes, qui in consensum præsidentium aut traducti fuerant, aut coacti. *Leo.* Ep. 51. Ibi primates synodi nec resistentibus, &c. *P. Leo I. Ep.*

[h] In his fratribus—me synodo vestræ fraternitas existimet præsidere. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 47. Ὧν σὺ μὲν ὡς κεφαλὴ μελῶν ἡγεμόνευες, ἐν τοῖς τὴν σὴν τάξιν ἐπέχουσι. Syn. Chalc. Epist. ad Leon. p. 473.

owing him extraordinary respect, and whatever vantages he could pretend to.

Yet in effect the emperor by his commissioners Act. i. p. 50. 202. ii. 211.
l preside there; they propounding and allowing tters to be discussed; moderating debates by their erlocution, and driving them to an issue; maintaining order and quiet in proceedings; performing se things which the pope's legates at Trent or erwhere, in the height of his power, did under-e.

To them supplicatory addresses were made for cour and redress by persons needing it; as for tance, [i] *Command*, said Eusebius of Dorylæum, *t my supplications may be read.*

Of them leave is requested for time to deliberate; *'ommand*, (saith Atticus, in behalf of other bishops,) *t respite be given, so that within a few days, th a calm mind, and undisturbed reason, those ngs may be formed which shall be pleasing to d and the holy Fathers.*

Accordingly they order the time for consultation; *et*, say they, *the hearing be deferred for five ys, that in the mean time your holiness may meet the house of the most holy archbishop Anatolius, d deliberate in common about the faith, that the ubtful may be instructed.*

Κελεύσατε τὰς δεήσεις τὰς ἐμὰς ἀναγνωσθῆναι. Act. i. p. 50.

Κελεύσατε ἐνδοθῆναι ἡμῖν, ὥστε ἐντὸς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἀκυμάντῳ διανοίᾳ ἀταράχῳ λογισμῷ τὰ τῷ Θεῷ δοκοῦντα καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις πατράσι τυπωθῆναι. Act. i. p. 219.

Ἔτεθήσεται ἡ ἀκρόασις ἕως ἡμερῶν πέντε, ὥστε ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ συνελθὼν ὑμετέραν ἁγιωσύνην εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀνατολίου, κοινῶς περὶ τῆς πίστεως βουλεύσασθαι, ἵνα οἱ ἀμφιβάλλοντες διδαχθῶσι. Act. iv. p. 289.

They were acknowledged judges, and had thanks given them for the issue by persons concerned; [m] *I*, said Eunomius, bishop of Nicomedia, *do thank your honour for your right judgment.* And in the cause between Stephanus and Bassianus concerning their title to the bishopric of Ephesus, they having declared their sense, [n] *the holy synod cried, This is right judgment; Christ hath decided the case, God judgeth by you:* and in the result, upon their declaring their opinion, [o] *the whole synod exclaimed, This is a right judgment, this is a pious order.*

When the bishops, transported with eagerness and passion, did tumultuously clamour, they gravely did check them, saying, [p] *These vulgar exclamations neither become bishops, nor shall advantage the parties.*

—κατὰ συνοδικὴν ἐκυρώσαμεν ψῆφον. Syn. Chalc. ad Leon. Ep. p. 475.

In the great contest about the privileges of the Constantinopolitan see, they did arbitrate and decide the matter, even against the sense and endeavours of the pope's legates; the whole synod concurring with them in these acclamations, [q] *This is a right sentence; we all say these things; these things please us all; things are duly ordered: let the things ordered be held.*

[m] Εὐχαριστῶ τῇ δικαιοκρισίᾳ τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας ὑμῶν. Act. xiii. p. 420.

[n] Ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἐβόησεν, Αὕτη δικαία κρίσις, ὁ Χριστὸς ἐδίκασε τῇ ὑποθέσει, ὁ Θεὸς δι' ὑμῶν δικάζει. Act. xii. p. 409.

[o] Πᾶσα ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἐβόησεν, Αὕτη δικαία κρίσις, οὗτος εὐσεβὴς τύπος. Ibid. p. 414.

[p] Αἱ ἐκβοήσεις αἱ δημοτικαὶ οὔτε ἐπισκόποις πρέπουσιν, οὔτε τὰ μέρη ὠφελήσουσιν. Act. i. p. 55.

[q] Οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι ἐβόησαν, αὕτη δικαία ψῆφος, ταῦτα πάντες λέγομεν, ταῦτα πᾶσιν ἀρέσκει, πάντα δεόντως ἐτυπώθη, τὰ τυπωθέντα κρατείτω. Act. xvi. p. 464.

The pope's legates themselves did avow this authority in them: for, [r] *If*, said Paschasinus, in the case of the Egyptian bishops, *your authority doth command, and ye enjoin that somewhat of humanity be granted to them*, &c.

And in another case, [s] *If*, said the bishops, *supplying the place of the apostolical see, your honours do command, we have an information to suggest.*

Neither is the presidency of these Roman legates expressed in the Conciliar Acts; but they are barely said * συνελθεῖν, (to concur,) and † συνεδρεύειν, (to sit together,) with the other Fathers: and accordingly, although they sometimes talked high, yet it is not observable that they did much there; their presidency was nothing like that at Trent, and in other like papal synods. It may be noted, that the emperor's deputies are always named in the first place, at the entrance of the Acts, before the pope's legates, so that they who directed the notaries were not popish. In effect the emperor was president, though not as a judge of spiritual matters, yet as an orderer of the conciliar transactions; as the synod doth report it to Leo; [t] *The faithful emperors*, said they, *did preside* (or govern it) *for good order sake.*

* Act. v, vii, viii. p. 366.
† Act. ix, xi, xiii, xiv. Act. iii. (p. 230.)

In the fifth general synod, pope Vigilius indeed was moved to be present, and (in his way) to pre-

[r] Εἰ προστάττει ἡ ὑμετέρα ἐξουσία, καὶ κελεύετε τί ποτε αὐτοῖς παρασχεθῆναι φιλανθρωπίας ἐχόμενον ——. Act. iv. p. 315.

[s] Οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι ἐπέσχοντες τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου εἶπον· εἰ προστάττει ἡ ὑμετέρα μεγαλειότης, ἔχομεν διδασκαλίαν ὑποβαλεῖν. Act. xvi. p. 451.

[t] Βασιλεῖς δὲ πιστοὶ πρὸς εὐκοσμίαν ἐξῆρχον. Relat. Syn. ad Leon.

side; but he out of state or policy declined it[u]; wherefore the patriarch of Constantinople was the ecclesiastical president, as in the beginning of every collation doth appear: whence clearly we may infer that the pope's presidency is nowise necessary to the being of a general council.

Πρωταθημένου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου, &c.

In the sixth general synod the emperor in each Act is expressly said to preside, in person or by his deputies; although pope Agatho had his legates there.

In the synod of Constance sometimes the cardinal of Cambray, sometimes of Hostia, did preside, (by order of the synod itself,) and sometimes the king of the Romans did supply that place[x]: so little essential was the pope's presidency to a council deemed even then, when papal authority had mounted to so high a pitch.

Nor is there good reason why the pope should have this privilege, or why this prerogative should be affixed to any one see; so that (if there be cause; as if the pope be unfit, or less fit; if princes or the church cannot confide in him; if he be suspected of prejudice or partiality; if he be party in causes or controversies to be decided; if he do himself need correction) princes may not assign, or the church with allowance of princes may not choose any other president, more proper in their judgment for that

[u] Ideo petimus præsidente nobis vestra beatitudine, sub tranquillitate, et mansuetudine sacerdotali, sanctis propositis evangeliis, communi tractatu, &c. *Coll.* i. p. 212. (*et in Const. Vigil.*)

[x] Dominus Rom. rex indutus vestibus regalibus recessit de sede sua solita, et transivit ad aliam sedem positam in fronte altaris, tanquam præsidens pro tunc in concilio. *Syn. Const.* sess. xiv. (p. 1044.)

ırge: in such cases the public welfare of church
l state is to be regarded.
Were an erroneous pope (as Vigilius or Honorius)
to govern a council, gathered to consult about de-
ing truth in the matter of their error?
Were a lewd pope (as Alexander VI. John XII.
ul III. innumerable such, scandalously vicious)
rthy to preside in a synod convocated to prescribe
ict laws of reformation?
Were a furious, pugnacious pope (as Julius II.
—) apt to moderate an assembly drawn together
settlement of peace?
Were a pope engaged in schism (as many have
en) a proper moderator of a council designed to
ppress schism?
Were a Gregory VII. or an Innocent IV. or a
niface VIII. an allowable manager anywhere of
ıtroversies about the papal authority?
Were now indeed any pope fit to preside in any
ıncil wherein the reformation of the church is
ıcerned, it being notorious that popes, as such,
most need reformation, that they are the great
ıstructors of it, that all Christendom hath a long
ıe a controversy with them for their detaining it
bondage?
In this and many other cases we may reject their
esidency, as implying iniquity, according to the
le of an old pope; [y] *I would know of them, where
ey would have that judgment they pretend, ex-
ıined? What! by themselves? that the same*

[y] Quæro tamen ab his, judicium quod prætendunt, ubinam
sit agitari, an apud ipsos, ut iidem sint inimici, et testes, et
ices? Sed tali judicio nec humana debent committi negotia,
lum divinæ legis integritas. *P. Gel.* Ep. 4.

may be adversaries, witnesses, and judges? To such judgment as this even human affairs are not to be trusted, much less the integrity of the divine law.

It is not reasonable that any person should have such a prerogative, which would be an engine of mischief: for thereby (bearing sway in general assemblies of bishops) he would be enabled and irresistibly tempted to domineer over the world; to abuse princes, and disturb states; to oppress and enslave the church; to obstruct all reformation; to enact laws; to promote and establish errors serviceable to his interests: the which effects of such power exercised by him in the synod of Trent, and in divers other of the later general synods, experience hath declared.

Nic. II. Lugd. Lat. IV. V.

III. If the pope were sovereign of the church, the legislative power, wholly or in part, would belong to him; so far, at least, that no synod, or ecclesiastical consistory, could without his consent determine or prescribe any thing; his approbation would be required to give life and validity to their decrees; he should at least have a negative, so that nothing might pass against his will: this is a most essential ingredient of sovereignty; and is therefore claimed by the pope, who long hath pretended that no decrees of synods are valid without his consent and confirmation.

[z] ***But the decrees made by the holy popes of the***

[z] Decretalia autem, quæ a sanctis pontificibus primæ sedis Romanæ ecclesiæ sunt instituta, cujus auctoritate atque sanctione omnes synodi, et sancta concilia roborantur, et stabilitatem sumunt, cur vos non habere, vel observare dicitis? *Papa Nic. I.* Ep. 6. (*ad Photium.*)

chief see of the Roman church, by whose authority and sanction all synods and holy councils are strengthened and established, why do you say, that you do not receive and observe them?

[a] *Lastly, as you know nothing is accounted valid, or to be received in universal councils, but what the see of St. Peter has approved; so, on the other side, whatever she alone has rejected, that only is rejected.*

[b] *We never read of any synod that was valid, unless it were confirmed by the apostolic authority.*

[c] *We trust no true Christian is now ignorant, that no see is above all the rest more obliged to observe the constitution of each council, which the consent of the universal church hath approved, than the prime see, which by its authority confirms every synod, and by continued moderating preserves them according to its principality,* &c.

But this pretence, as it hath no ground in the divine law, or in any old canon, or in primitive custom; so it doth cross the sentiments and prac-

[a] Denique ut in universalibus conciliis, quid ratum vel quid prorsus acceptum, nisi quod sedes B. Petri probavit (ut ipsi scitis) habetur; sicut e contrario quod ipsa sola reprobavit, hoc solummodo consistat hactenus reprobatum. *P. Nich. I.* Ep. 7.

[b] —— Nulla unquam synodus rata legatur, quæ apostolica auctoritate non fuerit fulta. *P. Pelag. II.* Ep. 8. (*Dist.* 17.)

[c] Confidimus quod nullus jam veraciter Christianus ignoret uniuscujusque synodi constitutum, quod universalis ecclesiæ probavit assensus, non aliquam magis exequi sedem præ cæteris oportere, quam primam; quæ et unamquamque synodum sua auctoritate confirmat, et continuata moderatione custodit, pro suo scilicet principatu, &c. *P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 13. (*ad Episc. Dard.*) Vid. p. 647. Tract. de Anath. God hath promised to bless particular synods. *Matt.* xviii. 19.

tice of antiquity; for that in ancient synods divers things were ordained without the pope's consent, divers things against his pleasure.

What particular or formal confirmation did St. Peter yield to the assembly at Jerusalem?

That in some of the first general synods he was not apprehended to have any negative voice, is by the very tenor and air of things, or by the little regard expressed toward him, sufficiently clear. There is not in the synodical Epistles of Nice or of Sardica any mention of his confirmation.

Interpretatively all those decrees may be supposed to pass without his consent, which do thwart these pretences; for if these are now good, then of old they were known and admitted for such; and being such, we cannot suppose the pope willingly to have consented in derogation to them.

Wherefore the Nicene canons establishing ecclesiastical administrations without regard to him, and in authority equalling other metropolitans with him, may be supposed to pass without his consent.

The canons of the second general council, and of all others confirming those; [c]as also the canons of all synods which advanced the see of Constantinople, his rival for authority, above its former state, first to a proximity in order, then to an equality of privileges with the see of Rome, may, as plainly contrary to his interest and spirit, be supposed to pass without his consent: and so divers popes have

[c] Persuasioni tuæ in nullo penitus suffragatur, quorundam episcoporum ante 60, ut jactas, annos, nunquamque a prædecessoribus tuis ad apostolicæ sedis transmissa notitiam——. *Leo.* Ep. 53. (*ad Anat.*) Conc. Constant. can. 3. Concil. Chalc. can. 9, 17, 28. Syn. Trull. can. 36.

affirmed. If we may believe pope Leo, (as I suppose,) the canons of the second council were not transmitted to Rome: they did therefore pass, and obtain in practice of the catholic church, without its consent or knowledge. Pope Gregory I. saith, [d] *that the Roman church did not admit them;* wherein it plainly discorded with the catholic church, which with all reverence did receive and hold them: and in despite to the canon of that synod, advancing the royal city to that eminency, pope Gelasius I. [e] would not admit it for so much as a metropolitan see. O proud insolency! O contentious frowardness! O rebellious contumacy against the catholic church and its peace! (Such was the humour of that see, to allow nothing which did not suit with the interests of its ambition.)

But further, divers synodical decrees did pass expressly against the pope's mind and will: I pass over those at Tyre, at Antioch, at Ariminum, at Constantinople, in divers places of the east, (the which do yet evince that commonly there was no such opinion entertained of this privilege belonging to the pope,) and shall instance only in general synods.

In the synod of Chalcedon *equal privileges* were assigned to the bishop of Constantinople, as the bishop of Rome had; this with a general concur- Ἴσα πρεσβεῖα. Πάντα ἡ σύνοδος ἐπέτρεψε. (in

[d] Romana autem ecclesia eosdem canones vel gesta synodi illius hactenus non habet, nec accipit; in hoc autem eandem synodum accepit quod est per eam contra Macedonium definitum. *P. Greg. M.* Ep. vi. 31. The same pope Leo I. doth affirm. *Ep.* 53.

[e] —— ejus civitatis quæ non solum inter sedes numeratur, sed nec inter metropolitanorum jura censetur, &c. *P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 13. (*ad Episc. Dard.*)

fine Actorum. p. 464.) rence *was decreed and subscribed,* although the [c]*pope's legates did earnestly resist, clamour, and protest against it;* the imperial commissioners and all the bishops not understanding or not allowing the pope's negative voice.

Ep. 53, 54, 55, 61, 62. And whereas pope Leo (moved with a jealousy, that he who thus had obtained an equal rank with him should aspire to get above him) did fiercely dispute, exclaim, inveigh, menace against this order, striving to defeat it, pretending to annul it, labouring to depress the bishop of Constantinople from that degree, which both himself and his legates in the synod had acknowledged due to him: in which endeavour divers of his successors did imitate him; [f]*Eusebius, bishop of Dorylæum, said, I have willingly subscribed, because I have read this canon to the most holy pope of Rome, the clergy of Constantinople being present, and he received it.*

Yet could not he or they accomplish their design; the veneration of that synod and consent of Christendom overbearing their opposition; the bishop of Constantinople sitting in all the succeeding general synods in the second place, without any contrast;

[c] Inde enim fratres nostri, ab apostolica sede directi, qui vice mea synodo præsidebant, probabiliter atque constanter illicitis ausibus obstiterunt, aperte reclamantes, &c. *Leo I.* Ep. 53, 54. Οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι ἐβόησαν, οὐδεὶς ἠναγκάσθη. (Act. xvi. p. 469. against P. Leo's assertion, that the consent was extorted.) Τὸ ἐκ πολλοῦ κρατῆσαν ἔθος——κατὰ συνοδικὴν ἐκυρώσαμεν ψῆφον, say the Fathers to pope Leo, (p. 475.) By a synodical vote we have confirmed this ancient custom.

[f] Εὐσέβιος ἐπίσκοπος Δορυλαίου εἶπεν· ἑκὼν ὑπέγραψα· ἐπειδὰν καὶ τὸν κανόνα τοῦτον τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ πάπᾳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐγὼ ἀνέγνων, παρόντων κληρικῶν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ ἀπεδέξατο αὐτόν. Syn. Chalc. Act. xvi. (p. 462.) supra.

o that at length popes were fain to acquiesce in he bishop of Constantinople's possession of the se- ond place in dignity among the patriarchs.

In the fifth general synod pope Vigilius did make constitution, in most express terms prohibiting the ondemnation of the *three chapters*, (as they are alled,) and the anathematization of persons de- eased in peace of the church; [g] *We dare not our- elves*, says he, *condemn Theodorus, neither do we ield to have him condemned by any other:* and in he same constitution he orders and decrees, [h] *That othing be said or done by any to the injury or iscredit of Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, a man ost approved in the synod of Chalcedon:* [i] *and he same*, says he, *have the decrees of the apo- tolical see determined, that no man pass a new udgment upon persons dead, but leave them as 'eath found them.* [k] *Lastly, by that constitution e specially provides, that (as he had before said) othing might be derogated from persons dying in he peace and communion of the universal church, y his condemning that perverse opinion.*

[g] Eum (Theodorum) nostra non audemus damnare sententia, ed nec ab alio quopiam condemnari concedimus. *Vig. Const.* . 186.

[h] Statuimus atque decernimus nihil in injuriam atque obtrecta- onem probatissimi in Chalcedonensi synodo viri, hoc est Theo- oreti episcopi Cyri, sub taxatione nominis ejus a quoquam fieri el proferri. *Ibid.*

[i] Idemque regulariter apostolicæ sedis definiunt constituta, ulli licere noviter aliquid de mortuorum judicare personis; sed i hoc relinqui, in quo unumquemque supremus dies invenit——.

[k] Hac præsentis constitutionis dispositione quam maxime pro- demus, ne (sicut supra diximus) personis, quæ in pace et com- munione universalis ecclesiæ quieverunt, sub hac damnati a nobis erversi dogmatis occasione aliquid derogetur. *Ibid.*

Yet did the synod (in smart terms reflecting on the pope, and giving him the lie, not regarding his opinion or authority) decree, that persons deceased were liable to be anathematized; [l] they did anathematize Theodorus, they did expressly condemn each of the *chapters*; they threatened deposition or excommunication on whoever should oppose their constitutions; [m] they anathematize whoever doth not anathematize Theodorus.

But pope Vigilius did refuse to approve their doctrine and sentence; and therefore (which was the case of many other bishops, as Baronius himself doth confess and argue) was driven into banishment; wherein he did expire [n].

Baron. ann. 553. §. 223.

Yet posterity hath embraced this synod as a legitimate and valid general synod; and the popes following did profess the highest reverence thereto,

[l] Quoniam autem post hæc omnia impietatis illius defensoris injuriis contra Creatorem suum dictis gloriantes dicebant non oportere eum post mortem anathematizare——qui hæc dicunt nullam curam Dei judicatorum faciunt, nec apostolicarum pronunciationum, nec paternarum traditionum. *Coll.* viii. p. 289. Condemnamus autem et anathematizamus una cum omnibus aliis hæreticis et Theodorum. *Coll.* viii. p. 291. Quod dicitur a quibusdam quod in communicatione et pace, defunctus est Theodorus, mendacium est, et calumnia magis adversus ecclesiam. *Coll.* v. p. 250. Si quis conatus fuerit contra hæc quæ pie disposuimus, vel tradere, vel docere, vel scribere, siquidem episcopus vel clericus sit, iste tanquam aliena a sacerdotibus et statu ecclesiastico faciens, denudabitur episcopatu vel clericatu: si autem monachus vel laicus sit, anathematizabitur. (*Coll.* viii. p. 293.)

[m] Si quis defendit——et non anathematizat eum——anathema sit. *Ibid.*

[n] —— contra ipsius (pontificis Rom.) decreta ab ea (synodo) pariter sententia dicta. *Baron.* ann. 553. §. 219. Non consentientes depositi in exilium missi sunt. *Lib.* cap. 24.

equally with the preceding general synods[o]; so little necessary is the pope's consent or concurrence to the validity of synodical definitions.

Upon this Baronius hath an admirable reflection: [p]*Here stay*, saith he, *O reader, and consider the matter attently*, (ay, do so, I pray,) *that it is no new thing, that some synod, in which the pope was not even present by his legates, but did oppose it, should yet obtain the title of an Œcumenical Synod; whenas afterward the pope's will did come in, that it should obtain such a title.*

So, in the opinion of this doctor, the pope can easily change the nature of things, and make that become a general synod which once was none; yea which, as it was held, did not deserve the name of any synod at all[q]. O the virtue of papal magic! or rather, O the impudence of papal advocates!

The canons of the sixth general council, exhibited by the Trullane (or Quinisext) synod, clearly and expressly do condemn several doctrines and practices of Rome: I ask whether the pope did confirm them? They will, to be sure, as they are concerned to do, answer, No: and indeed pope Ser- Can. 2, 7, 13, 36, 55, 58, 67.

[o] Greg. Ep. i. 24. Quintam quoque synodum pariter veneror, &c. i. 24. Pelag. II. Ep.—— Agatho. Syn. vi. Act. 4. Leo. Syn. vi. Act. 18. Hadrian ad Nectar.

[p] Hic siste, lector, atque rem attente considera; non esse hoc novum, ut aliqua synodus, cui nec per legatos ipse pontifex interfuerit, sed adversatus fuerit, titulum tamen obtinuerit œcumenicæ; cum postea ut hujusmodi titulum obtineret, Romani pontificis voluntas accessit. *Baron.* ann. 553. §. 224.

[q] Si ad numeros omnes, &c. Plene consenties ipsam non œcumenicæ tantum, sed nec privatæ synodi mereri nomen. *Id.* ann. 553. §. 219.

gius, as Anastasius in his Life reporteth[r], did refuse them; yet did they pass for legitimate in the whole church; for in their general synod, (the second Nicene,) without contradiction, one of them is alleged (out of the very original paper, wherein the Fathers had subscribed) as a [s]*canon of the holy general sixth synod*; and avowed for such by the patriarch Tarasius, both in way of argument of defence and of profession in his synodical Epistle to the patriarchs; (where he saith, that *together with the divine doctrines of the sixth synod, he doth also embrace the canons enacted by it*[t];) of which Epistle pope Adrian, in his answer thereto, doth recite a part containing those words, and [u]applaud it for orthodox; signifying no offence at his embracing the Trullane canons. And all those hundred and two canons are again avowed by the synod in their antithesis to the synod of Constantinople. In fine, if we believe Anastasius, pope John VII. did, [x]*being timorous, out of human frailty, direct these canons, without amendment, by two metropolites, to the emperor*; that is, he did admit them so as they stand.

[r] —— in quibus diversa capitula Romanæ ecclesiæ contraria scripta inerant. *Anast. in Vit. Joh. VII.*

[s] Κανὼν τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς ἕκτης συνόδου. Syn. Nic. II. Act. iv. (631.) Πρωτότυπος χάρτης ἐστὶν, ἐν ᾧ ὑπέγραψαν οἱ πατέρες. Ibid.

[t] Τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἁγίας ἕκτης συνόδου, μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἐνθέσμως καὶ θειωδῶς ἐκφωνηθέντων δογμάτων παρ' αὐτῆς, καὶ τοὺς ἐκδοθέντας κανόνας ἀποδέχομαι. Act. iii. p. 592.

[u] Ταύτῃ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, &c. Ibid. (p. 363.) Act. vi. p. 732. (Dist. xvi. cap. 5, &c.)

[x] Sed hic humana fragilitate timidus hos nequaquam tomos emendans per suprafatos metropolitas direxit ad principem. *Anast. in Vit. Joh. VII.*

But it may be instanced that divers synods have asked the pope's consent for ratification of their decrees and acts.

So the Fathers of the second general synod, having in an Epistle to pope Damasus and the western bishops declared what constitutions they had made, in the close speak thus: [y] *In which things, being legally and canonically settled by us, we do exhort your reverence to acquiesce, out of spiritual charity and fear of the Lord.*

So the synod of Chalcedon did, with much respect, ask from pope Leo the confirmation of its sanctions. [z] *That you may know how that we have done nothing for favour or out of spite, but as guided by the divine direction, we have made known to you the force of all that has been done, for your concurrence, and for the confirmation and approbation of the things done.*

Of the fifth synod pope Leo II. saith, [a] *that he agreed to what was determined in it, and confirms it with the authority of the blessed St. Peter.*

To these allegations we reply, that it was indeed the manner of all synods, (for notification of things, and promulgation of their orders; for demonstration and maintenance of concord; for adding weight and authority to their determinations; for engaging all

[y] Οἷς ὡς ἐνθέσμως καὶ κανονικῶς παρ' ἡμῖν κεκρατηκόσι καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν συγχαίρειν παρακαλοῦμεν εὐλάβειαν, τῆς πνευματικῆς μεσιτευούσης ἀγάπης, καὶ τοῦ κυριακοῦ φόβου, &c. Theod. v. 9.

[z] Ἵνα δὲ γνῶτε ὡς οὐδὲν πρὸς χάριν, ἢ πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν πεποιήκαμεν, ἀλλ' ὡς θείῳ κυβερνώμενοι πνεύματι, πᾶσαν ὑμῖν τῶν πεπραγμένων τὴν δύναμιν ἐγνωρίσαμεν εἰς σύστασιν ἡμετέραν, καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων βεβαίωσίν τε καὶ συγκατάθεσιν. Syn. Chalc. ad P. Leon. I. p. 476.

[a] Τοῖς παρ' αὐτῆς ὁρισθεῖσι συναινεῖ, καὶ τῇ αὐθεντίᾳ τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου βεβαιοῖ. P. Leo. II. Ep. (p. 306.)

bishops to a willing compliance in observing them, for attestation to the common interest of all bishops in the Christian truth, and in the governance and edification of the church,) having framed decrees concerning the public state, to demand in fairest terms the consent to them of all catholic bishops, who were absent from them, to be attested by their subscription.

So did Constantine recommend the Nicene decrees to all bishops, undertaking that they would assent to them[b].

So (more expressly) the synod of Sardica, in their Epistle to all bishops of the catholic church; [c]*Do ye also, our brethren and fellow-ministers, the more use diligence, as being present in spirit with our synod, to yield consent by your subscription, that concord may be preserved every where by all the fellow-ministers.*

So did pope Liberius request of the emperor Constantius, [d]*that the faith delivered at Nice might be confirmed by the subscription of all bishops.*

So did Athanasius [e]*procure a synod at Alexandria to confirm the decrees at Sardica and in Palestine concerning him.*

[b] Ἀσμένως δέχεσθε τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριν καὶ θείαν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐντολήν—. De Vit. Const. iii. 20. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἀγχινοίᾳ ἀρέσαι ὑπεσχόμην. Ib. iii. 19.

[c] Σπουδάσατε δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἀδελφοὶ καὶ συλλειτουργοὶ, ὡς τῷ πνεύματι συνόντες τῇ συνόδῳ ἡμῶν συνεπιψηφίζεσθαι δι' ὑπογραφῆς ὑμετέρας, ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρὰ πάντων τῶν πανταχοῦ συλλειτουργῶν τὴν ὁμοφωνίαν διασώζεσθαι. Syn. Sard. Epist. apud Athan. in Apol. ii. p. 766.

[d] Ἐζήτει δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐν Νικαίᾳ παραδοθεῖσαν πίστιν ὑπογραφαῖς τῶν πάντων ἐπισκόπων κρατύνεσθαι. Soz. iv. 11.

[e] Σύνοδον γενέσθαι παρεσκεύαζε τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ἐπιψηφίσαι τοῖς ἐν Σαρδοῖ καὶ Παλαιστίνῃ περὶ αὐτοῦ δεδογμένοις. Id. iv. 1.

So the Macedonian bishops are said to have authorized their agents [f] *to ratify the faith of consubstantiality.*

Many such instances occur in story, by which it may appear that the decrees of synods concerning faith, or concerning any matters of common interest, were presented to all bishops, and their consent requested or required; because, say the Roman clergy in St. Cyprian, [g] *a decree cannot be firm, which has not the consent of many.*

Whence it is no wonder, if any synods did thus proceed toward so eminent a bishop as was he of Rome, that they should endeavour to give him satisfaction; that they should desire to receive satisfaction from him of his conspiring with them in faith, of his willingness to comply in observing good rules of discipline; that (as every vote had force, so) the suffrage of one in so great dignity and reputation might adjoin some regard to their judgment [h].

The pope's confirmation of synods, what was it in effect but a declaration of his approbation and assent, the which did confirm by addition of suffrage; as those who were present by their vote, and those who were absent by their subscription, are said to confirm the decrees of councils; every such consent being supposed to increase the authority; whence the number of bishops is sometimes reckoned according to the subscriptions of bishops absent; as the council of Sardica is sometimes related to consist of three

Κατὰ τὴν συνοδικὴν ἰσχυρόσαμεν ψῆφον—. Epist. Syn. Chalc. ad Leon. p. 475.

Socr. ii. 20. et Vales. ann. ibid.

[f] Ἐντειλάμενοι——κυρῶσαι τὴν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου πιστιν. Socr. iv. 12.

[g] —— quoniam nec firmum decretum potest esse, quod non plurimorum videbitur habere consensum. *Cler. Rom. apud Cyp.* Ep. 31.

[h] Παρακαλοῦμεν τοίνυν τίμησον ταῖς σαῖς ψήφοις τὴν κρίσιν. Syn. Chalc. ad Leon. p. 476.

hundred bishops, although not two hundred were present, the rest concurring by subscription to its definitions.

Other bishops, in yielding their suffrage, do express it by, [i] *I confirm, I define, I decree.*

But the effectual confirmation of synods, which gave them the force of laws, was in other hands, and depended on the imperial sanction.

So Justinian affirmeth generally: [k] *All these things at diverse times following, our above-named predecessors, of pious memory, corroborated and confirmed by their laws what each council had determined, and expelled those heretics who attempted to resist the definitions of the aforesaid four councils, and disturb the churches.*

So particularly Constantine (as Athanasius himself reporteth) [l] *did by law confirm the decrees of the great synod of Nice:* and Eusebius assureth the same; [m] *He*, saith he, *did ratify the decrees of the synod by his authority.* His letters are extant, which he sent about the world, exhorting and requiring all to conform to the constitutions of that synod.

So Theodosius did confirm the decrees of the

[i] Sententias fratrum omnes sequimur, omnes confirmamus, omnes observandas esse decernimus. *Conc. Rom. P. Hil.* p. 579.

[k] His itaque omnibus per diversa tempora subsecutis, prædicti piæ recordationis nostri patres ea quæ in unoquoque concilio judicata sunt, legibus suis corroboraverunt, et confirmaverunt; et hæreticos qui definitionibus prædictorum S. quatuor conciliorum resistere, et ecclesias conturbare conati sunt, expulerunt. *Justin. in Conc. V. Coll.* i. (p. 210.)

[l] Τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων γραφέντα, τοῦ συνεδρίου κοινωνῶν, ἐκράτυνε νόμῳ. Athan. apud Theod. ii. 4.

[m] Τὰ τῆς συνόδου δόγματα κυρῶν ἐπεσφραγίζετο. Euseb. de Vit. Const. iii. 23. Ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ διατάττειν ὀφείλετε. Id. iii. 20.

second general synod, [n] *adding*, saith Sozomen, *his confirmatory suffrage to their decree:* the which he did at the supplication of the Fathers, addressed to him in these terms; [o] *We therefore do beseech your grace, that by your pious edict the sentence of the synod may be authorized; that as by the letters of convocation you did honour the assembly, so you would also confirm the result of things decreed.*

The third general synod was also confirmed by Theodosius II. as Justinian telleth us; [p] *The above-named Theodosius, of pious memory, maintaining what had been so justly determined against Nestorius and his impiety, made his condemnation valid.*

And this emperor asserted this privilege to himself, as of right and custom belonging to him; writing to the synod in these words; [q] *For all things, so as may please God, without contentiousness and with truth being examined, ought so to be established by our religiousness.*

The other abortive synod at Ephesus was also

[n] Καὶ τὰ μὲν ὧδε τῇ συνόδῳ ἔδοξε, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπεψηφίσατο. Soz. vii. 9.

[o] Δεόμεθα τοίνυν τῆς σῆς ἡμερότητος γράμμασι τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας ἐπικυρωθῆναι τῆς συνόδου τὴν ψῆφον, ἵν' ὥσπερ τοῖς τῆς κλήσεως γράμμασι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τετίμηκας, οὕτω καὶ τῶν δοξάντων ἐπισφραγίσῃς τὸ τέλος. Præf. ad Can. Conc. Const. (apud Bin. p. 660.)

[p] Sed prædictus piæ recordationis Theodosius vindicans ea, quæ ita recte contra Nestorium, et ejus impietatem fuerant judicata, fecit firmiter obtinere contra eum factam condemnationem. *Justin. in Quinto Conc.* Coll. 1.

[q] Χρὴ γὰρ πάντα κατὰ τὸ τῷ Θεῷ μέλλον ἀρέσκειν δίχα φιλονεικίας καὶ μετὰ ἀληθείας ἐξετασθέντα οὕτω παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας θεοσεβείας βεβαιωθῆναι. Epist. Theod. ad Syn. Eph. in Actis Conc. p. 375.

confirmed by Theodosius junior, as Dioscorus in his defence alleged in these words, which shew the manner of practice in this case; [1]*We then indeed did judge the things which were judged; the whole synod did accord with us, and gave verdict by their own votes, and subscribed; and they were referred to the most religious emperor Theodosius, of happy memory; and he did by a general law confirm all things judged by the holy and œcumenical synod.*

So also did the emperor Marcian confirm the synod of Chalcedon, as himself telleth us in his royal edict; [2]*We*, saith he, *having by the sacred edict of our serenity confirmed the holy synod, did warn all to cease from disputes about religion:* with which pope Leo signifieth his compliance in these terms; [3]*But because by all means your piety and most religious will must be obeyed, I have willingly approved the synodical constitutions about confirming the catholic faith and condemning heretics, which pleased me.*

Justinian did with a witness confirm the fifth

[1] Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν ἐκρίναμεν τὰ κεκριμένα· συνήνεσεν ἡμῖν πᾶσα ἡ σύνοδος, καὶ κατέθετο οἰκείας φωνάς, καὶ ὑπέγραψε· καὶ ἀνηνέχθη τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ βασιλεῖ τῆς θείας λήξεως Θεοδοσίῳ· καὶ ἐβεβαίωσε πάντα τὰ κεκριμένα παρὰ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς συνόδου νόμῳ γενικῷ. Syn. Chalc. Act. i. p. 59.

[2] Ἱερᾷ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡμερότητος διατάγματι τὴν ἁγίαν βεβαιώσαντες σύνοδον ὑπεμνήσαμεν ἅπαντας, ὥστε τῶν περὶ θρησκείας παύσασθαι διαλέξεων. Conc. Chalc. part. iii. p. 478.

[3] Quia vero omnibus modis obediendum est pietati vestræ, religiosissimæque voluntati, constitutionibus synodalibus, quæ mihi de confirmatione fidei catholicæ et hæreticorum damnatione placuerunt, libens adjeci sententiam meam. *P. Leo. I.* Ep. 59. (*ad Mart. Aug.*)

synod, punishing with banishment all who would not submit to its determinations.

In the sixth synod the Fathers did request the emperor, according to custom, to confirm its definitions, in these very words; [u] *To what we have determined set your seal, your royal ratification by writing, and confirmation of them all by your sacred edicts and holy constitutions, according to custom.*

[x] *We beg that by your sacred signing of it you would give force to what we have defined and subscribed.*

[y] *We entreat the power of our lord, guided by God's wisdom, to confirm, for the greater strength and security of the orthodox faith, the copies of our determination read in the hearing of your most serene majesty, and subscribed by us, that they may be delivered to the five patriarchal sees with your pious confirmation.*

Accordingly he did confirm that synod by his edict; [z] *All these things being thus ordered by this sixth holy and œcumenical synod; we decree, that none whosoever trouble himself further about this faith, or advance any new inventions about it.*

[u] Καὶ τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν ὁρισθεῖσι σφραγῖδα παράσχου τὴν ὑμῶν ἔγγραφον βασιλικὴν ἐπικύρωσιν, καὶ διὰ θείων ἡδίκτων, καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἔθους εὐσεβῶν διατάξεων τὴν τούτων ἁπάντων βεβαίωσιν. Syn. VI. Act. xviii. p. 275.

[x] Αἰτοῦμεν διὰ θείας ὑμῶν ὑποσημειώσεως τὸ κῦρος παρασχέσθαι τῷ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐκφωνηθέντι ἐνυπογράφῳ ὅρῳ. Ibid. p. 283.

[y] Αἰτοῦμεν τὸ θεόσοφον τοῦ δεσπότου κράτος πρὸς μείζονα τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως ἀσφάλειάν τε καὶ βεβαίωσιν ἰσοτύπους ἐναπογράφους ὅρους τοῦ ἀναγνωσθέντος κατὰ παρουσίαν τοῦ γαληνοτάτου ὑμῶν κράτους ὅρου ἐκδοθῆναι τοῖς πέντε πατριαρχικοῖς θρόνοις μετὰ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ὑμῶν ὑποσημειώσεως. Ibid. p. 284.

[z] Τούτων οὕτως ἁπάντων ὑπὸ τῆς ἁγίας ταύτης καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς ἕκτης

So he told pope Leo II. in his Epistle to him; [a] *This divine and venerable determination the holy synod has made, to which we also have subscribed, and confirmed it by our religious edicts, exhorting all our people, who have any love for Christ, to follow the faith there written.*

Pope Leo tells his namesake Leo the emperor, [b] *that he must always remember that the imperial power was given him, not only to rule the world, but more especially to protect the church.*

So by long prescription, commencing with the first general synod, did the emperor enjoy this prerogative; and with good reason, he having an unquestionable warrant and obligation to promote the welfare of the church, designed by those conventions; he being the guardian of concord among his subjects, and protector of their liberties, which might be nearly concerned in conciliar proceedings; the power of enacting laws being an incommunicable branch of sovereign majesty; he alone having power committed to him, able to enforce the observance of decrees, without which they would in effect signify little.

Because also commonly the decrees of synods did in a manner retrench some part of the royal pre-

συνόδου διατυπωθέντων, Sancimus, ὥστε μηδένα τῶν πάντων ἕτερόν τι περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἐργάσασθαι, ἢ καινότερον δόγματος ἐφεύρεμα μηχανήσασθαι, &c. Ibid. Edict. Const. p. 294.

[a] Θεῖον δὲ σεβάσμιον ὅρον ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἐξεβόησεν, ᾧ καὶ συνυπεγράψαμεν, καὶ δι' εὐσεβῶν ἡμῶν ἐδίκτων τοῦτον ἐπεκυρώσαμεν προτρέψαντες ἅπαντα τὸν φιλόχριστον ἡμῶν λαὸν τῇ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγγεγραμμένῃ πίστει συνέπεσθαι, &c. Ibid. p. 298, 302.

[b] Debes incunctanter advertere regiam potestatem tibi non solum ad mundi regimen, sed maxime ad ecclesiæ præsidium esse collatam, &c. *Leo. M.* Ep. 75.

rogative, translating or imparting to others causes before appropriate to his jurisdiction, (as in the case of appeals, and of prohibiting addresses to court, ordered in the Sardican and other synods; of exempting clergymen from secular jurisdiction, from taxes and common burdens, &c.) which ought not to be done without his license and authority.

So that the oriental bishops had good reason to tell the emperor, that [c] *it was impossible, without his authority, to order the matters under consideration with good law and order.*

It is nowise reasonable that any other should have this power, it being inconsistent with public peace, that in one state there should be two legislative powers; which might clash the one with the other, the one enacting sanctions prejudicial to the interest and will of the other: wherefore the pope being then a citizen of Rome, and a subject to the emperor, could not have a legislative power, or a negative vote in synods, but that wholly did belong to the imperial authority.

But it is opposed, that some synods have been declared invalid for want of the pope's confirmation; for to the decrees of the synod at Ariminum it was excepted, [d] that they were null, because the bishop of Rome did not consent to them: [e] *There could*

[c] Ἀδύνατον γὰρ ὡς ἡγούμεθα δίχα τοῦ ὑμετέρου κράτους εὐτάκτως καὶ ἐνθέσμως τὰ προκείμενα τυπωθῆναι. Rel. Orient. ad Imp. Act. Syn. Eph. p. 372.

[d] Τῶν ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ ὑπεναντίων ταύτης ἀκύρων ὄντων, ὡς μήτε Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπῳ, μήτε τῶν ἄλλων συνθεμένων αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὡς πολλῶν τῶν αὐτόθι συνελθόντων ἀπαρεσθέντων τοῖς τότε παρ' αὐτῶν δεδογμένοις. Soz. vi. 23.

[e] Οὐδὲ γὰρ πρόκριμά τι ἠδυνήθη γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ συναχθέντων, ὁπότε συνέστηκε, μήτε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπου, οὗ πρὸ πάντων ἔδει τὴν γνώμην ἐκδέξασθαι, οὔτε Οὐικεντίου ὃς ἐπὶ τοσούτοις ἔτεσι τὴν ἐπι-

not (say the Roman synod in Theodoret) *be any prejudice from the number of those assembled in Ariminum, it being plain, that neither the Roman bishop, whose suffrage ought first to have been received, nor Vicentius, who for so many years did hold his episcopacy blameless, nor others agreeing to such things.* To which exception I answer, that

1. That which is alleged against the synod of Ariminum is not the defect of the pope's confirmation subsequent, but of his consent and concurrence before it, or in it; [f]which is very reasonable, because he had a right to be present, and to concur in all such assemblies, especially being so eminent a bishop.

2. The same exception every bishop might allege, all having a like right and common interest to vote in those assemblies.

3. Accordingly the dissent of other bishops, particularly of those eminent in dignity or merit, is also alleged in exception; which had been needless, if his alone dissent had been of so very peculiar force.

4. The emperor, and many other bishops, did not know of any peculiar necessity of his confirmation.

Again it may be objected, that popes have voided the decrees of general synods, as did pope Leo the decrees of the synod of Chalcedon, concerning the privileges of the Constantinopolitan see, in these blunt words; [g]*But the agreements of bishops re-*

σκοπὴν ἀσπίλως ἐφύλαξεν, οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς τοιούτοις συγκαταθεμένων—. Theod. ii. 22.

[f] P. Liberius being absent, detained from it by violence in banishment.

[g] Consensiones vero episcoporum, sanctorum canonum apud

pugnant to the holy canons made at Nice, your faith and piety joining with us, we make void, and by the authority of the blessed apostle St. Peter, by a general determination we disannul: and in his Epistle to those of that synod, [h]*For however vain conceit may arm itself with extorted compliances, and think its wilfulness sufficiently strengthened with the name of councils: yet whatever is contrary to the canons of the above-named Fathers will be weak and void.* Lastly, in his Epistle to Maximus, bishop of Antioch, he says, [i]*He has such a reverence for the Nicene canons, that he will not permit or endure that what those holy Fathers have determined be by any novelty violated.*

This behaviour of pope Leo (although applauded and imitated by some of his successors) I doubt not to except against in behalf of the *synod*, that it was disorderly, factious, and arrogant, (proceeding indeed from ambition and jealousy;) the leading act of high presumption in this kind, and one of the seeds of that exorbitant ambition, which did at length overwhelm the dignity and liberty of the Christian republic: yet for somewhat qualifying the business it is observable, that he did ground his repugnancy

P. Gelas. Ep. 13. (ad Episc. Dard.) p. 642. et in Tract. de Anathem. (p. 647.) P. Pelag. II. Ep. 5. (ad Eliam.) p. 474.— Greg. M. Ep.

Niciam conditorum regulis repugnantes, unita nobiscum vestræ fidei pietate, in irritum mittimus, et per authoritatem beati Petri apostoli generali prorsus definitione cassamus. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 55. (*ad Pulcher. Aug.*)

[h] Quantumlibet enim extortis assentationibus sese instruat vanitatis elatio, et appetitus suos conciliorum æstimet nomine roborandos, infirmum atque irritum erit, quicquid a prædictorum patrum canonibus discreparit. *Ep.* 61. (*ad Syn. Chalced.*)

[i] Tanta apud me est Nicenorum canonum reverentia, ut ea quæ sunt a sanctis patribus constituta nec permiserim nec patiar aliqua novitate violari. *Leo.* Ep. 62. (*ad Max. Antioch.*)

and pretended annulling of that decree, (or of decrees concerning discipline,) not so much upon his authority to cross general synods, as upon the inviolable firmness and everlasting obligation of the Nicene canons; the which he (although against the reason of things, and rules of government) did presume no synod could abrogate or alter. In fine, this opposition of his did prove ineffectual by the sense and practice of the church, maintaining its ground against his pretence.

It is an unreasonable thing, that the opinion or humour of one man (no wiser or better commonly than others) should be preferred before the common agreement of his brethren, being of the same office and order with him; so that he should be able to overthrow and frustrate the result of their meetings and consultations, when it did not square to his conceit or interest; especially seeing there is not the least appearance of any right he hath to such a privilege, grounded in holy scripture, tradition, or custom: for seeing that scripture hath not a syllable about general synods, seeing that no rule about them is extant in any of the first Fathers, till after three hundred years, seeing there was not one such council celebrated till after that time, seeing in none of the first general synods any such canon was framed in favour of that bishop, what ground of right could the pope have to prescribe unto them, or thwart their proceedings? Far more reason there is, (in conformity to all former rules and practice,) that he should yield to all his brethren, than that all his brethren should submit to him: and this we see to have been the judgment of the church, declared by its practice in the cases before touched.

IV. It is indeed a proper endowment of an absolute sovereignty, immediately and immutably constituted by God, with no terms or rules limiting it, that its will declared in way of precept, proclamations, concerning the sanction of laws, the abrogation of them, the dispensation with them, should be observed.

This privilege therefore in a high strain the pope challengeth to himself; asserting to his decrees and sentences the force and obligation of laws; so that the body of that canon law, whereby he pretendeth to govern the church, doth in greatest part consist of papal edicts, or decretal epistles, imitating the rescripts of emperors, and bearing the same force.

In Gratian we have these aphorisms from popes concerning this their privilege.

[k] *No person ought to have either the will or the power to transgress the precepts of the apostolic see.*

[l] —— *Those things which by the apostolic see have at several times been written for the catholic faith, for sound doctrines, for the various and manifold exigency of the church, and the manners of the faithful, how much rather ought they to be preferred in all honour, and by all men altogether, upon all occasions whatsoever to be reverently received!*

[k] Nulli fas est vel velle vel posse transgredi apostolicæ sedis præcepta. *P. Greg IV.* Dist. xix. cap. 5.

[l] —— Quanto potius quæ ipsa (sedes apostolica) pro catholica fide, profanis (l. pro sanis) dogmatibus, pro variis et multifariis ecclesiæ necessitatibus et fidelium moribus diverso tempore scripsit, omni debent honore præferri, et ab omnibus prorsus in quibuslibet opportunitatibus discretione vel dispensatione magistra reverenter assumi? *P. Nic. I. Epist.* Dist. xix. cap. 1.

[m] ***Those decretal epistles which most holy popes have at divers times given out from the city of Rome, upon their being consulted with by divers bishops, we decree that they be received with veneration.***

[n] ***If ye have not the decrees of the bishops of Rome, ye are to be accused of neglect and carelessness; but if ye have them, yet observe them not, ye are to be chidden and rebuked for your temerity.***

[o] ***All the sanctions of the apostolic see are so to be understood, as if confirmed by the voice of St. Peter himself.***

[p] ***Because the Roman church, over which by the will of Christ we do preside, is proposed for a mirror and example; whatsoever it doth determine, whatsoever that doth appoint, is perpetually and irrefragably to be observed by all men.***

[q] ***We who according to the plenitude of our power have a right to dispense above law or right.***

[m] Decretales epistolas, quas beatissimi papæ diversis temporibus ab urbe Roma pro diversorum patrum consultatione dederunt, venerabiliter suscipiendas decernimus. *P. Gelas. I.* (*in decreto*) *lit. a Nic. P.* Ep. 42. *ad Epist. Galliæ.* Dist. xix. cap. 1.

[n] Si decreta Romanorum pontificum non habetis, de neglectu atque incuria estis arguendi; si vero habetis et non observatis, de temeritate estis corripiendi et increpandi. *P. Nic. I. Ep.* 6. *ad Phot.* Dist. xx. cap. 2.

[o] Sic omnes apostolicæ sedis sanctiones accipiendæ sunt, tanquam ipsius divini Petri voce firmatæ sunt. *P. Agatho.* Dist. xix. cap. 2. Vid. Syn. VI. Act. iv. p. 35.

[p] Quia in speculum, et exemplum S. Romana ecclesia, cui nos Christus præesse voluit, proposita est, ab omnibus quicquid statuit, quicquid ordinat, perpetuo et irrefragabiliter observandum est. *P. Steph.* (Dist. xix. cap. 3.) *P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 9. *De Dispens.* (p. 633.)

[q] Qui secundum plenitudinem potestatis, de jure possumus

[r] *This see—that which it might do by its own sole authority, it is often pleased to define by consent of its priests.*

But this power he doth assume and exercise merely upon usurpation, and unwarrantably; having no ground for it in original right or ancient practice.

Originally the church hath no other general lawgiver, beside our *one Lord* and *one Lawgiver*. Eph. iv. 5. Jam. iv. 12.

As to practice we may observe,

1. Anciently (before the first general synod) the church had no other laws beside the divine laws; or those *which were derived from the apostles by traditional custom; or those which each church did enact for itself in provincial synods; or which were propagated from one church to another by imitation and compliance; or which in like manner were framed and settled.

*ἀρχαῖα ἴθη. Syn. Constantinop. can. 2.

Whence, according to different traditions, or different reasons and circumstances of things, several churches did vary in points of order and discipline.

The pope then could not impose his traditions, laws, or customs upon any church; if he did attempt it, he was liable to suffer a repulse; as is notorious in the case, when pope Victor would (although rather as a doctor than as a lawgiver) have reduced the churches of Asia to conform with the Roman, in

supra jus dispensare. *P. Inn. III. Decret. Greg.* lib. iii. tit. 8. cap. 4.

[r] Sedes hæc—quod singulari etiam auctoritate perficere valet, multorum sæpe sacerdotum decernit definire consensu. *P. Nic. I.* Ep. 18. (*ad Carolum R.*) Leo I. Ep. i. cap. 5. P. Hilarius in Conc. Rom. p. 578. Caus. 25. qu. i. cap. 4. P. Urb. Caus. 25. qu. i. cap. 6. P. Anas. ad Imp. Anast. P. Siric. Ep. i. (p. 691.)

the time of celebrating Easter; wherein he found not only stout resistance, but sharp reproof.

In St. Cyprian's time every bishop had a free power, according to his discretion to govern his church; and it was deemed a tyrannical enterprise for one to prescribe to another, or to require obedience from his colleagues; as otherwhere by many clear allegations out of that holy man we have shewed: [s] *For none of us,* saith he, *makes himself a bishop of bishops, or by a tyrannical terror compels his colleagues to a necessity of obedience; since every bishop, according to the license of his own liberty and power, hath his own freedom, and can no more be judged by another, than he himself can judge another.*

If any new law were then introduced, or rule determined for common practice, it was done by the general agreement of bishops, or of a preponderant multitude among them, to whom the rest out of modesty and peaceableness did yield compliance; according to that saying of the Roman clergy to St. Cyprian, (upon occasion of the debate concerning the manner of admitting lapsed persons to communion,) [t] *That decree cannot be valid, that hath not the consent of the major part.*

[s] Neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se esse episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit; quando habeat omnis episcopus pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ arbitrium proprium; tamque judicari ab alio non possit, quam nec ipse potest alterum judicare. *Cypr. in Conc. Carthag.*

[t] Quoniam nec firmum decretum potest esse, quod non plurimorum videbitur habuisse consensum. *Cler. Rom. ad Cypr.* (Epist. 31.)

The whole validity of such laws or rules did indeed wholly stand upon presumption of such consent; whereby the common liberty and interest was secured.

2. After that by the emperor's conversion the church, enjoying secular protection and encouragement, did reduce itself, as into a closer union and freer communication of parts, so into a greater uniformity of practice; [u]especially by means of great synods, wherein (the governors and representatives of all churches being called unto them, and presumed to concur in them) were ordained sanctions, taken to oblige all; the pope had indeed a greater stroke than formerly, as having the first place in order, or *privilege of honour*, in ecclesiastical assemblies, where he did concur; yet had no casting vote, or real advantage above others: all things passing by majority of vote: this is supposed as notorious in the acts of the fifth council: [x]*This*, say they, *is a thing to be granted, that in councils we must not regard the interlocution of one or two, but those things which are commonly defined by all, or by the most.* Πρωτεῖα τιμῆς.

So also in the fifth council, George, bishop of Constantinople, saith, that [y]*seeing every where the council of the multitude, or of the most, doth prevail,*

[u] Idem enim omnes credimur operati, in quo deprehendimur eadem omnes censuræ et disciplinæ consensione sociati. *Cler. Rom. ad Cypr.* Ep. 31.

[x] Illo certe constituto, quod in conciliis non unius vel secundi interlocutionem attendere oportet, sed hæc quæ communiter ab omnibus vel amplioribus definiuntur. *Concil.* v. *Collat.* 6. p. 263.

[y] Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ πλήθους, ἤτοι τῶν πολλῶν πανταχοῦ ἡ βουλὴ κρατεῖ, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ὀνομαστὶ τὰ λεχθέντα πρόσωπα ἀναθεματισθῆναι. VI. Syn. Act. xvi. p. 249.

it is necessary to anathematize the persons before mentioned.

3. Metropolitan bishops in their provinces had far more power, and more surely grounded, than the pope had in the whole church, (for the metropolitans had an unquestioned authority, settled by custom, and confirmed by synodical decrees,) yet had not they a negative voice in synodical debates: for it is decreed to the Nicene synod, that in the designation of bishops, (which was the principal affair in ecclesiastical administrations,) ***plurality of votes should prevail.***

Κρατείτω ἡ τῶν πλειόνων ψῆφος. Conc. Nic. can. 6.

It is indeed there said, that none should be ordained χωρὶς γνώμης, ***without the opinion of the metropolitan:*** but that doth not import a negative voice in him, but that the transaction should not pass in his absence, or without his knowledge, advice, and suffrage; for so the apostolical canon (to which the Nicene Fathers there did allude and refer, meaning to interpret it) doth appoint, that the metropolitan should [z]*do nothing* ἄνευ τῆς πάντων γνώμης, ***without the opinion of all,*** that is, without suffrage of the most, concluding all; (for surely that canon doth not give to each one a negative voice.) And so the synod of Antioch (held soon after that of Nice, which therefore knew best the sense of the Nicene Fathers, and how the custom went) doth interpret it, decreeing, that [a]*a bishop should not be ordained without a synod, and the presence of the metropolitan of the province;* in which synod yet they de-

[z] Κατὰ κανόνα ἐκκλησιαστικὸν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἄνευ τῆς τῶν πάντων γνώμης ποιείτω τι. Apost. Can. 34.

[a] Ἐπίσκοπον μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι δίχα συνόδου, καὶ παρουσίας τοῦ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει τῆς ἐπαρχίας. Syn. Ant. Can. 19.

mine, that [b]*plurality of votes should carry it;* peculiar advantage in the case being granted to *metropolitan.*

Seeing therefore provincial synods were more ant than general, and gave pattern to them; if we grant the same privilege to the *pope* in *gene-* synods, as the *metropolitans* had in *provincial,* hich yet we cannot do with any good reason or ound,) yet could not the pope thence pretend to authority of making laws by himself.

4. It was then a passable opinion, that *he,* as one, s in reason obliged to yield to the common judg- nt of his colleagues and brethren; as the emperor nstantius told pope Liberius, that [c]*the vote of the rality of bishops ought to prevail.*

5. When pope Julius did seem to cross a rule of e church, by communicating with persons con- mned by synods, the Fathers of Antioch did *martly recriminate against him, shewing that ey were not to receive canons from him.*

6. So far was the pope from prescribing laws to hers, that he was looked upon as subject to the ws of the church no less than others; as the An- chene Fathers did suppose, [e]*complaining to pope ulius of his transgressing the canons:* the which arge he doth not repel by pretending exemption, it by declaring that he had not offended against

[b] —— κρατεῖν τὴν τῶν πλειόνων ψῆφον. Ibid. Κρατείτω ἡ τῶν πλειόνων ψῆφος. Syn. Nic. Can. 6.

[c] Τῶν γὰρ πλειόνων ἐπισκόπων ἡ ψῆφος ἰσχύειν ὀφείλει. Theod. ii. 16.

[d] Γνώμη κοινῇ σφοδρότερον δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἀντεγκαλοῦσι τῷ Ἰουλίῳ, δηλοῦντες μὴ δεῖν κανονίζεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ. Socr. ii. 15.

[e] Ὑμεῖς ὡς παρὰ κανόνας ποιήσαντας ἡμᾶς ἐμέμψασθε——. P. Julii Epist. apud Athanas. in Apol. ii. p. 748. Τινές εἰσιν οἱ παρὰ καιρὸν πράξαντες, ἡμεῖς, &c. p. 748.

the canons, and retorting the accusation against themselves; as the African Fathers supposed, when they told pope Celestine, [f]that he could not admit persons to communion, which had been excommunicated by them, that being contrary to a decree of the Nicene synod; as the Roman church supposed itself, when it told Marcian, [g]that they could not receive him without leave of his father who had rejected him. This the whole tenor of ecclesiastical canons sheweth, they running in a general style, never excepting the pope from the laws prescribed to other bishops.

7. The privilege of dispensing with laws had then been a strange hearing, when the pope could in no case dispense with himself for infringing them, without bringing clamour and censure upon him [h].

8. It had indeed been a vain thing for synods with so much trouble and solemnity to assemble, if the pope without them could have framed laws, or could with a puff of his mouth have blown away the results of them by dispensation.

P.Hil.Ep.2. N. B. P. Innoc. I. Ep. ii. 12. P.Hil.Ep.4. P. Gelas. I. Ep. ix. p. 634. xiii. 639. De Anath. p. 645.

9. Even in the growth of papal dominion, and after that the seeds of Roman ambition had sprouted forth to a great bulk, yet had not popes the heart or face openly to challenge power over the universal canons, or exemption from them; but pretended to be the chief observers, guardians, defend-

[f] Μηδὲ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀποκοινωνήτους, &c. Epist. ad P. Celest. I.

[g] Οὐ δυνάμεθα ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ τιμίου πατρός σου τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. Epiph. Hær. 42.

[h] It was then a maxim becoming the mouth of a pope, Universæ pacis tranquillitas non aliter poterit custodiri, nisi sua canonibus reverentia intemerata servetur. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 62. The tranquillity of an universal peace cannot otherwise be kept, unless due reverence be paid to the canons.

ers, and executors of them; or of the rights and privileges of churches established by them: for while any footsteps of ancient liberty, simplicity, and integrity did remain, a claim of paramount or lawless authority would have been very ridiculous and very odious. Pope Zosimus I.* denieth that he could alter the privileges of churches.

* P. Zos. I. Ep. 7. (ad Episc. Vienn. et Narb.) Caus. xxv. qu. i. cap. 7.

10. If they did talk more highly, requiring observance to their constitutions, it was either in their own precinct, or in the provinces where they had a more immediate jurisdiction, or in some corners of the west, where they had obtained more sway; and in some cases, wherein their words were backed with other inducements to obedience; for the popes were commonly *wise in their generations*, accommodating their discourse to the state of times and places.

P. Siric. Ep. 1. Leo M. Ep. 1. cap. 5. P. Gelas. Ep. 9.

11. It is also to be observed, that often the popes are supposed to speak and constitute things by their own authority, which indeed were done by synods, consisting of western bishops more closely adhering to that see, in regard to those regions[i]; the decrees of which synods were binding in those places, not so much by virtue of papal authority, as proceeding from the consent of their own bishops: how ready soever he were to assume all to himself, pretending those decrees as precepts of the apostolical see.

P. Siric. Ep. 4.

Whence all the acts of modern popes are invalid, and do not oblige, seeing they do not act in synod; but only of their own head, or with the advice of a few partisans about them, men linked in common interest with them to domineer over the church.

[i] Ἅπασα κατὰ δύσιν σύνοδος. Conc. Eph. p. 332. Σύνοδοι ἀνήκουσαι τῇ συνόδῳ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου. Syn. VI. Act. iv. p. 60. N. The pope did in those councils ask the placets. *P. Hil. in Conc. R.* (p. 578.)

12. Yet even in the western countries, in later times, their decrees have been contested, when they did seem plainly to clash with the old canons, or much to derogate from the liberties of churches; nor have there wanted learned persons in most times, who, so far as they durst, have expressed their dislike of this usurpation.

[k]*For although the bishop of Rome be more venerable than the rest that are in the world, upon account of the dignity of the apostolical see, yet it is not lawful for him in any case to transgress the order of canonical governance: for as every bishop who is of the orthodox church, and the spouse of his own see, doth entirely represent the person of our Saviour; so generally no bishop ought pragmatically to act any thing in another's diocese.*

13. In the times of pope Nicholas I. the Greeks did not admit the Roman decrees; so that pope in an Epistle to Photius complains, [l]*that he did not receive the decrees of the popes, whenas yet they ordained nothing but what the natural, what the Mosaical, and what the law of grace required.* And in another Epistle he expostulates with him

Circa an. 860.

[k] Licet namque pontifex Romanæ ecclesiæ ob dignitatem apostolicæ sedis cæteris in orbe constitutis reverentior habeatur, non tamen ei licet transgredi in aliquo canonici moderaminis tenorem; sicut enim unusquisque orthodoxæ ecclesiæ pontifex ac sponsus propriæ sedis uniformiter speciem gerit Salvatoris, ita generaliter nulli convenit quippiam in alterius procaciter patrare episcopi diœcesi. *Glab. Rod.* 2. 4. Vid. Baron. ann. 996. sect. 22, 23.

[l] Noli quia decreta ipsorum non susceperis amplius asseverare, cum ipsi nihil nisi quod naturalis, quod Mosaica, necnon et gratiæ lex jussit, instituant. *P. Nic. I.* Ep. 11. (*ad Phot.*)

or saying, that [m] *they neither had nor did observe he decrees made by the holy popes of the prime ee of the Roman church.*

14. That which greatly did advance the papal jurisdiction, and introduced his usurpation of obtruding ew decrees on the church, was the venting of the orged Decretal Epistles under the name of old popes; which when the pope did allege for authoring his practices, the French bishops, endeavouring to assert their privileges, did allege that [n] *they ere not contained in the whole body of their anons.* Vid. Hinom.

15. The power of enacting and dispensing with ecclesiastical laws, touching exterior discipline, did f old belong to the emperor. And it was reasonble that it should; because old laws might not onveniently suit with the present state of things nd the public welfare; because new laws might onduce to the good of church and state, the care of hich is incumbent on him; because the prince is ound to use his power and authority to promote od's service, the best way of doing which may be y framing orders conducible thereto.

Accordingly the emperors did enact divers laws oncerning ecclesiastical matters, which we see exant in the codes of Theodosius and Justinian.

[o] *These things,* saith the council of Arles, *we have*

[m] Decretalia autem, quæ a sanctis pontificibus primæ sedis omanæ ecclesiæ sunt instituta,—cur vos non habere vel observare dicitis? *Id.* Ep. 6. (*ad Phot.*)

[n] Quanquam quidam vestrum scripserint haud illa decretalia iscorum pontificum in toto codicis canonum corpore contineri scripta, &c. *P. Nic. I.* Ep. 42. (*ad Galliæ Episc.*)

[o] Hæc—domino Imperatori præsentanda decrevimus, poscen-

decreed to be presented to our lord the emperor, desiring his clemency, that if any thing be defective, it may be supplied by his prudence; if any thing be unreasonable, it may be corrected by his judgment; if any thing be reasonably ordered, it may by his help, the divine grace assisting, be perfected.

We may observe, that popes did allow the validity of imperial laws. Pope Gregory I. doth allege divers laws of divers emperors concerning ecclesiastical affairs, as authentic and obligatory rules of practice.

P. Greg. I. Ep. xi. 56.

16. Divers churches had particular rights of independency upon all power without themselves.

Such as the church of Cyprus in the Ephesine synod did claim and obtain the confirmation of.

Such was the ancient church of Britain before Austin came into England.

[p] *The Welsh bishops are consecrated by the bishop of St. David's, and he himself in like manner is ordained by others, who are, as it were, his suffragans, professing no manner of subjection to any other church.*

V. Sovereign power, immediately by itself, when it pleaseth, doth exercise all parts of jurisdiction, setting itself in the tribunal; or mediately doth execute it by others, as its officers or commissioners.

tes ejus clementiam ut siquid hic minus est, ejus prudentia suppleatur, si quid secus quam se ratio habet, ejus judicio emendetur; si quid rationabiliter taxatum est, ejus adjutorio divina opitulante clementia perficiatur. *Conc. Arel.* iv. cap. 26. ann. 813. (*sub Carolo M.*)

[p] Episcopi Walliæ a Menevensi antistite sunt consecrati, et ipse similiter ab aliis tanquam suffraganeis est constitutus, nulla penitus alii ecclesiæ facta professione vel subjectione. *Girald. Cambr. Itin.* ii. 1.

Wherefore now the pope doth claim and exercise universal jurisdiction over all the clergy; requiring of them engagements of strict submission and obedience to him; demanding that all causes of weight be referred to him; citing them to his bar, examining and deciding their causes; condemning, suspending, deposing, censuring them, or acquitting, absolving, restoring them, as he seeth cause, or findeth in his heart[q]; he doth encourage people to accuse their pastors to him, in case any doth infringe his laws and orders. Bell. ii. 18, 26.

But (in general) that originally or anciently the pope had no such right appropriate to him may appear by arguments, by cross instances, by the insufficiency of all pleas, and examples alleged in favour of this claim. For,

1. Originally there was not at all among Christians any jurisdiction like to that which is exercised in civil governments, and which now the papal court doth execute. For this our Saviour did prohibit, and St. Peter forbad the presbyters *κατακυριεύειν τῶν κλήρων*. And St. Chrysostom affirmeth the episcopal power not to be *αὐθεντία*, or *ἀρχή*. And ecclesiastical history doth inform us, that such a jurisdiction was lately introduced in the church, as by other great bishops, so especially by the bishop of Rome: [r]*For*, saith Socrates, *from that time the episcopacy of* 1 Pet. v. Chrys. in 1 Tim. iii. 1. in Eph. Orat. 11. Hier. Ep. 3. 62. Isid. Pelus. Ep. xx. 125. iv. 219.

[q] Per hoc illam de tota ecclesia judicare. *P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 4. Cunctos ipse judicaturus a nemine est judicandus. *Dist.* xl. cap. 6. *Caus.* 2. *qu.* 7. cap. 45, &c. Sacra statuta et veneranda decreta episcoporum causas, utpote majora negotia nostræ definiendas censuræ mandarunt. *P. Nic. I.* Ep. 38.

[r] Καὶ γὰρ ἐκ ἐκείνου ἡ ἐπισκοπὴ Ἀλεξανδρείας πέρα τῆς ἱερατικῆς τάξεως κατὰ δυναστείαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν. Socr. vii. 7.

Alexandria, beyond the sacerdotal order, did assume a domineering power in affairs.

The which kind of power the Roman bishops had long before assumed; for, saith he, [s] ***the episcopacy of Rome, in like manner as that of Alexandria, had already a great while ago gone before in a domineering power beyond that of the priesthood.***

At first the episcopal power did only consist in paternal admonition, and correption of offenders, exhorting and persuading them to amendment; and in case they contumaciously did persist in disorderly behaviour, bringing them before the congregation; and the cause being there heard and proved, with its consent imposing such penance or correction on them as seemed needful for the public good, or their particular benefit; [t] ***All things,*** saith St. Cyprian, ***shall be examined, you being present and judging:*** and, (elsewhere,) [u] ***according to your divine suffrages; according to your pleasure.***

1 Cor. v. 4, 12.
2 Cor. ii. 6.

2. Originally no one bishop had any jurisdiction over another, or authority to judge his actions; as St. Cyprian (who well knew the current judgment and practice of his age) in many places doth affirm; who particularly doth reflect on the Roman bishop for presuming to censure his brethren, who dissented from him; [x] ***Let us all,*** saith he, ***expect the judg-***

[s] —— τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς ὁμοίως τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων πέρα τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐπὶ δυναστείαν ἤδη πάλαι προελθούσης. Socr. vii. 11.

[t] Examinabuntur singulæ præsentibus, et judicantibus vobis. *Cypr.* Ep. 12. (*fratribus in plebe.*)

[u] Secundum vestra divina suffragia. *Cypr.* Ep. 40. Secundum arbitrium quoque vestrum. *Id.* (Ep. 46.) Tertul. Apol. 39. *Ibidem*——.

[x] Expectemus universi judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi,

nent of our Lord Jesus Christ, who only hath power to prefer us to the government of his church, and to judge of what we do.

3. Even the community of bishops did not otherwise take notice of, or intermeddle with, the proceedings of any bishop in his precinct and charge; except when his demeanour did concern the general state of the church, intrenching upon the common faith, or public order and peace.

In other cases, for one or more bishops to meddle with the proceedings of their brother, was taken for an ἀλλοτριοεπισκοπία, a pragmatical intrusion upon another's business; and an invasion of that liberty which did belong to each bishop by the grant of our Lord, and the nature of his office.

As by those passages of St. Cyprian, and the declaration of the synod with him, doth appear.

4. In cases needing decision for the public good of the church, the law and custom of the church, confirmed by the Nicene synod, did order, that jurisdiction should be exercised, and all causes finally determined in each province; so that no regard is had to the pope, no exception in favour of him being expressed or implied. Can. 5.

The which constitution, if we believe pope Leo himself, cannot in any case by any power be revoked or infringed [x].

That is most expressly confirmed by the synod of

qui unus et solus habet potestatem et præponendi nos in ecclesiam suam gubernatione et de actu nostro judicandi. *Cypr. in Conc. Carth.*

[x] In venerabilis concilii Niceni contumelia sæpe versatus, alienarum tibi provinciarum jura temerarie rapuisti. *P. Felix Acacio. apud Baron.* ann. 484. sect. 17.

Antioch, in the code of the universal church; [y] *If any bishop accused of certain crimes shall be condemned by all the bishops in the province, and all shall unanimously vote against him, he shall not be judged again by others; but the unanimous sentence of the bishops of the province shall remain valid.*

Here is no consideration or exception of the pope.

5. Accordingly in practice, synods, without regard or recourse to the pope, did judge bishops upon offences charged against them.

6. The execution of those judgments was intrusted to metropolitan bishops; or had effect by the people's consent; for it being declared that any bishop had incurred condemnation, the people did presently desert him.

Every bishop was obliged to confer his part to the execution; as pope Gelasius affirmeth [z].

7. If the pope had such judicial power, seeing there were from the beginning so many occasions of exercising it, there would have been extant in history many clear instances of it; but few can be alleged, and those (as we shall see) impertinent or insufficient.

8. Divers synods (great and smaller) did make sanctions contrary to this pretence of the pope; ap-

[y] Εἴτις ἐπίσκοπος ἐπί τισιν ἐγκλήμασι κατηγορηθεὶς κριθείη ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἐπισκόπων, πάντες τε σύμφωνοι μίαν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐξενέγκοιεν ψῆφον, τοῦτον μηκέτι παρ' ἑτέροις δικάζεσθαι· ἀλλὰ μένειν βεβαίαν τὴν σύμφωνον τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπισκόπων ἀπόφασιν. *Syn. Ant.* Can. 16.

[z] Quod non solum præsuli apostolico facere licet, sed cuicunque pontifici, ut quoslibet et quemlibet locum, secundum regulam hæreseos ipsius ante damnatæ, a catholica communione discernant. *P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 4.

pointing the decision of causes to be terminated in each diocese, and prohibiting appeals to him; which they would not have done, if the pope had originally, or according to common law and custom, a supreme judicial power.

9. The most favourable of ancient synods to papal interest, that of Sardica, did confer on the pope a power, qualified in matter and manner, of causing episcopal causes to be revised; which sheweth that before he had no right in such cases, nor then had an absolute power.

10. The pope's power of judging bishops hath been of old disclaimed as an illegal and upstart encroachment.

When the pope first nibbled at this bait of ambition, St. Cyprian and his bishops did reprehend him for it.

The bishop of Constantinople denied that pope Gelasius alone might condemn him; [a]according to the canons—the pope ranteth at it, and reasoneth against it; but hath no material argument or example for it, (concerning the papal authority peculiarly,) beside the Sardican canon.

11. The popes themselves have been judged for misdemeanour, heresy, schism; as hereafter we shall shew.

12. The popes did execute some judgments, only by a right common to all bishops, as executors of synodical decrees[b].

[a] Euphemium vero miror, si ignorantiam suam ipse non perspicit, qui dicit Acacium ab uno non posse damnari ——. *P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 4. Nobis opponunt canones ——. *Id. ibid.*

[b] Quod non solum præsuli apostolico facere licet, &c. *P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 4. (*Supr. in Arg.* 6.) Vid. Epist. 13.

13. Other bishops did pretend to judicature, by privilege: as Juvenalis, bishop of Jerusalem, did pretend that to him did belong the judgment of the bishop of Antioch [c].

Justin. Nov. cxxiii. cap. 3. Jubemus Episc. Rom.

14. The popes were subject to the emperors; who, when they pleased, did interpose to direct or qualify all jurisdiction; commanding the popes themselves—wherefore the popes were not judges sovereign, but subordinate.

Pope Gregory I. did refer the great question about the title of *œcumenical bishop* to the judgment of the emperor Mauricius [d].

These things will more fully appear in the discussion of the particulars concerning the chief branches of jurisdiction; more especially under the tenth branch of sovereignty.

They allege that passage of Valentinian in his Epistle to Theodosius, [e] *That the most blessed bishop of Rome, to whom antiquity hath given a priesthood over all, hath a see and power to judge both of faith and priests.*

This was suggested by pope Leo and his adherents to the young emperor; but it signifieth no more, but that in the judgment of priests (as of faith) he was to have his share, or at most to be a leading person therein.

[b] Ἐχρῆν Ἰωάννην——τῷ ἀποστολικῷ τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας ὑπακοῦσαι, καὶ τιμήσαι· παρ' ᾧ μάλιστα ἔθος αὐτὸν τῶν Ἀντιοχέων θρόνον ἐξ ἀποστολικῆς ἀκολουθίας καὶ παραδόσεως ἰθύνεσθαι, καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ δικάζεσθαι. Syn. Eph. Act. iv. (p. 400.)

[d] —— ut piissimus dominus Mauritius ipsum illud negotium judicare dignaretur. *Greg.* Ep. iv. 22.

[e] Ἵνα μακαριώτατος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως, ᾧ τὴν ἱερωσύνην κατὰ πάντων ἡ ἀρχαιότης παρέσχε, χώραν καὶ εὐπορίαν ἔχειν περί τε πίστεως καὶ ἱερέων κρίνειν ——. Act. Syn. Chalc. p. 25.

Theodosius (a mature, grave, pious prince) did not regard that pretence of Leo, nor the appeal of Flavianus [f].

VI. To the sovereign of any state belongeth the choice, constitution, confirmation, commissionating of all inferior magistrates; that none uncapable, unworthy, or unfit for offices, or disaffected to the state, be intrusted with the management of affairs. Upon a sovereign all inferior magistrates depend.

Wherefore the pope doth claim and exercise these prerogatives so far as he can; pretending at least that no bishop can be constituted without his designation, or his license, and his confirmation of the nomination, collation, or election.

And these privileges by the great advocates are upon highest terms asserted to him. Bell. iv. 24.

In this matter may be distinguished,

1. The designation of the person by election, or otherwise.

2. The confirmation of that.

3. The ordination or consecration of him to his office; the which conferreth on him his character and authority.

4. The authority by which he acteth.

Into all these the pope hath intruded himself, and he will have a finger in them.

1. He gladly would have drawn to himself the collation and disposal of all benefices, challenging a general right to dispose of all at his pleasure [g]: but

[f] Ἵνα ὁ προλεχθεὶς συναχθέντων ἐκ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἱερέων——. Ibid. p. 28.

[g] Licet ecclesiarum, personatuum, dignitatum, aliorumque beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum plenaria dispositio ad Romanum noscatur pontificem pertinere, &c. *Clem. IV. in Sexto*, lib. iii. tit. 4. cap. 2. Vid. ibid. cap. iv. 10. xii. 20. Although the plenary dis-

not having been able wholly to deprive princes and patrons of their nominations, and corporations of their election; yet he hath by reservations, provisions, collations of vacancies *apud sedem*, resignations, devolutions, and other such tricks, extremely encroached on the rights of all, to the infinite vexation, damage, and mischief of Christendom.

Clem. IV. in Sexto, lib. iii. tit. 4. cap. 14, &c.

2. He pretendeth that no bishop shall be ordained without his license.

3. He obligeth the person ordained to swear obedience to him.

4. He pretendeth that all bishops are his ministers and deputies.

But no such privileges have any foundation or warrant in holy scripture, in ancient doctrine, or in primitive usage: they are all encroachments upon the original rights and liberties of the church, derived from ambition and avarice; subsisting upon usurpation, upheld by violence.

This will appear from a survey of ancient rules and practices concerning this matter.

The first constitution after our Lord's decease of an ecclesiastical person was that of Matthias into the vacant apostolate, or bishopric of Judas[h]; wherein (upon St. Peter's motion) [i]*all the disciples* present did by consent *present two*; [k]*out of whom God himself did elect one*, by determining the lot to fall upon Matthias; so that this designation being

Act. i. 15.

posal of all churches, parsonages, dignities, and other ecclesiastical benefices be known to belong to the pope of Rome, &c.

[h] Ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λάβοι ἕτερος. Act. i. 20.

[i] Καὶ ἔστησαν δύο. Ver. 23.

[k] Ἀνάδειξον ἐκ τούτων τῶν δύο ἕνα ὃν ἐξελέξω. Ver. 24.

partly human, partly divine, so far as it was human, it went by free election of the whole fraternity; and St. Peter, beside generally suggesting the matter to be done, did assume nothing peculiar to himself.

The next constitution we meet with is that of deacons to assist the apostles and elders in discharge of inferior offices; wherein the apostles did commit the designation of the persons to the [l]*multitude of the disciples,* who *elected them;* and *presented* them to the apostles, who, *by prayer and laying on of hands, did ordain them.* Nor had St. Peter in this action any particular stroke.

As to the constitution of bishops, in the first apostolical times the course was this: the apostles, and apostolical persons, (who were authorized by the apostles to act with their power, and in their stead,) did in churches founded by them constitute bishops, such as divine inspiration, or their grace of discretion did guide them to[m]; so did St. John in Asia, [n]*setting those apart for the clergy whom the Spirit had marked out.*

This was not done without the consent of the Christian people, as Clemens Romanus telleth us in his excellent Epistle to the Corinthians[o]: but he doth not acquaint us (although he were himself bishop of Rome) that the pope had any thing to do in such constitutions, or in confirmations of them;

[l] Act. vi. 2, 5. Τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν καὶ ἐξελέξαντο.

[m] Καὶ καταστήσῃς κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους, ὡς ἐγώ σοὶ διεταξάμην. Tit. i. 5. Διακρίσεις πνευμάτων. 1 Cor. xii. 10.

[n] Κλήρῳ ἕνα γε κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σημαινομένων. Eus. iii. 23.

[o] Τοὺς οὖν κατασταθέντας ὑπ' ἐκείνων, ἢ μεταξὺ ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν, συνευδοκησάσης ἐκκλησίας πάσης. Clem. Epist. p. 57.

the whole church, saith he, *consenting*; why doth he not add, for his own sake, *and the pope confirming*?

In the next times, when those extraordinary persons and faculties had expired, when usually the churches planted were in situation somewhat incoherent and remote from each other, upon a vacancy the clergy and people of each church did elect its bishop; in which action commonly the clergy did propound and recommend a person, or persons, and the people by their consent approve, or by their suffrages elect one[o]; a strict examination of his life and doctrine intervening: the which order Tertullian briefly doth intimate in those words, [p] *The presidents of the church are certain elders well approved, who have obtained that honour, not by price, but by proof.*

It may be inquired, how a bishop then was ordained, in case his city was very remote from any other churches?

Did they send for bishops from distant places to ordain him? Or did the presbyters of the place lay their hands on him? Or did he receive no other ordination than that he had before of presbyter? Or did he abide no bishop till opportunity did yield bishops to ordain him? Or did Providence order, that there should be no such solitary churches? The ancient commentator, contemporary to St. Ambrose, and bearing his name, did conceive, that upon decease of a bishop the elder of the presbyters did

[o] Καὶ οὗτοι δοκιμαζέσθωσαν πρῶτον, εἶτα διακονείτωσαν, ἀνέγκλητοι ὄντες. 1 Tim. iii. 10.

[p] Præsident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio, sed testimonio adepti. *Tertul. Apol.* 39. Plena diligentia, exploratione sincera. *Cypr.* Ep. 68.

succeed into his place [q]. Whence had he this, out of his invention and conjecture, or from some tradition and history? In Eph. iv. 11.

Afterward, when the faith was diffused through many provinces, that churches grew thick and close, the general practice was this: the neighbour bishops (being advertised of a vacancy, or want of a bishop) did convene at the place; then in the congregation the clergy of the place did propound a person, yielding their attestation to his fitness for the charge; which the people hearing did give their suffrages, accepting him, if no weighty cause was objected against him; or refusing him, if such cause did appear: then, upon such recommendation and acceptance, the bishops present did adjoin their approbation and consent; then by their devotions, and solemn laying on of their hands, they did ordain or consecrate him to the function.

Of this course most commonly practised in his time we have divers plain testimonies in St. Cyprian, the best author extant concerning these matters of ancient discipline: [r]*For which reason*, saith

[q] Primum presbyteri episcopi appellabantur ut recedente uno sequens ei succederet, &c. Vid. *Dist.* lxvi. cap. 2. At first presbyters were called bishops, that one departing, the next might succeed him.

[r] Propter quod diligenter de traditione divina et apostolica observatione observandum est et tenendum, quod apud nos quoque et fere per provincias universas tenetur; ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam plebem cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdèm proximi quique conveniant, et episcopus deligatur plebe præsente, quæ singulorum vitam plenissime novit, et uniuscujusque actum de ejus conversatione perspexit; quod et apud vos factum videmus in Sabini collegæ nostri ordinatione, ut de universæ fraternitatis suffragio, et de episcoporum, qui in præsentia

he, *that from divine tradition and apostolical observation is to be observed and held, which also is with us, and almost through all provinces, kept; that for duly celebrating ordinations unto that people, for whom a bishop is ordained, all the neighbour bishops of the same* (province or people) *should resort; and a bishop should be chosen, the people being present, which most fully knoweth the life of each one, and hath from his conversation a thorough insight into his practice; the which we see done with you in the ordination of our colleague Sabinus, that by the suffrage of all the fraternity, and by the judgment of all the bishops, which had assembled in the presence, and had sent letters to you about him, the bishopric should be deferred to him.*

Again, [5]*A people obedient to the Lord's commands, and fearing God, ought to separate itself from a wicked bishop,* (such a notoriously wicked bishop as those were of whom he treateth, who had renounced the faith,) *and not to mingle itself with the sacrifices of a sacrilegious priest; seeing especially that it hath a power either to choose worthy priests, or to refuse those who are unworthy; the which also we see to descend from divine authority, that a bishop should be chosen, the people*

convenerant, quique de eo ad vos literas fecerant, judicio episcopatus ei deferretur. *Cypr.* Ep. 68.

[5] Plebs obsequens præceptis Dominicis, et Deum metuens, a peccatore præposito separare se debet, nec se ad sacrilegi sacerdotis sacrificia miscere; quando ipsa maxime habeat potestatem vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi; quod et ipsum videmus de divina auctoritate descendere; ut sacerdos plebe præsente sub omnium oculis deligatur, et dignus atque idoneus publico judicio ac testimonio comprobetur ——. *Cypr.* Ep.

being present, before the eyes of all; and that he who is worthy and fit, should be approved by public judgment and testimony.

Again, when (saith he concerning himself) [t]*a bishop is substituted in the place of one deceased, when he is peaceably chosen by the suffrage of all the people;*—and *whom, if according to the divine instructions, the whole fraternity would obey, no man would move any thing against the college of priests; none after the divine judgment, after the suffrage of the people, after the consent of the fellow-bishop, would make himself judge, not indeed of the bishop, but of God.*

Suffragio totius populi Cyprianus eligitur. *Optat.*

Again, [u]*Cornelius was made bishop by the judgment of God and his Christ, by the testimony of almost all the clergy, by the suffrage of the people, being then present, and by the college of priests, ancient and good men:* and, [x]*Cornelius being in the catholic church ordained by the judgment of God, and by the suffrage of the clergy and people.*

Again, *When a bishop is once made, and is ap-*

[t] Cæterum quando episcopus in locum defuncti substituitur, quando populi universi suffragio in pace deligitur—cui si secundum magisteria divina obtemperaret fraternitas universa, nemo adversum sacerdotum collegium quidquam moveret; nemo post divinum judicium, post populi suffragium, post coepiscoporum consensum, judicem se jam non episcopi sed Dei faceret——. *Cypr.* Ep. 55.

[u] Factus est autem Cornelius episcopus de Dei et Christi ejus judicio, de clericorum pene omnium testimonio, de plebis, quæ tunc affuit, suffragio, et de sacerdotum antiquorum et bonorum virorum collegio——. *Cypr.* Ep. 52.

[x] Cornelio in catholica ecclesia de Dei judicio, et cleri ac plebis suffragio ordinato——. *Cypr.* Ep. 67.

proved by the testimony and the judgment of his colleagues, and of the people[y]——.

Const. Apost. viii. 4. Postquam hæc erit precatus, &c.

The author of the Apostolical Constitutions thus in the person of St. Peter very fully and clearly describeth the manner of ordination of bishops in his times: *After one of the chief bishops present has thus prayed, the rest of the priests with all the people shall say, Amen; and after the prayer, one of the bishops shall deliver the eucharist into the hands of the person ordained, and that morning he shall be placed by the rest of the bishops in his throne, all of them saluting him with a kiss in the Lord. After the reading of the Law and Prophets, of our Epistles, the Acts and Gospel, he who is ordained shall salute the church with these words, The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all, Amen. And let all answer, And with thy spirit. After which words let him exhort the people.*

Thus it was then, in a practice so obvious and observable, that a pagan emperor took good notice of it, and chose to imitate it in constituting the governors of provinces, and other officers; [z] *When* (saith Lampridius of Alexander Severus) *he would either*

[y] Episcopo semel facto, et collegarum ac plebis testimonio et judicio comprobato——. *Ep.* 41. (*ad Cornel.*)

[z] Ubi aliquos voluisset vel rectores provinciis dare, vel præpositos facere, vel procuratores id est rationales ordinare, nomina eorum proponebat, hortans populum, ut siquid haberet criminis, probaret manifestis rebus; si non probasset, subiret pœnam capitis; dicebatque grave esse, quum id Christiani et Judæi facerent in prædicandis sacerdotibus qui ordinandi sunt, non fieri in provinciarum rectoribus, quibus et fortunæ hominum committerentur et capita. *Lamprid. in Alex. Sev.* cap. 45.

***give rulers** to provinces, or make presidents, or ordain procurators, he set up their names, exhorting the people, if they had any thing against them, to prove it by manifest evidence; if they could not make their accusation good, they were to die for it: and he said it would be hard not to do that in the choice of governors of provinces, to whom the lives and fortunes of men were intrusted, which the Christians and Jews did in setting up those who were to be ordained priests.*

Afterward, in process of time, when (the gaps of distance being filled up, and Christendom becoming one continued body) ecclesiastical discipline was improved into a more complete shape, for constitution of a bishop, all the *bishops* of a *province* did convene, (or such as could with convenience, the others signifying their mind by writing,) and having approved him who was recommended by the clergy, and allowed by the people, they did ordain him; the *metropolitan* of the *province* ratifying what was done. Παλαιὸς θεσμός. Syn. Constantinop. Theod. v. 9

So the Nicene synod, regarding the practice which had commonly obtained, did appoint, with a qualification to be generally observed; [a] ***It is most fit,*** say they, *that a bishop be constituted by all bishops in the province; but if this be hard, either because of urgent necessity, or for the length of the way, then three of the body being gathered together, (those also who are absent conspiring in opinion, and yielding their consent in writing,) let the ordination be performed, but let the ratification of what* Vid. Can. Apost. 1. Conc. Antioch. Can. 19. Conc. Laod. Can. 12— Conc. Afr. Can. 13.

[a] Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθίστασθαι—τὸ δὲ κῦρος τῶν γινομένων δίδοσθαι καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῷ μητροπολίτῃ ——. Conc. Nic. Can. 4.

is done be assigned to the metropolite in each province.

In this canon (the which is followed by divers canons of other synods) there is no express mention concerning the interest of the clergy and people in election of the bishops; but these things are only passed over, as precedaneous to the constitution or ordination, about which only the Fathers did intend to prescribe; supposing the election to proceed according to former usual practice.

That we ought thus to interpret the canon, so that the Fathers did not intend to exclude the people from their choice, doth appear from their synodical epistle; wherein they decree concerning bishops constituted by Meletius, who, returning to communion with the church, did live in any city, that, [b]*If any catholic bishop should happen to die, then should those who were already received ascend into the honour of him deceased; in case they should appear worthy, and the people should choose, the bishop of Alexandria withal adding his suffrage to him, and his confirmation:* the which words with sufficient evidence do interpret the canon not to concern the election, but the ordination of bishops.

Thus the Fathers of the second general synod plainly did interpret this canon by their proceeding;
Theod. v. 9. for they, in their synodical epistle to pope Damasus and the western bishops, did assure him, that they in the constitution of bishops for the principal eastern sees, had followed this order of the synod of Nice,

[b] Εἰ δέ τινας συμβαίη ἀναπαύσασθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τηνικαῦτα προσαναβαίνειν εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τετελευκότος τοὺς ἄρτι προσληφθέντας, μόνον εἰ ἄξιοι φαίνοιντο, καὶ ὁ λαὸς αἱροῖτο, συνεπιψηφίζοντος αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπισφραγίζοντος τοῦ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισκόπου. Socr. i. 9. Theod. i. 9.

gether with *the ancient law of the church*[c]; in greement whereto they had ordained Nectarius bi- iop of Constantinople, [d] *with common consent, under e eyes of the most religious emperor Theodosius, nd of all the clergy, the whole city adjoining also s suffrage*; and that for Antioch, [e] *the bishops of ie province, and of the eastern diocese concurring, nd canonically ordained Flavianus bishop, the hole church consenting, as with one voice, to ho- our the person.*

Indeed the practice generally doth confirm this, ie people every where continuing to elect their ishop: so did the people of Alexandria demand thanasius for their bishop. So pope Julius did mplain, that Gregory was intruded into the place f Athanasius; [f] *not being required by the presby- rs, not by the bishops, not by the people.* So Gre- ory Nazianzen describeth the elections of bishops in is times, to be carried by the power of wealthy ien, and impetuousness of the people. So Austin itimateth the same in his speech about designation f a successor to himself; [g] *I know*, says he, *that after ie decease of bishops the churches are wont to be isturbed by ambitious and contentious men.* So the imults at Antioch, in choosing a bishop after Eu-

Ath. Apol. ii. p. 726.

Orat. xix. 310. Epist. 21.

Euseb. de Vit. Const. iii. 59, 60. Socr. i. 24. Μιεισθέντες τοῦ πλή- θους—. So-

[c] Παλαιός τε θεσμὸς κεκράτηκε, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἐν Νικαίᾳ πατέρων ὅρος— ις ἀκολούθως ——.

[d] —— μετὰ κοινῆς ὁμονοίας, ὑπ' ὄψεσι καὶ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως εοδοσίου, παντός τε τοῦ κλήρου, καὶ πάσης ἐπιψηφιζομένης τῆς πόλεως.

[e] —— ἐπίσκοπον Φλαβιανὸν οἵ τε τῆς ἐπαρχίας, καὶ τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς ικήσεως συνδραμόντες κανονικῶς ἐχειροτόνησαν, πάσης συμψήφου τῆς ἐκ- ησίας ὥσπερ διὰ μιᾶς φωνῆς τὸν ἄνδρα τιμησάσης.

[f] Μὴ αἰτηθέντα τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, μὴ παρ' ἐπισκόπων, μὴ παρὰ λαῶν. th. ibid. p. 749.

[g] Scio post obitus episcoporum per ambitiosos aut contentiosos lere ecclesias perturbari ——. *Aug.* Ep. 110.

zom. vi. 23. Marcell. lib. 27. Διχῆ διαιρεθὲν τὸ πλῆθος—. Socr. i. 24. Soz. iii. 4. Theod. iv. 6.

stathius; at Rome, after Liberius; at Constantinople, after Alexander; at Milan, when St. Ambrose was chosen.

So Stephanus, bishop of Ephesus, in justification of himself, saith, [h] *Me forty bishops of Asia, by the suffrage of the most noble and of the substantial citizens, and of all the most reverend clergy, and of all the rest of the whole city, did ordain:* and his competitor Bassianus, [i] *Me, with great constraint and violence, the people and the clergy, and the bishops did install.*

In the synod of Chalcedon, Eusebius, bishop of Ancyra, saith, that [k] *the whole city of Gangra did come to him, bringing their suffrages:* Posidius telleth us of St. Austin, that [l] *in ordaining priests and clergymen he deemed the greater consent of Christians, and the custom of the church, was to be followed.*

So Celestine the First; [m] *Let no bishop be given them against their wills; let the consent and request of the clergy, the people, and the order, be expected:* and pope Leo the First; [n] *When there*

[h] Ἐμὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἐπίσκοποι τῆς Ἀσίας ψήφῳ καὶ τῶν λαμπροτάτων, καὶ τῶν λογάδων, καὶ τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου παντὸς κλήρου, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πάντων τῆς πόλεως πάσης ἐχειροτόνησαν. Conc. Chalc. Act. xi. p. 404.

[i] Ἐμὲ δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ βίας ἐνθρονίζουσιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν Ἔφεσον ὁ λαὸς, καὶ ὁ κλῆρος, καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι. Ibid.

[k] Ἅπασα γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἦλθε πρὸς ἐμὲ εἰς Ἀγκύραν καὶ ἐκόμισαν τὰ ψηφίσματα. Syn. Chalc. Act. xvi. p. 462.

[l] In ordinandis vero sacerdotibus et clericis consensum majorem Christianorum, et consuetudinem ecclesiæ sequendam esse arbitrabatur. *Posid. in Aug. Vit.* cap. 20.

[m] Nullus invitis detur episcopus; cleri, plebis, et ordinis consensum ac desiderium requiratur——. *Celest. I.* Ep. 2.

[n] Cum ergo de summi sacerdotis electione tractabitur, ille omnibus præponatur, quem cleri plebisque consensus concorditer

shall be an election of a bishop, let him be preferred who has the unanimous consent of the clergy and people; so that if the votes be divided, and part for another person, let him, by the judgment of the metropolitan, be preferred, whose merits and interest are greatest; only that none may be ordained against their wills, or without their desire, lest the unwilling people contemn or hate a bishop whom they never desired, and become less religious than they ought, because they could not have such a bishop as they would. And in other of his Epistles, [o]*There is no reason that they should be accounted bishops, who were neither chosen by the clergy, nor desired by the people, nor with the metropolitan's order consecrated by the provincial bishops——.*

[p] *Certainly the desires of the citizens, and the testimonies of the people should have been expected, with the judgment of the honourable, and the choice of the clergy, which in the ordinations of priests use to be observed by those who knew the rules of the Fathers.*—[q] *When peaceably, and with such con-*

postulârint; ita ut si in aliam forte personam partium se vota diviserint, metropolitani judicio is alteri præferatur, qui majoribus et studiis juvatur et meritis, tantum ut nullus invitis et non petentibus ordinetur; ne civitas episcopum non optatum aut contemnat aut oderit, et fiat minus religiosa quam convenit, cui non licuit habere quem voluit. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 84. *ad Anastas.*

[o] Nulla ratio sinit, ut inter episcopos habeantur, qui nec a clericis sunt electi, nec a plebibus expetiti, nec a provincialibus episcopis cum metropolitani judicio consecrati. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 92.

[p] Expectarentur certe vota civium, testimonia populorum, quæreretur honoratorum arbitrium, electio clericorum, quæ in sacerdotum solent ordinationibus ab his qui norunt patrum regulas custodiri. *P. Leo.* Ep. 89. *Dist.* lxiii. cap. 27.

[q] Quum per pacem, et Deo placitam concordiam consonis omnium studiis qui doctor pacis futurus est ordinatur. *Ibid.*

cord as God loves, he who is to be a teacher of peace is ordained by the agreement of all.—[o] *Let priests who are to be ordained be required peaceably and quietly; let the subscription of the clergy, the testimony of the honourable, the consent of the order and people be observed; let him who is to preside over all be chosen by all.* And pope Nicholas I. [p] *Because we know the custom of your royal city, that none can arrive at the top of the highest priestly power without the assent of the ecclesiastical people and the emperor's suffrage.*

Now in all these proceedings it is most apparent that there was no regard had to the pope, or any thought of him, out of his particular territory; which he had as metropolitan, (or afterwards as primate in some parts of the west.) Nowhere else had he the least finger in the constitution of a bishop any where through the whole church; no, not of the least clergyman.

Vid. P. Leo. Ep. 84, 101, 107.

When by St. Cyprian so largely and punctually the manner of constituting bishops is declared; when the Nicene canons and those of other synods do so carefully prescribe about the ordination of them when so many reports concerning the election of bishops do occur in history; why is there not a title of mention concerning any special interest of the Roman bishops about them?

[o] Per pacem et quietem sacerdotes qui præfuturi sunt postulentur; teneatur subscriptio clericorum, honoratorum testimonium, ordinis consensus et plebis; qui præfuturus est omnibus, ab omnibus eligatur. *Ibid.*

[p] *P. Nich. I.* Ep. 5. Quia consuetudinem vestram novimus in regia urbe, minimo apicem archieraticæ potestatis aliquem posse habere sine ecclesiasticæ plebis assensu atque imperiali suffragio ——. P. Joh. VIII. Ep. lxx. Dist. 62.

So true is that of Alb. Crantzius; [q] *There was no need then of apostolical confirmation; it was sufficient, if the election were approved by the archbishop: now the church of Rome has assumed to herself the rights of all churches.*

We may by the way observe, that in the first times they had not so much as an absolute power of ordaining a presbyter in the church of his own city without leave of the clergy and people; as may be inferred from that passage in Eusebius, where pope Cornelius relateth that the bishop who ordained Novatus, [r] *being hindered from doing it by all the clergy and by many of the laity, did request that it might be granted to him to ordain that one person:* and he that so hardly could ordain one priest in his own church, what authority could he have to constitute bishops in all other churches?

To all these evidences of fact our adversaries do oppose some instances of popes meddling in the constitution of bishops; as, pope Leo I. saith, that Anatolius did [s] *by the favour of his assent obtain the bishopric of Constantinople.* The same pope is alleged as having confirmed Maximus of Antioch. The same doth write to the bishop of Thessalonica, (his vicar,) that he should *confirm the elections of* Bell. ii. 18, 20.

[q] Nihil tum opus erat apostolica confirmatione; satis erat electionem ab archiepiscopo comprobari: nunc ad se omnium ecclesiarum jura traxit Romana ecclesia. *Crantz. Metrop.* vii. 45.

[r] Διακωλυόμενος ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ κλήρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ λαϊκῶν πολλῶν, ἠξίωσε συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτῷ τοῦτον μόνον χειροτονῆσαι. P. Cornel. apud Eus. vi. 43.

[s] Satis est quod vestræ pietatis auxilio, et mei favoris assensu episcopatum tantæ urbis obtinuit. *P. Leo.* Ep. 54. De Marc. iii. 14. sect. 1.

bishops by his authority[t]. He also confirmed Donatus, an African bishop; [u]—***We will that Donatus preside over the Lord's flock, upon condition that he remember to send us an account of his faith.*** Also Gregory I. doth complain of it, as of an inordinate act, that a bishop of Salonæ was ***ordained without his knowledge***[v]. Pope Damasus did confirm the ordination of Peter Alexandrinus; [x] ***The Alexandrians,*** saith Sozomen, ***did render the churches to Peter, being returned from Rome, with the letters of Damasus, which confirmed both the Nicene decrees, and his ordination:*** but what, I pray, doth confirmation here signify, but approbation? for did he otherwise confirm the Nicene decrees? did they need other confirmation?

To the former instances we answer, that being well considered they do much strengthen our argument; in that they are so few, so late, so lame, so impertinent: for if the pope had enjoyed a power of constituting bishops, more instances of its exercise would have been producible; indeed it could not be but that history would have been full of them; the constitution of bishops being a matter of continual use, and very remarkable. At least they might have found one instance or other to allege before

[t] Ut ordinationem rite celebrandam tua quoque firmet authoritas. *P. Leo.* Ep. 84. (*ad Anastas.*)

[u] Donatum—ita Dominico volumus gregi præsidere, ut libellum fidei suæ ad nos meminerit dirigendum——. *P. Leo.* Ep. 87.

[v] Salonitanæ civitatis episcopus ne ac responsali meo nesciente ordinatus est, et facta res est, quæ sub nullis anterioribus principibus evenit. *Greg.* Ep. iv. 34.

[x] 'Αλεξανδρεῖς' ἐπανελθόντι δὲ τότε Πέτρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ρώμης μετὰ γραμμάτων Δαμάσου τάτε ἐν Νικαίᾳ δόξαντα, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ χειροτονίαν κυρώσαντων, παρέδωκαν τὰς ἐκκλησίας. Sozom. vi. 39.

the times of that busy pope Leo; in whose time, and by whose means, papal authority began to overflow its banks. And those which they produce do nowise reach home to the point; Anatolius did obtain the bishopric of Constantinople *by the help of the emperor, and by the assent of the pope's favour*[y]: what then? Anatolius being put into that see in the room of Flavianus, by the influence of Dioscorus, (whose responsal he had been,) and having favoured the Eutychian faction, pope Leo might thence have had a fair colour to disavow him, as uncapable of that function and dignity, he being so obnoxious[z]; both having such a flaw in his ordination, and having been guilty of great faults, adherence to the party of Dioscorus, and irregularly ordaining the bishop of Antioch; but he, *out of regard to the emperor's intervention*, did acknowledge Anatolius for bishop: this was the *favourable assent*, with which he upbraideth Anatolius, having displeased him: and what doth this signify?

Again, pope Leo did not reject Maximus, bishop of Antioch from communion, nor disclaimed his ordination, although liable to exception[a]: what then?

[y] Nos enim vestræ fidei et interventionis habentes intuitum, cum secundum suæ consecrationis authores ejus initia titubarent, benigniores erga ipsum quam justiores esse voluimus ——. *P. Leo.* Ep. 55. (*ad Martianum.*)

[z] Decessore enim tuo B. memoriæ Flaviano propter defensionem catholicæ veritatis ejecto, non immerito credebatur quod ordinatores tui contra sanctorum canonum constituta viderentur sui similem consecrasse —— Post illa itaque ordinationis tuæ non inculpata principia ——. *P. Leo.* Ep. 53. *ad Anatol.* Liber. cap. 12.

[a] Quod nos amore reparandæ fidei, et pacis studio retractare cessavimus. *P. Leo.* Ep. 54. (*ad Marcian.*) Conc. Chalc. Act. 10.

is this a confirmation of him? No such matter; it was only, which in such a vixonly pope was a great favour, a forbearance to quarrel with him, as not duly ordained; which any other bishop might have done. If a pope had a flaw in his ordination, another bishop might refuse him.

Again, pope Leo did enjoin the bishop of Thessalonica to confirm ordinations: what is that to the purpose? It belonged to that bishop, as a *metropolitan*, by the canons, to confirm those in his *province*, or, as a *primate*, to confirm those in his *diocese*; it belonged to him, as the pope's vicar in those territories, to which the pope had stretched his jurisdiction, to execute the pope's orders: but what is this to universal authority? It is certain, that Illyricum was then in a more special manner subjected to the pope's jurisdiction than any of the other eastern churches; what therefore he did there, cannot be drawn into consequence as to other places.

The same may be said in answer to the complaint of pope Gregory, and to any the like instances.

Moreover, surreptitious, presumptuous, pragmatical intrusions, or usurpations of power, do not suffice to found a right in this or any other case; to which purpose, and wholly to invalidate any such pleas, these observations may be considered.

1. There do occur divers instances of bishops, who did meddle in ordinations of other bishops, so as to bear great stroke in constituting them, who did not thereby pretend to universal jurisdiction; and it would be extremely ridiculous thence to infer they had any reasonable claim thereto.

Thus it was objected to Athanasius, *that he presumed to ordain in cities which did not belong*

to him[y]. [z]Eusebius of Constantinople did obtrude Eusebius Emissenus to be bishop of Alexandria. Eustathius of Antioch did ordain Evagrius bishop of Constantinople. [a]Euzoius delivered unto Lucius the bishopric of Alexandria. [b]Lucifer, a Sardinian bishop, did ordain Paulinus bishop of Antioch. They for a *salvo* say, as the pope's legate: but upon what ground or testimony? Why did not historians tell us so much? The pope had then been hissed at, if he had sent legates about such errands; it was indeed out of presumption and pragmatical zeal to serve a party, then ordinary in persons addicted to all parties, right and wrong; it not being then so expressly forbidden by the canons as afterward. Socr. iv. 14

Theognis and Theodorus did make Macedonius bishop of Constantinople. [c]Theophilus of Alexandria did ordain St. Chrysostom. [d]The Egyptian bishops surreptitiously did constitute Maximus, the Cynic philosopher, bishop of Constantinople. [e]Acacius (who had as little to do there as the pope) did thrust Eudoxius into the throne of Constantinople. [f]Meletius, of Antioch, did constitute St. Gregory Soz. ii. 6.

[y] Ἀμέλει τοι καὶ τοῦτο ἔγκλημα αὐτῷ ἐπῆγον, ὡς ἐν πόλεσι μηδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσαις χειροτονεῖν ἐτόλμησεν. Soz. iii. 21.

[z] Ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας προεβλήθη θρόνον ὑπὸ Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπισκόπου. Soz. ii. 5.

[a] Ἐπὶ τῷ παραδοῦναι Λουκίῳ τῷ Ἀρειανῷ τὰς ἐκεῖ ἐκκλησίας. Socr. iv. 21.

[b] Ἐχειροτόνησε τὸν Παυλῖνον ἐπίσκοπον. Socr. iii. 6. vi. 2.

[c] Θεόφιλος Ἰωάννην ἐχειροτόνησε. Socr. vi. 2.

[d] Τούτου κλέψαντες τὴν χειροτονίαν ἐπίσκοπον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατέστησαν οἵ τοτε ἐξ Αἰγύπτου συνεληλυθότες. Soz. vii. 9.

[e] Τῶν περὶ Ἀκάκιον ἐνθρονισάντων αὐτόν. Socr. ii. 13.

[f] Ἤδη πρώην εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν διὰ τὴν Γρηγορίου κατάστασιν ἀφικόμενος. Soz. vii. 2, 3.

Nazianzen to the charge of Constantinople. [f]Acacius and Patrophilus, extruding Maximus, *did in his room constitute Cyril* bishop of Jerusalem. Pope Leo doth complain of Anatolius, that [g]*against the canonical rule he had assumed to himself the ordination of the bishop of Antioch.*

2. To obviate these irregular and inconvenient proceedings, having crept in upon the dissensions in faith, and especially upon occasion of Gregory Nazianzen being constituted bishop of Constantinople by Meletius, and Maximus being thrust into the same see by the Egyptians, (whose party for a time the Roman church did countenance,) the second general synod did ordain, that no bishop should intermeddle about ordinations without the bounds of his own diocese.

3. In pursuance of this law, or upon the ground of it, the pope was sometimes checked, when he presumed to make a sally beyond his bounds in this or the like cases.

As when pope Innocent I. did send some bishops to Constantinople for procuring a synod to examine the cause of St. Chrysostom; *those of Constantinople* —— [h]*did cause them to be dismissed with disgrace, as molesting a government beyond their bounds.*

4. Even in the western parts, after that the pope

[f] Ἀκάκιος μὲν γὰρ καὶ Πατρόφιλος Μάξιμον τὸν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐξωθήσαντες Κύριλλον ἀντικατέστησαν. Socr. ii. 238.

[g] Post consecrationem Antiocheni episcopi, quam tibimet contra canonicam regulam vendicasti ——. *P. Leo I.* Epist. 53. (*ad Anatol.*)

[h] Τοὺς μὲν ὑπερορίαν ἀρχὴν ἐνοχλήσαντας ἀτίμως ἐκπεμφθῆναι παρεσκεύασαν. Sozom. viii. 28.

had wriggled himself into most countries there, so as to obtain sway in their transactions, yet he in divers places did not meddle in ordinations;—[i] *We do not,* says pope Leo I. *arrogate to ourselves a power of ordaining in your provinces.*

Even in some parts of Italy itself the pope did not confirm bishops till the times of pope Nicholas I. as may be collected from the submission then of the bishop of Ravenna to that condition, [k] *that he should have no power to consecrate bishops canonically elected in the regio Flaminia, unless it were granted him by letters from the apostolic see.*

And it was not without great opposition and struggling that he got that power otherwhere than in his original precincts, or where the juncture of things did afford him special advantage.

5. If examples would avail to determine right, there are more, and more clear instances of emperors interposing in the constitution of bishops than of popes; as they had ground in reason, and authority in holy scripture: *And Zadock the priest did the king put in the room of Abiathar.* Constantine did interpose at the designation of a bishop at Antioch in the room of Eustathius. Upon Gregory Nazianzen's recess from Constantinople, Theodosius (that excellent emperor, who would not have infringed right) [l] *did command the bishops present*

1 Kings ii. 35.

Euseb. de Vit. Const. iii. 59, 60.

[i] Non enim nobis ordinationes vestrarum provinciarum defendimus. *P. Leo.* Ep. 89.

[k] —— et ne electos etiam canonice in Flaminia episcopos consecrandi facultatem haberet, nisi id sibi a sede apostolica literis concederetur. *Plat. in P. Nichol. I.*

[l] Προστάξαντος τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐγγράψαι χάρτῃ τὰς προσηγορίας ὃν ἕκαστοι δοκιμάζουσιν εἰς τὴν χειροτονίαν ἀξίων, ἑαυτῷ δὲ φυ-

to write in paper the names of those whom each did approve worthy to be ordained, and reserved to himself the choice of one; and accordingly they obeying, he, out of all that were nominated, *did elect Nectarius.* [m]*Constantius did deliver the see of Constantinople to Eusebius Nicomediensis.* Constantius was angry with Macedonius, [n]because he was ordained *without his license.* He [o]*rejecting Eleusius and Sylvanus did order other to be substituted in their places.* When, before St. Ambrose, the see of Milain was vacant, [p]a synod of bishops *there did entreat the emperor to declare one.* Flavianus said to the emperor Theodosius, [q]*Give forsooth, O king, the see of Antioch to whom you shall think good.* [r]The emperor did call Nestorius from Antioch to the see of Constantinople; and he was, saith Vincentius Lir., [s]*elected by the emperor's judgment.* The favour of Justinian did advance [t]Menas to the see of Constantinople: and the same

λάξαντος τοῦ ἕνος τὴν αἵρεσιν — καὶ Νεκτάριον αἱρεῖται. Sozom. vii. 8.

[m] Εὐσεβίῳ τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον παρέδωκεν. Id. iii. 4.

[n] Ὅτι πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐπιτρέψαι, ἐχειροτονήθη. Id. iii. 6.

[o] Τοὺς μὲν ἐξήλασε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ἑτέρους δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν καταστῆναι προσέταξε. Theodor. ii. 27.

[p] Αὐτὸν ἡ σύνοδος ἠξίου ψηφίσασθαι ——. Id. iv. 7.

[q] Τοι γάρ τοι δὸς ᾧ βούλει τὸν Ἀντιοχέων θρόνον, ὦ βασιλεῦ ——. Id. v. 23.

[r] Visum est imperatoribus nullum ordinare de Constantinopolitana ecclesia pontificem ——. Nestorium quasi utilem ad docendum Constantinopolin principes evocaverunt. *Lib. Brev.* 6. *Socr.* vii. 29.

[s] Quem tanto imperii judicio electum, tanto sacerdotum studio prosecutum ——. *Vinc. Lir.* p. 330.

[t] Tunc papa principis favore Menam pro eo (Anthimo) ordinavit antistitem. *Lib.* cap. 21.

lid prefer Eutychius thereto[u]. He did put in pope Vigilius ——.

In Spain the kings had the election of bishops by he decrees of the council of Toledo. Conc. Tolet. xii. cap. 6. apud Gr. Dist. lxiii. cap. 25.

That the emperor Charles did use to confirm bishops ope John VIII. doth testify, reproving the archishop of Verdun, for rejecting a bishop [x] *whom the lergy and people of the city had chosen, and the mperor Charles had confirmed by his consent.*

When Macarius, bishop of Antioch, for monotheitism was deposed in the sixth synod, the bishops nder that throne did request the presidents of the ynod to suggest another to the emperor to be substituted in his room[y].

In Gratian there are divers passages wherein opes declared, that they could not ordain bishops to hurches, even in Italy, without the emperor's leave nd license. As [z] indeed there are also in later times ther decrees, (made by popes of another kidney, or n other junctures of affairs,) which forbid princes to neddle in the elections of bishops; as in the seventh ynod, and in the eighth synod as they call it, upon ccasion of Photius being placed in the see of Contantinople by the power of the court. [a] And that

[u] —— *ἀνεβίβασε τὸν Εὐτύχιον.* Evag. iv. 38.

[x] Quem clerus et populus civitatis eligerat, piæque memoriæ Carolus imperator suo consensu firmaverat ——. *P. Joh. VII.* Ep. 70.

[y] *Αἰτοῦμεν τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐνδοξότητα τοῦ ἀναγάγαι τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ καὶ —— ἡμῶν δεσπότῃ καὶ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ ἕτερον ἀντὶ Μακαρίου—διὰ τὸ μὴ χρεύειν τὸν τοιοῦτον θρόνον.* Syn. VI. Act. xii. (p. 208.)

[z] Dist. lxiii. cap. 9. Greg. I. Ep. iv. 15. cap. 15—18. P. Leo V. et Steph. Dist. lxiii. cap. 6, 7. Ibid. cap. 1, 2.

[a] Ibid. cap. 4. [It is a notorious thing, that most princes in he west, in Germany, France, England, did invest bishops till

of pope Nicholas I. by which discordance in practice we may see the consistence and stability of doctrine and practice in the Roman church.

The emperors for a long time did enjoy the privilege of constituting or confirming the popes: for, says Platina, in the Life of Pelagius II. [b] *nothing was then done by the clergy in electing a pope, unless the emperor approved the election.* He did confirm pope Gregory I. and pope Agatho.

[c] *Pope Adrian, with his whole synod, did deliver to Charles the Great the right and power of electing the pope and ordaining the apostolic see. He moreover defined that archbishops and bishops in every province should receive investiture from him; and that if a bishop were not commended and invested by the king, he should be consecrated by none; and whoever should act against this decree, him he did noose in the band of anathema.*

The like privilege did pope Leo VIII. attribute to the emperor Otho I. [d] *We give him,* says he, *for ever*

the time of pope Gregory VII. when that boisterous man did raise so much stir in Christendom to dispossess them of that right; which they enjoyed, not only as princes, but as founders, patrons, benefactors, protectors of churches.]

[b] Nihil a clero in eligendo pontifice actum erat, nisi ejus electionem imperator approbasset. *Plat. in Pelagio II.* (p. 154.) Dist. 63. Plat. p. 155. Vid. Joh. Diac. et Anastas. Dist. lxiii. cap. 21.

[c] Hadrianus autem papa cum universa synodo tradiderunt jus et potestatem eligendi pontificem, et ordinandi apostolicam sedem —— insuper archiepiscopos et episcopos per singulas provincias ab eo investituram accipere definivit; et nisi a rege laudetur et investiatur episcopus, a nemine consecretur; et quicunque contra hoc decretum ageret, anathematis vinculo eum innodavit. *Dist.* lxiii. cap. 22.

[d] Largimur in perpetuum facultatem successorem, atque summæ

power to ordain a successor and bishop of the chief apostolic see, and change archbishops, &c. And Platina, in his Life, says, [e] *That being weary of the inconstancy of the Romans, he transferred all authority to choose a pope from the clergy and people of Rome to the emperor.*

Now, I pray, if this power of confirming bishops do by divine institution belong to the pope, how could he part with it, or transfer it on others? is not this a plain renunciation in popes of their divine pretence?

6. General synods, by an authority paramount, have assumed to themselves the constitution and confirmation of bishops. So the second general synod did confirm the ordination of Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, and of Flavianus, bishop of Antioch, ([f] *this ordination*, say they, *the synod generally have admitted*,) although the Roman church did not approve the ordination of Nectarius, and for a long time after did oppose that of Flavianus. So the fifth synod, it seemeth, did confirm the ordination of Theophanius, bishop of Antioch. So the synod of Pisa did constitute pope Alexander V; that of Constance, pope Martin V; that of Basil, pope Felix V.

Conc. Const. sess. 40. Conc. Bas. sess. xxxvii. (p. 98.)

7. All catholic bishops in old times might, and commonly did, confirm the elections and ordinations of bishops, to the same effect as popes may be pre-

sedis apostolicæ pontificem ordinandi, ac per hoc archiepiscopos seu episcopos, &c. *Ibid.* cap. 23.

[e] Qui statim Romanorum inconstantiæ pertæsus authoritatem omnem eligendi pontificis a clero populoque Romano ad imperatorem transtulit——. *Plat. in Leo VIII.* p. 291.

[f] Ἥτις ἐνθεσμων χειροτονίαν ἐδέξατο τὸ τῆς συνόδου κοινὸν ——. Theod. v. 9.

tended to have done; that is, by signifying their approbation or satisfaction concerning the orthodoxy of their faith, the attestation to their manners, the legality of their ordination, no canonical impediment; and consequently by admitting them to communion of peace and charity, and correspondence in all good offices, which they express by returning κοινωνικαὶ ἐπιστολαὶ in answer to their synodical-communicatory letters.

Thus did St. Cyprian and all the bishops of that age confirm the ordination of pope Cornelius, being contested by Novatian; as St. Cyprian in terms doth affirm; [g] *When the see of St. Peter, the sacerdotal chair, was vacant, which by the will of God being occupied, and by all our consents confirmed,* &c.— [h] *to confirm thy ordination with a greater authority.*

To which purpose, each bishop did write epistles to other bishops, (or at least to those of highest rank,) acquainting them with his ordination and instalment, making a profession of his faith, so as to satisfy them of his capacity of the function.

8. But bishops were complete bishops before they did give such an account of themselves; so that it was not in the power of the pope, or of any others, to reverse their ordination, or dispossess them of their places. There was no confirmation importing any such matter: this is plain; and one instance will serve to shew it; [i] that of pope Honorius, and of

[g] Cum locus Petri et gradus cathedræ sacerdotalis vacaret, quo occupato de Dei voluntate, atque omnium nostrum consensione firmato. *Cypr.* Ep. 52. (*ad Anton.*)

[h] Ad comprobandam ordinationem tuam factam auctoritate majore ——. *Ep.* 45. *ad Corn.*

[i] Ὡς ἐξ ἀκοῆς καὶ μόνης μεμαθήκαμεν τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν χειροτονηθεὶς

ergius, bishop of Constantinople, who speak of Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem; that he was contituted bishop before their knowledge, and receipt of his synodical letters.

9. If the designation of any bishop should belong to the pope, then especially that of metropolitans, who are the chief princes of the church; but this anciently did not belong to him. In Afric the most ancient bishop of the province (without election) did succeed into that dignity. Where the metropoles were fixed, all the bishops of the province did convene, and with the consent of the clergy, persons of quality, and the commonalty, did elect him[k]. So was St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, elected. So Nectarius of Constantinople, Flavianus of Antioch, and Cyril of Jerusalem, as the Fathers of Constantinople tell us. So Stephanus and Bassianus, rival bishops of Ephesus, did pretend to have been chosen, as we saw before.

And for confirmation, there did not need any, there is no mention of any; except that confirmation of which we spake, a consequent approbation of them from all their fellow bishops, as having no

πρέσβυς· οὕτω γὰρ τὰ ἐξ ἔθους αὐτοῦ συνοδικὰ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐδεξάμεθα. Syn. VI. Act. xii. 198. Νυνὶ δὲ ἀκούομεν ἐπισκόπου καθεστῶτος τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ——. P. Honor. ib. p. 198.

[k] Metropolitano defuncto, cum in locum ejus alius fuerit subrogandus, provinciales episcopi ad civitatem metropolitanam convenire debebunt, ut omnium clericorum atque omnium civium voluntate discussa ex presbyteris ejusdem ecclesiæ, vel ex diaconibus optimus eligatur. *P. Leo.* Ep. 88. The metropolitan being dead, when another is to be put in his place, the provincial bishops ought to meet in the metropolitan city, that by the votes of the whole clergy and citizens, out of the priests or deacons of the same church, the fittest person may be chosen.

exception against them, rendering them unworthy of communion. In the synod of Chalcedon it was defined, that the bishop of Constantinople should have equal privileges with the bishop of Rome; yet it is expressly cautioned there, that he shall not meddle in ordination of bishops in any province, that being left to the metropolitan: [l] for a good time, even in the western parts, the pope did not meddle with the constitution of metropolitans; leaving the churches to enjoy their liberties. Afterwards, with all other rights, he snatched the *collation, confirmation*, &c. of metropolitans.

Vid. Concil. Aur. can. 7. Apud de Marc. VI. iv. sect. 8.

VII. Sovereigns have a power to censure and correct all inferior magistrates in proportion to their offences; and in case of great misdemeanour, or of incapacity, they can wholly discharge and remove them from their office.

This prerogative therefore he of Rome doth claim, as most proper to himself, by divine sanction.

Vid. Gelas. Ep. xiii. (p. 640.)

God Almighty alone can dissolve the spiritual marriage between a bishop and his church. [m] *Therefore those three things premised* (the confirmation, translation, and deposition of bishops) *are reserved to the Roman bishop, not so much by canonical constitution, as by divine institution.*

This power the convention of Trent doth allow him; thwarting the ancient laws, and betraying the liberties of the church thereby, and endangering the

[l] Μηδὲν ἐπικοινοῦντος ταῖς ἐκείνων χειροτονίαις τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς βασιλίδος ——. Act. xvi. p. 464.

[m] Et ideo tria hæc quæ præmisimus non tam constitutione canonica, quam institutione divina soli sunt Romano pontifici reservata. *P. Innoc. III. in Gregor. Decret.* lib. i. tit. 7. cap. 2.

Christian doctrine to be inflected and corrupted to the advantage of papal interest [n].

But such a power anciently did not by any rule or custom in a peculiar manner belong to the Roman bishop [o].

Premising what was generally touched about jurisdiction; in reference to this branch we remark,

1. The exercising of judgment and censure upon bishops (when it was needful for general good) was prescribed to be done by synods; provincial or patriarchal, (diocesan.) In them causes were to be discussed, and sentence pronounced against those who had deviated from faith, or committed misdemeanours. So it was appointed in the synod of Nice; as the African synod (wherein St. Austin was one bishop) did observe, and urge in their Epistle to pope Celestine, in those notable words; [p] *Whether they be clergy of an inferior degree, or whether they be bishops, the Nicene decrees have most plainly committed them to the metropolitan's charge: for they have most prudently and justly discerned, that all matters whatsoever ought to be determined in*

Syn. Nic. can. 5.

[n] Causæ criminales graviores contra episcopos, etiam hæresis quod absit, quæ depositione aut privatione dignæ sunt, ab ipso tantum summo Romano pontifice cognoscantur, et terminentur. *Conc. Trid.* sess. xxiv. cap. 5.

[o] Ἐπίσκοπος καθαιρεῖ πάντα κληρικὸν ἄξιον ὄντα καθαιρέσεως, πλὴν ἐπισκόπου, μόνος γὰρ οὐχ οἷός τε. Const. Ap. viii. 28. A bishop may depose any clerk who deserves it, except he be a bishop; whom to deprive, one bishop alone is not sufficient.

[p] Decreta Nicena sive inferioris gradus clericos, sivè ipsos episcopos suis metropolitanis apertissime commiserunt: prudentissime enim justissimeque viderunt quæcunque negotia in suis locis ubi orta sunt finienda; nec unicuique provinciæ gratiam S. Spiritus defuturam. *Syn. Afr. Ep. ad P. Celest. I.*

the places where they do first begin; and that the grace of the Holy Spirit would not be wanting to every particular province. The same law was
Syn. Ant. can. 15. enacted by the synod of Antioch, by the synods of Constantinople, Chalcedon, &c.

(An. 269.) Euseb. vii. 30. Thus was Paulus Samosatenus for his error against the divinity of our Lord, and for his scandalous demeanour, deposed by the synod of Antioch. Thus
Socr. i. 24. was Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, (being accused of Sabellianism and of other faults,) removed by a synod of the same place; the which sentence he
Socr. ii. 43. quietly did bear [q]. Thus another Eustathius, bishop of Sebastia, (for his uncouth garb, and fond conceits
Soz. iii. 14. against marriage,) was discarded by the synod of
Socr. i. 36. Gangra. Thus did a synod of Constantinople abdicate Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, for heterodoxy in the point concerning our Lord's divinity. For the
Socr. ii. 29. like cause was Photinus, bishop of Sirmium, deposed by a synod there, *gathered by the emperor's*
Socr. i. 28. *command.* So was Athanasius tried and condemned (although unjustly as to the matter and cause) by the synod of Tyre. So was St. Chrysostom (although most injuriously) deposed by a synod at Constan-
Theod. ii. 10. tinople. So the bishops at Antioch (according to the emperor's order) deposed Stephanus, bishop of that place, for a wicked contrivance against the fame of Euphratas and Vincentius.

In all these condemnations, censures, and depositions of bishops, (whereof each was of high rank and great interest in the church,) the bishop of Rome had no hand, nor so much as a little finger. All the proceedings did go on supposition of the

[q] Ἡσυχῇ τὴν συκοφαντίαν ἤνεγκε. Soz. ii. 9.

rule and laws, that such judgments were to be passed by synods.

St. Chrysostom δεκαπέντε ἐπισκόπους καθεῖλεν — *deposed fifteen bishops.* Act. xi. Syn. Chalc. p. 411. Hæc §. cum 4. jungenda.

2. In some case a kind of deposing of bishops was assumed by particular bishops, as defenders of the faith, and executors of canons; their deposition consisting in not allowing those to be bishops, whom for erroneous doctrine, or disorderly behaviour, (notoriously incurred,) they deemed incapable of the office, presuming their places, *ipso facto*, void[s].

This pope Gelasius I. [t]proposed for a rule, ***That not only a metropolitan, but every other bishop, hath a right to separate any persons or any place from the catholic communion, according to the rule by which his heresy is already condemned.*** And upon this account did the popes for so long time quarrel with the see of Constantinople, because they did not expunge Acasius from the roll of bishops, who had communicated with heretics[u]. So did St. Cyprian reject Marcianus, bishop of Arles, for adhering to the Novatians. So Athanasius was said to have deposed Arian bishops, and substituted others in their places. So Acasius and his complices deposed Macedonius and divers other bishops. And the bishops of those times καθεῖλον ἀλλήλους, factiously applying a rule taken for granted then, ***deposed one*** Cypr. Ep. 67. Soz. iii. 21. Socr. ii. 42.

[s] Γίνωσκε ἀπὸ πάσης καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀκοινώνητον εἶναι σεαυτὸν, καὶ ἀνενέργητον πρὸς πᾶν ὁτιοῦν τῶν ἐξ αὐθεντίας ἱερατικῆς. P. Celest. in Nest. Sent. Eph. Act. p. 195.

[t] Quod non solum præsuli apostolico facere licet, sed cuicunque pontifici, ut quoslibet et quemlibet locum secundum regulam hæreseos ipsius ante damnatæ, a catholica communione discernant. *Ep.* 4.

[u] Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐχρὴν τὸν ἐπὶ κακοδοξίᾳ φωραθέντα μητ' ἑτέρας ἄρχειν ἐκκλησίας, ἢ διδασκάλου ὄνομα περιφέρειν. Conc. sub Men. (p. 10.)

another[y]: so Maximus, bishop of Jerusalem, deposed Athanasius. So [z]Eusebius of Nicomedia threatened to depose Alexander of Constantinople, if he would not admit Arius to communion. Acacius and his complices did *extrude* Maximus, bishop of Jerusalem. He also deposed and *expelled* Cyril of Jerusalem: and deposed many other bishops at Constantinople. [a]Cyril deposed Nestorius, and Nestorius deposed Cyril and Memnon. Cyril and Juvenalis deposed John of Antioch. [b]John of Antioch, with his bishops, deposed Cyril and Memnon. Yea after the synod of Ephesus, [c]John of Antioch, *gathering together many bishops, did depose Cyril.* Stephanus, concerning Bassianus; [d]*Because he had entered into the church with swords — therefore he was expelled out of it again by the holy Fathers, both by Leo of Rome, the imperial city, and by Flavianus; by the bishop of Alexandria, and also by the bishop of Antioch.* Anatolius of Con-

Ἐξωθήσαντες. Socr. ii. 38. Theod. ii. 26. Sozom. iv. 24.

[y] Πρότερον καθελών. Socr. ii. 24.

[z] Εὐσέβιος πολλὰ διηπείλει αὐτῷ, λέγων ὅσον οὐδέπω καθαιρήσειν αὐτὸν, εἰ μὴ εἰς κοινωνίαν δέξηται τὸν Ἄρειον. Id. i. 37.

[a] Κύριλλος δὲ ἅμα καὶ Ἰουβεναλίῳ, ἀμυνόμενος τὸν Ἰωάννην καθαιρεῖ καὶ αὐτόν. Id. vii. 34.

[b] Ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος —— τοῦτον μὲν καθαιρεῖ διὰ τὰ προειρημένα πάντα, Μέμνονα δὲ ὡς συνεργὸν αὐτοῦ. Act. Syn. Eph. p. 380. Ὡς τῶν κακῶν ἡγεμόνας καθελεῖν ἠναγκάσθημεν. Ibid. p. 320.

[c] Ἰωάννης δὲ καταλαβὼν τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ πολλοὺς συναγαγὼν ἐπισκόπους καθαιρεῖ Κύριλλον, ἤδη κατειληφότα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. Socr. vii. 34.

[d] Ἐπειδὰν αὐτὸς ἐπεισῆλθε τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ μετὰ ξιφῶν —— ἐξώσθη διὰ τοῦτο παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων παρά τε τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου τῆς βασιλευούσης Ῥώμης Λέοντος, καὶ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Φλαυιανοῦ —— καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ. Syn. Chalc. Act. xi. p. 405. Ὁ μακάριος ἐν ἁγίοις Φλαυιανὸς ἐξεώσατο αὐτόν. Ibid. p. 406. Baron. ann. 457. sect. 34. P. Felix III. Ep. 4.

stantinople did reject Timotheus of Alexandria. Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, did reject Petrus Fullo.

3. St. Cyprian doth assert the power of censuring bishops, upon needful and just occasion, to belong to all bishops, for maintenance of common faith, discipline, and peace.

[e] *Therefore,* (saith he, writing to pope Stephanus himself,) *dear brother, the body of bishops is copious, being coupled by the glue of concord, and the band of unity, that if any of our college shall attempt to frame a heresy, or to tear and spoil the flock of Christ, the rest may succour, and like useful and merciful shepherds may gather together the sheep of our Lord into the flock.*

The like doctrine is that of pope Celestine I. in his Epistle to the Ephesine synod [f].

In matter of faith any bishop might interpose judgment; Theophilus did proceed to condemn the Origenists without regard to the pope. Vid. Hier. 67 et 78.

Epiphanius did demand satisfaction of John of Jerusalem.

4. This common right of bishops in some cases is

[e] Idcirco enim, frater charissime, copiosum corpus est sacerdotum, concordiæ mutuæ glutino atque unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut siquis ex collegio nostro hæresin facere, et gregem Christi lacerare, et vastare tentaverit, subveniant cæteri, et quasi pastores utiles et misericordes oves Dominicas in gregem colligant. *Cypr.* Ep. 67. (*ad Steph.*)

[f] Ἀκούεσθω ταῦτα παρὰ πάντων εἰς τὸ κοινὸν, κύριοι ἀδελφοὶ——ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ φροντίδι σφιγγόμεθα οἱ πανταχοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν οἰκουμένην τῇ ἐκείνων διαδοχῇ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου κηρύττοντες—— &c. Conc. Eph. Act. ii. p. 324. Τοιγαροῦν περισπούδαστόν ἐστι, καὶ πρακτέον ὅπως καμάτῳ κοινῷ τὰ ἐμπιστεύθεντα, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς διαδοχῆς ἕως τοῦ νῦν συσχεθέντα φυλάξωμεν. Ibid. p. 325.

confirmed by the nature of such censures, which consisted in disclaiming persons notoriously guilty of heresy, schism, or scandal; and in refusing to entertain communion with them: which every bishop, as entitled to the common interests of faith and peace, might do[g].

5. [h]Indeed in such a case every Christian had a right (yea an obligation) to desert his own bishop. So John of Jerusalem having given suspicion of error in faith, [i]St. Epiphanius did write letters to the monks of Palestine not to *communicate with him, till they were satisfied of his orthodoxy*. Upon which account St. Jerome living in Palestine did decline communication with the patriarch thereof; asking him, if it [k]*were any where said to him, or commanded, that without satisfaction concerning his faith, they were bound to maintain communion with him*. So every bishop, yea every Christian, hath a kind of universal jurisdiction.

6. If any pope did assume more than was allowed

[g] Cypr. Ep. 67. Ὅσοι παρὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει τῶν πατέρων τύπους διαπράττονται, ἑαυτοῖς ἐπάγουσι τὰ ἐκ τῶν κανόνων ἐπιτίμια. Thalass. in Syn. Chalc. Act. i. p. 191. Ἐχρὴν γὰρ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην μεμνημένην τῶν πατρικῶν παραδόσεων μηδένα συγχωρεῖν τὰ κεκωλυμένα ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις τολμηρὸς φανείη πάσῃ δυνάμει ἐναντιοῦσθαι. P. Agapet. ad Petr. Hier. (p. 24.)

[h] Εἰκότως ἡμεῖς ἐπιστάμενοι τὴν τῶν θείων κανόνων ἐκδίκησιν ἀρχιερεῦσι μόνον ἁρμόττειν, τήνδε τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως οὐ μόνον ἱερωμένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὶ ὀρθοδόξῳ Χριστιανῷ. Menas. (tom. iv. p. 10.) Plebs, &c. Deum metuens ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 68. Vid. P. Nich. I. Ep. 8. (p. 506.)

[i] Cunctis monachis ab eodem Epiphanio scripta venerunt, ut absque satisfactione fidei nullus ei temere communicaret. *Hier.* Ep. 61. (*ad Pammach.*) cap. 15.

[k] Alicubine dictum, aut tibi alicubi mandatum est, quod sine satisfactione fidei communionem tuam subiremus? *Ibid.* Quod tibi non communicemus, fidei est. *Ibid.* cap. 16.

in this case by the canons, or was common to other bishops of his rank, it was an irregularity and an usurpation. Nor would examples, if any were producible, serve to justify him, or to ground a right thereto, any more than the extravagant proceedings of other pragmatical and factious bishops, in the same kind, (whereof so many instances can be alleged,) can assert such a power to any bishop.

Theophilus, John of Antioch, Dioscorus.

7. When the pope hath attempted in this kind, his power hath been disavowed, as an illegal, upstart pretence.

Novam legem, &c. Vid. de Conc. Sard.

8. Other bishops have taken upon them, when they apprehended cause, to discard and depose popes. So did the oriental faction at Sardica depose pope Julius for transgressing, as they supposed, the laws of the church, in fostering heretics and criminal persons condemned by synods. So did the synod of Antioch threaten deposition to the same pope. So did the patriarch Dioscorus make show to reject pope Leo from communion. So did St. Hilary anathematize pope Liberius.

Soz. iii. 11. Soz. iii. 8. Evag. ii. 4. Hilar. fragm.

9. Popes, when there was great occasion, and they had a great mind to exert their utmost power, have not yet presumed by themselves, *without joint authority of synods*, to condemn bishops[1]. So pope Julius did not presume to depose Eusebius of Nicomedia, his great adversary, and so much obnoxious by his patronising Arianism. Pope Innocent did not censure Theophilus and his complices, who so irregularly and wrongfully had extruded St. Chrysostom, although much displeased with them; but endeavoured to get a general synod to do the busi-

[1] An qui in hominem imperatorem peccasse dicebatur, nulla interveniente synodo dejici debuerunt? *P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 13.

ness. Pope Leo I. (though a man of spirit and animosity sufficient) would not, without assistance of a synod, attempt to judge Dioscorus, who had so highly provoked him, and given so much advantage against him, by favouring Eutyches, and persecuting the orthodox.

Indeed often we may presume that popes would have deposed bishops, if they had thought it regular, or if others commonly had received that opinion, so that they could have expected success in their attempting it. But they many times were angry when their horns were short, and shewed their teeth when they could not bite.

10. What has been done in this kind by popes jointly with others, or in synods, (especially upon advantage, when the cause was just and plausible,) is not to be ascribed to the authority of popes as such. It might be done with their influence, not by their authority: [m]so the synod of Sardica (not pope Julius) cashiered the enemies of Athanasius; so the synod of Chalcedon (not pope Leo) deposed Dioscorus; so the Roman synod (not pope Celestine) checked Nestorius; and that of Ephesus deposed him. The whole western synod (whereof he was president) had a great sway.

11. If instances were arguments of right, there would be other pretenders to the deposing power.

[m] Ἡ ἁγία Ῥωμαίων σύνοδος φανερὰ τετύπωκε. Cyril. ad Joh. Ant. Conc. Eph. — p. 197, 332. Syn. p. 11, 60. Ἀποστολικὸς θρόνος, καὶ ἡ σύνοδος αὐτοῦ. Const. Sacr. in Syn. VI. p. 11. Ἀγάθων ἐπίσκοπος σὺν πάσαις ταῖς συνόδοις ταῖς ἀνηκούσαις τῇ συνόδῳ τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου ——. Ibid. p. 60. Ἀπάσης κατὰ δύσιν συνόδου. Act. Eph. p. 332. Sit hæc in te fixa damnatio a me, et ab his qui sub me constituti episcopales sedes gubernare noscuntur ——. *P. Felix ad Petrum Antioch. apud Baron.* ann. 483. sect. 68.

Particular bishops would have it, as we before shewed.

12. The people would have the power; for they have sometimes deposed popes themselves, with effect.

So of pope Constantine, Platina telleth us, [n] *at length he is deposed by the people of Rome, being very much provoked by the indignity of the matter.*

13. There are many instances of bishops being removed or deposed by the imperial authority. This power was indeed necessarily annexed to the imperial dignity; for all bishops being subjects of the emperor, he could dispose of their persons, so as not to suffer them to continue in a place, or to put them from it, as they demeaned themselves, to his satisfaction or otherwise, in reference to public utility. It is reasonable, if they were disloyal or disobedient to him, that he should not suffer them to be in places of such influence, whereby they might pervert the people to disaffection. It is fit that he should deprive them of temporalties.

The example of Solomon deposing Abiathar. 1 Kings ii. 35.

Constantine M. [o] *commanded Eusebius and Theogonius to depart out of the cities over which they presided as bishops.*

[n] Tandem a sede dejicitur a populo Romano ira et indignitate rei percito. *Plat.* p. 223. *P. Leo VIII.* p. 291. *Anastasius. Plat.* p. 131.

[o] Εὐσέβιον δὲ καὶ Θεογόνιον φεύγειν προσέταξεν ἃς ἐπισκόπων πόλεις. Soz. i. 21. Τότε μὲν οὗτοι καθηρέθησαν, καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἐξηλάθησαν. Theodor. i. 20. He threatened Athanasius to depose him—ἐὰν γὰρ γνῶ ὡς κεκώλυκας τινὰς αὐτῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας μεταποιουμένους, ἢ ἀπειλῆξας τῆς εἰσόδου, ἀποστελῶ παραχρῆμα τὸν καθαιρήσοντά σε ἐξ ἐμῆς κελεύσεως, καὶ τῶν τόπων μεταστήσοντα. Socr. i. 27. Athanas. Apol. ii. p. 778.

Constantius deposed Paulus of Constantinople [p].

Constantius ejected all that would not subscribe to the creed of Ariminum [q].

Evag. ii. 11. Lib. cap. 15. P. Leo I. Epist. 99. The emperor Leo deposed Timotheus Ælurus, for which pope Leo did highly commend and thank him.

The emperors discarded divers popes.

Constantius banished pope Liberius, and caused another to be put in his room.

Otho put out John the Twelfth.

Lib. cap. 22. Justinian deposed pope Silverius, and banished pope Vigilius.

Evag. iv. 41, 11. Justinian banished Anastasius, bishop of Antioch; extruded Anthimus of Constantinople, and Theodosius of Alexandria.

Neither indeed was any great patriarch effectually deposed without their power or leave.

Flavianus was supported by Theodosius against the pope.

Dioscorus subsisted by the power of Theodosius Junior.

The deposition of Dioscorus, in the synod of Chalcedon, was voted with a reserve of, [r] *If it shall please our most sacred and pious lord.*

In effect the emperors deposed all bishops which were ordained beside their general laws: as Justinian having prescribed conditions and qualifications

[p] Τὸν Παῦλον σχολάζειν ἐποίησεν. Socr. ii. 7.

[q] Τὴν δὲ ἔκδοσιν τῆς ἀναγνωσθείσης ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ πίστεως ἐκέλευσεν εἰς τὰς περὶ Ἰταλίαν ἐκκλησίας ἐκπέμπεσθαι, προστάξας τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ὑπογράφειν αὐτῇ, ἐξεῶσθαι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, καὶ εἰς τοὺς τύπους αὐτῶν ἑτέρους ἀντικαθίστασθαι. Id. ii. 37.

[r] Εἰ παρασταίη τῷ θειοτάτῳ, καὶ εὐσεβεστάτῳ ἡμῶν δεσπότῃ. Act. ii. p. 202.

concerning the ordinations of bishops, subjoineth, [s]*But if any bishop be ordained without using our forementioned constitution, we command you that by all means he be removed from his bishopric.*

14. The instances alleged to prove the pope's authority in this case are inconcludent and invalid.

They allege the case of Marcianus, bishop of Arles; concerning whom (for abetting Novatianism) St. Cyprian doth exhort pope Stephanus, that he would direct letters to the bishops of Gaul and the people of Arles, that he being for his schismatical behaviour removed from communion, another should be substituted in his room [t].

The Epistle, grounding this argument, is questioned by a great critic; but I willingly admit it to be genuine, seeing it hath the style and spirit of St. Cyprian, and suiteth his age, and I see no cause why it should be forged; wherefore, omitting that defence, I answer, that the whole matter being seriously weighed, doth make rather against the pope's cause than for it; for if the pope had the sole or sovereign authority of rejecting bishops, why did the Gaulish bishops refer the matter to St. Cyprian? why had Marcianus himself a recourse to him?

St. Cyprian doth not ascribe to the pope any peculiar authority of judgment or censure, but a common one, which himself could exercise, which all bishops might exercise; [u]*It is*, saith he, *our part*

[s] Si quis autem citra memoratam observationem episcopus ordinetur, jubemus hunc omnibus modis episcopatu depelli. *Justin. Novell.* cxxiii. cap. 1.

[t] Cypr. Ep. 67. Dirigantur in provinciam et ad plebem Arelate consistentem literæ, quibus abstento Marciano alius in ejus locum substituatur ——.

[u] Cui rei nostrum est consulere, et subvenire ——. Idcirco

to provide and succour in such a case; for therefore is the body of priests so numerous,* that—*by joint endeavour they may suppress heresies and schisms.

The case being such, St. Cyprian earnestly doth move pope Stephanus to concur in exercise of discipline on that schismatic, and to prosecute effectually the business by his letters; persuading his fellow-bishops in France, [x]*that they would not suffer Marcianus to insult over the college of bishops*; (for to them it seemeth the transaction did immediately belong.)

Multo magis tu —.

To do thus St. Cyprian implieth and prescribeth to be the pope's special duty, not only out of regard to the common interest, but for his particular concernment in the case; that schism having been first advanced against his predecessors.

Quod nedum videatur a nobis abstentus.

St. Cyprian also (if we mark it) covertly doth tax the pope of negligence, in not having soon enough joined with himself and the community of bishops in censuring that delinquent.

We may add, that the church of Arles and Gaul, being near Italy, the pope may be allowed to have some greater sway there, than otherwhere in more distant places; so that St. Cyprian thought his letters to quicken discipline there, might be proper and particularly effectual.

These things being duly considered, what advantage can they draw from this instance? doth it not

copiosum est corpus sacerdotum ——. Quando ipse est ab universis sacerdotibus judicatus ——.

[x] Facere te oportet plenissimas literas ad coepiscopos nostros in Galliis constitutos, ne ultra Marcianum collegio nostro insultare patiantur —— .

ather prejudice their cause, and afford a considerble objection against it?

We may observe, that the strength of their argunentation mainly consisteth in the words *quibus bstento;* the which (as the drift of the whole Epitle and parallel expressions therein do shew) do ignify no more than *quibus efficiatur ut abstento,* vhich may procure him to be excommunicated; not *uæ contineant abstentionem,* which *contain excomunication,* as P. de Marca glosseth: although admitting that sense, it would not import much, seeng only thereby the pope would have signified his onsent with other bishops: wherefore de Marca ath no great cause to blame us, that we do *not* Marc. vii. *eprehend any magnificent thing in this place for* 1, 6. *he dignity of the papal see:* indeed he hath, I nust confess, better eyes than I, who can see any uch mighty things there for that purpose.

As for the substitution of another in the room of Marcianus, that was a consequent of the excommunication; and was to be the work of the clergy and people of the place; for when by common judgment of catholic bishops any bishop was rejected, the people did apply themselves to choose another.

I adjoin the resolution of a very learned writer of their communion, in these words:

[y]*In this case of Marcianus, bishop of Arles, if*

[y] In hac Marciani episcopi Arelatensis causa si jus abstinendi sive excommunicandi competebat soli episcopo Romano, cur Faustinus episcopus Lugdunensis Cypriano episcopo Carthaginiensi longe dissito semel atque iterum significat ea de Marciano, quæ jam utique ipse Faustinus et alii ejusdem provinciæ episcopi nunciaverant Stephano proximiori, et omnium episcoporum principi? Dicendum igitur factum id fuisse aut per negligentiam Stephani; aut quod magis videtur, per disciplinam quæ tunc in ecclesia

the right of excommunication did belong solely to the bishop of Rome, wherefore did Faustinus, bishop of Lyons, advertise Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, who was so far distant, concerning those very things touching Marcianus, which both Faustinus himself, and other bishops of the same province, had before sent word of to Stephen, bishop of Rome, who lived nearest, being moreover of all bishops the chief? It must either be said, that this was done because of Stephen's negligence; or, what is more probable, according to the discipline then used in the church, that all bishops of neighbouring places, but especially those presiding over the most eminent cities, should join their counsels for the welfare of the church, and that Christian religion might not receive the least damage in any of its affairs whatsoever: hence it was, that in the case of Marcianus, bishop of Arles, the bishop of Lyons writ letters to the bishop of Rome and Carthage; and again, that the bishop of Carthage, as being most remote, did write to the bishop of Rome, as being his brother and colleague, who by reason of his propinquity might more easily know and judge of the whole matter.

The other instances are of a later date, (after the

vigebat, ut omnes quidem in circumpositis locis, sed præsertim urbium clarissimarum episcopi in commune consulerent ecclesiæ, viderentque ne quid detrimenti res Christiana catholica caperet. Itaque super isto Marciani Arelatensis facinore, Lugdunensem episcopum ad Romanum et Carthaginiensem dedisse literas, istum vero ut remotissimum dedisse vicissim suas ad Romanum, ut fratrem et collegam, qui in propinquo facilius posset de negotio et cognoscere et statuere. *Rigalt. in Cypr.* Ep. 67.

synod of Nice,) and therefore of not so great weight; yea, their having none more ancient to produce, doth strongly make against the antiquity of this right; it being strange, that no memory should be of any deposed thereby for above three hundred years: but however such as they are, they do not reach home to the purpose.

They allege Flavianus, bishop of Antioch, deposed by pope Damasus, as they affirm. But it is wonderful they should have the face to mention that instance; the story in short being this: [z] *The great Flavianus* (a most worthy and orthodox prelate, whom St. Chrysostom in his Statuary Orations doth so highly commend and celebrate) being substituted in the place of *Meletius by the quire of bishops*, a party did adhere to Paulinus; and after his decease they set up Evagrius, ordaining him (as Theodoret, who was best acquainted with passages on that side of Christendom, reporteth) against many canons of the church. Bell. de Pont. R. ii. 18. Theod. v. 23. Socr. v. 15. Soz. viii. 3.

Yet with this party, the Roman bishops, [a] *not willing to know any of these things*, (three of them in order, Damasus, Siricius, Anastasius,) did conspire, instigating the emperor against Flavianus, and reproaching him as *supporter of a tyrant against the laws of Christ.*

But the emperor having called Flavianus to him, and received much satisfaction in his demeanour and discourse, did remand and settle him in his place; *The emperor*, saith Theodoret, *wondering at his courage and his wisdom, did command him to re-*

[z] Τῷ μεγάλῳ Φλαβιανῷ χαλεπαίνοντες ——. Theod.

[a] Ἀλλ' ὅμως τούτων οὐδὲν εἰδέναι θέλοντες τὴν Εὐαγρίου μὲν κοινωνίαν ἠσπάζοντο, κατὰ Φλαβιανοῦ τὰς βασιλίκας ἐκίνησαν ἀκοάς. Theod. ib.

turn home, and to feed the church committed to him[b]: at which proceeding when the Romans afterward did grumble, the emperor gave them such reasons and advices, that they complied, and did entertain communion with Flavianus.

It is true, that upon their suggestions and clamours the emperor was moved at first to order that Flavianus should go to Rome, and give the western bishops satisfaction: but after that he understood the quality of his plea, he freed him of that trouble, and without their allowance settled him in his see.

Here is nothing of the pope's deposing Flavianus; but of his embracing in a schism the side of a competitor, it being in such a case needful that the pope or any other bishop should choose with whom he must communicate, and consequently must disclaim the other; in which choice the pope had no good success; not deposing Flavianus, but vainly opposing him; wherefore this allegation is strangely impertinent, and well may be turned against them.

Indeed in this instance we may see how fallible that see was in their judgment of things, how rash in taking parties and fomenting discords, how pertinacious in a bad cause, how peevish against the common sense of their brethren; (especially considering, that before this opposition of Flavianus the Fathers of Constantinople had, in their letter to pope Damasus and the occidental bishops, approved and commended him to them; highly asserting the legitimateness of his ordination;) in fine, how little their

[b] Αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν θαυμάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς, τὴν ἐνεγκοῦσαν καταλαβεῖν, καὶ τὴν ἐγχειρισθεῖσαν ποιμαίνειν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκέλευσεν. Theod. ib.

uthority did avail with wise and considerate per-ons, such as Theodosius M. was[c].

De Merca representeth the matter somewhat otherwise out of Socrates; but take the matter as ocrates hath it, and it signifieth no more, than that oth Theophilus and Damasus would not entertain ommunion with Flavianus, as being uncapable of he episcopal order, for having violated his oath, nd caused a division in the church of Antioch: hat is this to judicial deposition? and how did Damasus more depose him than Theophilus, who pon the same dissatisfaction did in like manner orbear communion? whenas indeed a wiser and etter man than either of them, St. Chrysostom, did old communion with him, and did at length (saith ocrates, not agreeing with Theodoret) reconcile im to them both. Socr. v. 15. Marc. iii. 14. sect. 1.

They allege the deposition of Nestorius. But who knoweth not, that he was for heretical doctrine eposed in and by a general synod? [d]Pope Celestine id indeed threaten to withdraw his communion, if e did not renounce his error. But had not any ther bishop sufficient authority to desert a perverter f the faith? [e]Did not his clergy do the same, being

[c] Theod. v. 9. —— οἵτε τῆς ἐπαρχίας, καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς διοικήσεως ὑνδραμόντες κανονικῶς ἐχειροτόνησαν——ἥνπερ ἔνθεσμον χειροτονίαν ἐδέξατο αὐ τὸ τῆς ὑδου κοινόν.

[d] Γινωσκέτω, ὅτι αὐτὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν κοινωνίαν ἔχειν οὐ δυνήσεται, ἣν ὐὴ ——. P. Celest. ad Cyril. in Conc. Eph. Act. p. 281. Παν-ελῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἡμῶν, καὶ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν συνόδου ἀπεκλείσθης, ἀν μὴ εὐθέως τὰ κακῶς εἰρημένα ὑπὸ σοῦ διορθωθῇ. Ibid. Epist. ad Nest.). 186. Ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας κοινωνίας ἀποχωρίζομεν. (ad Joh. Ant.). 196.)

[e] Μακαρία δὲ ὅμως ἡ ἀγέλη, ᾗ παρέσχεν ὁ κύριος κρίνειν περὶ τῆς ἰδίας ομῆς. P. Celest. ad Clerum, &c. Const. Act. Eph. p. 190.

commended by pope Celestine for it? [f]Did not Cyril in writing to pope Celestine himself affirm, that he might before have declared, that he could not communicate with him? Did Nestorius admit the pope's judgment? No, as the papal legates did complain, [g]*he did not admit the constitution of the apostolical chair*. Did the pope's sentence obtain effect? No, not any; for, notwithstanding his threats, Nestorius did hold his place till the synod; the emperor did severely rebuke Cyril for his fierceness, (and implicitly the pope,) and did order that no change should be made, till the synod should determine in the case; not regarding the pope's judgment: so that this instance may well be retorted, or used to prove the insignificancy of papal authority then.

They allege also Dioscorus of Alexandria deposed by pope Leo: but the case is very like to that of Nestorius, and argueth the contrary to what they intend: he was, for his misdemeanours, and violent countenancing of heresy, solemnly in a general synod accused, tried, condemned, and deposed; the which had long before been done, if in the pope, his professed and provoked adversary, there had been sufficient power to effect it.

Bellarmine also allegeth pope Sixtus III. deposing Polycronius, bishop of Jerusalem: but no such Polycronius is to be found in the registers of bishops then, or in the histories of that busy time, between the two great synods of Ephesus and Chalcedon;

[f] Ἐγὼ δὲ ὁμολογῶ καί τοι βουληθεὶς συνοδικῷ γράμματι φανερὸν αὐτῷ καταστῆσαι, ὅτι ταῦτα λέγοντι καὶ φρονοῦντι κοινωνεῖν οὐ δυνάμεθα. Cyril. Ep. ad Celest. Act. Eph. p. 177.

[g] Τὸν τύπον τῆς ἀποστολικῆς καθέδρας οὐκ ἐδέξατο. Conc. Eph. Act. iii. p. 331. Vid. Theodos. 2. Epist. in Conc. Eph. p. 224, 225.

ıd the acts of Sixtus, upon which this allegation is rounded, have so many inconsistencies, and smell so ınk of forgery, that no conscionable nose could enıre them; and any *prudent man*, as Binius himlf confesseth, *would assert them to be spurious.* Therefore Baronius himself doth reject and despise ıem; who gladly would lose no advantage for his aster. Yet pope Nicholas I. doth precede Bellarine in citing this trash; no wonder, that being the ope who did avouch the wares of Isidore Mercator. Baron. ann. 433. sect. 38, 39. P. Nich. I. Epist. 8. (ad Mich.)

They allege Timotheus, the usurper of Alexan- Fac. Herm. p. 150.
ia, deposed by pope Damasus; and they have in- ed the sound of words attesting to them; [h] *These e heads upon which the B. Damasus deposed e heretics Apolinarius, Vitalius, and Timotheus.*

The truth is, that Apolinarius, with divers of his sciples, in a great synod at Rome, at which Petrus, shop of Alexandria, together with Damasus, was esent, was condemned and disavowed for heretical octrine; whence Sozomen saith, that [i] *the Apolirian heresy was by Damasus and Peter, at a nod in Rome, voted to be excluded from the caolic church.*

On which account if we conclude that the pope ıd an authority to depose bishops, we may by like ason infer that every patriarch and metropolitan ıd a power to do the like; there being so many stances of their having condemned and disclaimed

[h] Ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ κεφάλαια ἐφ' οἷς ὁ τρισμακάριος Δάμασος καθεῖλεν πολινάριον, καὶ Βιτάλιον, καὶ Τιμόθεον τοὺς αἱρετικούς. Orient. ad ıfum, apud Bin. p. 396.

[i] Μαθὼν οὖν ταύτην τὴν αἵρεσιν εἰς πολλοὺς ἕρπειν πρῶτος Δάμασος ὁ ωμαίων ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ Πέτρος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας, συνόδου γενομένης ἐν Ῥώμῃ λοτρίαν τῆς καθόλου ἐκκλησίας ἐψηφίσαντο. Soz. vi. 25.

bishops supposedly guilty of heresy; as particularly John of Antioch, with his convention of oriental bishops, did pretend to depose Cyril and Memnon, as guilty of the same Apolinarian heresy; alleging, that to [l]*exscind them was the same thing as to settle orthodoxy*. The which deposition was at first admitted by the emperor.

Ann. 536. Vict. Tun. The next instance is of pope Agapetus (in Justinian's time, for so deep into time is Bellarmine fain to dive for it) deposing Anthimus, bishop of Constantinople. But this instance being scanned will also prove slender and lame. The case was this: Anthimus having deserted his charge at Trabisonde did creep into the see of Constantinople, (a course then held irregular and repugnant to the canons,) and withal he had imbibed the Eutychian heresy. Yet for his support he had wound himself into the favour of the empress Theodora, *a countenancer of the Eutychian sect. Things standing thus, pope Agapetus (as an agent from Rome to crave succour against the Goths, pressing and menacing the city) did arrive at Constantinople. Whereupon the empress desired of him to salute and consort with Anthimus[m]. But he, by petitions of the monks, &c. understanding how things stood, did refuse to do so, except Anthimus *would return to his own charge*,

*Evag. iv. 10.

[l] Τὸ γὰρ τούτους ἐκκόψαι οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ ὀρθοδοξίαν στῆσαι. Relat. Orient. ad Imp. in Act. Eph. p. 380. Ὅθεν καὶ νῦν τὴν γνωρισθεῖσαν παρὰ τῆς Εὐσεβείας ὑμῶν Νεστορίου, καὶ Κυρίλλου, καὶ Μέμνονος καθαίρεσιν ἐδεξάμεθα. Act. p. 385.

[m] Denique petentibus principibus, ut Anthimum papa in salutatione et communicatione susciperet; ille fieri inquit posse, si se libello probaret orthodoxum, et ad cathedram suam reverteretur. *Lib.* cap. 21. Τὰ κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀθέσμως τολμώμενα μαθὼν ——. Libell. Monach. p. 7.

and profess the orthodox doctrine. Thereupon the emperor joined with him to extrude Anthimus from Constantinople, and to substitute Menas. [n]***He,*** say the monks in their libel of request to the emperor, ***did justly thrust this Anthimus from the episcopal chair of this city; your grace affording aid and force both to the catholic faith and the divine canons.*** The act of Agapetus was (according to his share in the common interest) [o]to declare Anthimus, in his judgment, uncapable of catholic communion and of episcopal function by reason of his heretical opinions, and his transgression of ecclesiastical orders; which moved Justinian effectually to depose and extrude him; [p]***You,*** say they, ***fulfilling that which he justly and canonically did judge, and by your general edict confirming it; and forbidding that hereafter such things should be attempted—.*** And Agapetus himself saith, [q]that it was done by ***the apostolical authority, and the assistance of the most faithful emperors.*** The which proceeding was completed by decree of the synod under Menas, and that again was confirmed by the imperial sanction. Whence Evagrius, reporting the story, doth say,

[n] Ἀλλὰ τοῦτων δικαίως ἐξωθήσας τοῦ τῆς δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἱερατικοῦ θρόνου, συνεπαμυνούσης, καὶ συνεπισχυούσης τῇτε καθολικῇ πίστει καὶ τοῖς θείοις κανόσι τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας ——. Ibid. Et Syn. Decr. p. 43. Imper. Sanct. p. 128.

[o] Ἀποφηνάμενος —— μήτε καθολικοῦ μήτε ἱερέως αὐτὸν ἔχειν τὸ ὄνομα. Synod. Dec. p. 43.

[p] Τὰ οὖν παρ' ἐκείνου δικαίως καὶ κανονικῶς κεκριμένα πληροῦντες, καὶ διὰ γενικῆς ὑμῶν νομοθεσίας κυροῦντες, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ λοιποῦ τολμᾶσθαι ἀπαγορεύοντες ——.

[q] Τῆς δὲ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει καθέδρας τὴν ὕβριν βοηθοῦντος τοῦ Θεοῦ, τῇ ἀποστολικῇ αὐθεντίᾳ, καὶ τῶν πιστοτάτων βασιλέων τῇ βοηθείᾳ διορθώσαμεν. p. 24.

concerning Anthimus and Theodosius of Alexandria, that [r]*because they did cross the emperor's commands, and did not admit the decrees of Chalcedon, they both were expelled from their sees.*

It seemeth by some passages in the Acts, that
*p. 10. before Agapetus's intermeddling, *the monks and
†p. 16. †orthodox bishops had condemned and rejected Anthimus; according to the common interest, which they assert all Christians to have in regard to the common faith.

As for the substitution of Menas, it was performed [s]*by the choice and suffrage of the emperor, the clergy, nobles, and people conspiring;* the pope only (which another bishop might have done) ordaining or consecrating him; [t]*Then,* saith Liberatus, *the pope by the emperor's favour did ordain Menas bishop, consecrating him with his hand.*

[u]And Agapetus did glory in this, as being the first ordination made of an eastern bishop by the hands of a pope: [x]*And this,* said the pope, *we conceive, doth add to his dignity, because the eastern church never since the time of the apostle Peter*

[r] Ὅμως δ' οὖν ὡς ἀντικρὺ τῶν (l. ἀντὶ τῶν τοῦ) βασιλέως κελευσμάτων ἰόντες, καὶ μὴ δεχόμενοι τὰ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συντεθειμένα ἀμφὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἐξελαθέτην θρόνων. Evag. iv. 11.

[s] Κατ' ἐκλογὴν καὶ ψῆφον τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων ἡμῶν βασιλέων, καὶ τοῦ εὐαγοῦς τῆσδε τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας κλήρου ——.

[t] Tunc papa principis favore Menam pro eo ordinavit antistitem, consecrans eum manu sua ——. *Lib.* cap. 21.

[u] Ὅιτινι τῶν γαληνοτάτων βασιλέων ἐπεγέλασεν ἡ ἐπιλογὴ ——. Act. p. 24.

[x] Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ πιστεύομεν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀξίᾳ προστιθέναι, ὅτι περ ἐκ τῶν χρόνων τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου οὐδένα ἄλλον οἱαδείποτε ἐκκλησία ἀνατολικὴ ἐδέξατο ἐπίσκοπον ταῖς χερσὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας καθέδρας χειροτονηθέντα ——. Ibid.

did receive any bishop besides him, by the imposition of hands of those who sat in this our chair.

If we compare the proceedings of Agapetus against Anthimus, with those of Theophilus against St. Chrysostom; they are (except the cause and qualities of persons) in all main respects and circumstances so like, that the same reason, which would ground a pretence of universal jurisdiction to one, would infer the same to the other.

Baronius allegeth Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, deposed by pope Felix III. But pope Gelasius asserteth, that any bishop might, in execution of the canons, have disclaimed Acacius, as a favourer of heretics. And Acacius did not only refuse to submit to the pope's jurisdiction, but slighted it [y]. And the pope's act was but an attempt, not effectual; for Acacius died in possession of his see. Baron. an 484. sect. 19. Vid. P. Felic. III. Ep. 6. P. Gelas. Ep. 4.

VIII. If popes were sovereigns of the church, they could effectually, whenever they should see it just and fit, [z]absolve; restore any bishop excommunicated from the church, or deposed from his office by ecclesiastical censure: for relief of the oppressed, or clemency to the distressed, are noble flowers in every sovereign crown.

Wherefore the pope doth assume this power, and reserveth it to himself, as his special prerogative; [a]*It is,* says Baronius, *a privilege of the church of*

[y] Ad cujus præcipue vocatus examen vel venire vel mittere non curavit. *Gelas.* Ep. 13.

[z] When a bishop was unjustly censured upon malice or mistake —— when he did repent of his error or miscarriage —— when the case would upon any account bear favour or pity ——.

[a] Privilegium quidem solius ecclesiæ Romanæ esse reperitur, ut depositus a synodo episcopus absque alia synodo majoris numeri

Rome only, that a bishop deposed by a synod may without another synod of a greater number be restored by the pope; and pope Gelasius I. says, [b] *That the see of St. Peter the apostle has a right of loosing whatever the sentences of other bishops have bound.* —— [c] *That the apostolic see, according to frequent ancient custom, had a power, no synod preceding, to absolve those whom a synod had unjustly condemned, and without a council to condemn those who deserved it.*

It was an old pretence of popes, that bishops were not condemned, except the pope did consent, renouncing communion with them. So pope Vigilius saith of St. Chrysostom and Flavianus, that [d] *although they were violently excluded, yet were they not looked upon as condemned, because the bishops of Rome always inviolably kept communion with them.*

And before him pope Gelasius saith, that [e] *the pope, by not consenting to the condemnation of Athanasius, Chrysostom, Flavianus, did absolve them.*

But such a power of old did not belong to him. For,

restitui possit per Romanum pontificem. *Baron.* ann. 449. sect. 127.

[b] Quorumlibet sententiis ligata pontificum sedes B. Petri apostoli jus habet resolvendi. *P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 13.

[c] Sedes apostolica frequenter more majorum, etiam sine ulla synodo præcedente et absolvendi quos synodus inique damnaverat, et damnandi nulla existente synodo quos oportuit habuit facultatem ——. *P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 13.

[d] Qui licet violenter exclusi sunt, non tamen pro damnatis sunt habiti, eo quod semper inviolatam eorum communionem Rom. pontifices servaverant. *P. Vigilius in Constit. Athan.* &c.

[e] Quem (Johannem Chrys.) sedes apostolica etiam sola, quia non consensit, absolvit. *P. Gelas.* Ep. 3.

1. There is not extant any ancient canon of the church, nor apparent footsteps of custom, allowing such a power to him.

2. Decrees of synods (*provincial* in the former times, and *diocesan* afterwards) were inconsistent with, or repugnant to such a power; for judgments concerning episcopal causes were deemed irrevocable, and appointed to be so by decrees of divers synods; and consequently no power was reserved to the pope of thwarting them by restitution of any bishop condemned in them.

3. The apostolical canons, (which at least serve to prove or illustrate ancient custom,) and divers synodical decrees, did prohibit entertaining communion with any person condemned or rejected by canonical judgment; without exception, or reservation of power of infringing or relaxing that prohibition; and pope Gelasius himself says, [f] *That he who had polluted himself by holding communion with a condemned person, did partake of his condemnation.*

Can. Apost. 10, 11, 12, 13. Conc. Nic. Can. 5. Sard. 16, 17. Cod. Afr. 9. Conc. Antioch. 6, 15. Evag. ii. 4.

4. Whence in elder times popes were opposed and checked when they offered to receive bishops rejected in particular synods. So St. Cyprian declared the restitution of Basilides by pope Stephanus to be null. So the Fathers of the Antiochene synod did reprehend pope Julius for admitting Athanasius and Marcellus to communion, or avowing them for bishops, after their condemnation by synods. And the oriental bishops of Sardica did excommunicate the same pope for communicating with the same persons. Which instances do shew, that the pope

Cypr. Ep. 68.

[f] Damnati hominis communione pollutus, damnationis ejus factus est particeps. *P. Gelas.* Ep. 13. (p. 640.)

was not then undoubtedly, or according to common opinion, endowed with such a power.

But whereas they do allege some instances of such a power, I shall premise some general considerations apt to clear the business, and then apply answers to the particular allegations.

1. Restitution commonly doth signify no more, than acknowledging a person (although rejected by undue sentence) to be *de jure* worthy of communion, and capable of the episcopal office; upon which may be consequent an obligation to communicate with him, and to allow him his due character; according to the precept of St. Paul, *Follow righteousness, faith, charity, peace, with them that call upon the Lord with a pure heart.*

2 Tim. ii. 22.

This may be done when any man notoriously is persecuted for the truth and righteousness. Or when the iniquity and malice of pretended judges are apparent, to the oppression of innocence. Or when the process is extremely irregular: as in the cases of Athanasius, of St. Chrysostom ——. And this is not an act of jurisdiction, but of equity and charity, incumbent on all bishops: and there are promiscuous instances of bishops practising it. Thus Socrates saith, that Maximus, bishop of Jerusalem, [g] *did restore communion and dignity to Athanasius.* And so Cyril of Alexandria, and John of Antioch, being reconciled and reduced to a good understanding of each other, *did restore to each other their sees;* rescinding the censures, which in heat they had denounced each on other. Which sheweth that restitution is not always taken for an

Ἀλλήλοις τοὺς θρόνους ἀπέδοσαν. Socr. vii. 33.

[g] Ἀποδίδωσι καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν κοινωνίαν Ἀθανασίῳ καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν. Socr. ii. 24.

ct of jurisdiction, wherein one is superior to anther; for those persons were in rank and power oordinate.

2. Restitution sometime doth import no more than . considerable influence toward the effects of restorng a person to communion or office; no judicial act eing exercised about the case; [h] *The emperor writng that Paulus and Athanasius should be restored o their sees, availed nothing*—. That was a restiution without effect.

Thus a pope's avowing the orthodoxy, or innoence, or worth of a person, after a due information bout them, (by reason of the pope's eminent rank in he church, and the regard duly had to him,) might ometimes much conduce to restore a person; and night obtain the name of restitution, by an ordinary cheme of speech.

3. Sometimes persons said to be restored by popes re also said to be restored by synods, with regard to uch instance or testimony of popes in their behalf. n which case the judicial restitution, giving right of ecovery and completion thereto, was the act of the ynod[i].

4. When cases were driven to a legal debate, popes ould not effectually resolve without a synod, their ingle acts not being held sufficiently valid. So notwithstanding the declarations of pope Julius in faour of Athanasius, for the effectual resolution of his ase the great synod of Sardica was convened. So

[h] Γράψαντος τοῦ βασιλέως, ὥστε ἀποδοθῆναι Παύλῳ καὶ Ἀθανασίῳ τοὺς ἰκείους τόπους, οὐδὲν πλέον ἠνύετο. Id. ii. 20.

[i] *Note*, It is an ordinary style of votes in synods for the restitution of a bishop, *I restore*. Vid. *Conc. Chalc.* Act. i. p. 165. That s, I give my vote for his restitution.

whatever Pope Innocent I. did endeavour, he could not restore St. Chrysostom without a general synod.

Nor could pope Leo restore Flavianus, deposed in the second Ephesine synod, without convocation of a general synod, the which he did so often sue for to the emperor Theodosius, for that purpose. Pope Simplicius affirmed, that Petrus Moggus, [k] ***having been by a common decree condemned as an adulterer***, (or usurper of the Alexandrian see,) ***could not without a common council be freed from condemnation.***

5. Particular instances do not ascertain right to the person who assumeth any power; for busybodies often will exceed their bounds.

6. Emperors did sometimes restore bishops. Constantine, as he did banish Eusebius of Nicomedia and others, so he did revoke and restore them; so says Socrates, [l] ***They were recalled from banishment by the emperor's command, and received their churches.*** Theodosius did assert to Flavianus his right, whereof the popes did pretend to deprive him; which did amount to a restitution; (at least to the Romanists, who do assert Flavianus to be deposed by the popes.) Instantius and Priscillianus were by the [m] ***rescript of the emperor Gratianus restored***

Theod. v. 23.

[k] Oportebat communi decreto damnatum tanquam adulterum communi concilio damnatione liberari. *Lib.* cap. 18.

[l] Ἀνεκλήθησάν τε τῆς ἐξορίας ἐκ βασιλικοῦ προστάγματος, καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἑαυτῶν ἀπέλαβον. Socr. i. 14.

[m] Rescriptum eliciunt, quo calcatis quæ prius decreta erant, restitui ecclesiis jubebantur: hoc freti Instantius et Priscillianus repetivere Hispanias. *Sulp. Sev.* ii. 63. Revocari Romam Silverium jussit, et de literis illis judicium fieri, ut—si falsæ fuissent probatæ, restitueretur sedi suæ. *Liberat. Breviar.* cap. 22.

to their churches. Justinian did order pope Silverius to be restored, in case he could prove his innocence.

7. Commonly restitution was not effectual without the emperor's consent; whence Theodoret, although allowed by the great synod, did acknowledge his restitution especially due to the emperor; as we shall see in reflecting on his case.

Now to the particular instances produced for the pope, we answer:

1. They pretend, that pope Stephanus did restore Basilides and Martialis, Spanish bishops, who had been deposed; for which they quote St. Cyprian's Epistle, where he says, [n]*Basilides going to Rome imposed upon our colleague, Stephen, who lived a great way off, and was ignorant of the truth of the matter; seeking unjustly to be restored to his bishopric, from which he had justly been deposed.*

But we answer; the pope did attempt such a restitution by way of influence and testimony, not of jurisdiction; wherefore the result of his act in St. Cyprian's judgment was null and blameable; which could not be so deemed, if he had acted as a judge; for a favourable sentence, passed by just authority, is valid, and hardly liable to censure[o]. The clergy

[n] Romam pergens Stephanum collegam nostrum longe positum, et gestæ rei ac tacitæ veritatis ignarum fefellit, ut exambiret reponi se injuste in episcopatum, de quo fuerat juste depositus. *Cypr.* Ep. 68.

[o] —— quare etsi aliqui de collegis nostris extiterunt, qui deificam disciplinam negligendam putant ——. (Nec censuræ congruit sacerdotum mobilis atque inconstantis animi levitate reprehendi. *Ib.* Ep. 55.) —— episcopatum gerere, et sacerdotium Dei administrare non oportere. Desiderâstis solicitudinem vestram vel solatio vel auxilio sententiæ nostræ sublevari. Nec personam in ejusmodi rebus accipere, aut aliquid cuiquam largiri potest humana indulgentia; ubi intercedit et legem tribuit divina præscriptio.

of those places, notwithstanding that pretended restitution, did conceive those bishops uncapable; and did request the judgment of St. Cyprian about it; which argueth the pope's judgment not to have been peremptory and prevalent then in such cases. St. Cyprian denieth the pope, or any other person, to have power of restoring in such a case; and exhorteth the clergy to persist [p] *in declining the communion of those bishops.* Well doth Rigaltius ask, [q] why they should write to St. Cyprian, if the judgment of Stephanus was decisive; and he addeth, that indeed [r] *the Spaniards did appeal from the Roman bishop to him of Carthage.* No wonder, seeing the pope had no greater authority, and probably St. Cyprian had the fairer reputation for wisdom and goodness. Considering which things, what can they gain by this instance? which indeed doth considerably make against them.

2. They allege the restitution of Athanasius, and of others linked in cause with him, by pope Julius. [s] *He,* says Sozomen, *as having the care of all by reason of the dignity of his see, restored to each his own church.*

I answer, the pope did not restore them judicially, but declaratively; that is, declaring his approbation of their right and innocence, did admit them to communion. Julius in his own defence did allege, that

[p] —— quantum possumus adhortamur, ne vos cum profanis et maculatis sacerdotibus communicatione sacrilega misceatis.

[q] Sed cur ad Cyprianum si potestas infinita penes Romanum? *Rigalt.* ibid.

[r] —— datis ad Cyprianum literis appellavere Carthaginiensem adversus Romanum. *Rigalt.*

[s] Οἷα δὲ πάντων κηδεμονίας αὐτῷ προσηκούσης διὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ θρόνου, ἑκάστῳ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπέδωκε. Soz. iii. 8.

Athanasius was not legally rejected; so that without any prejudice to the canons he might receive him; and the doing it upon this account, plainly did not require any act of judgment.

Ὡς ἀμελέξους αὐτοὺς εἰς κοινωνίαν προσήκατο. Soz. iii. 8. Julii Epist. apud Ath. in Apol. 2.

Nay it was necessary to avow those bishops, as suffering in the cause of the common faith. Besides, the pope's proceeding was taxed, and protested against, as irregular; nor did he defend it by virtue of a general power that he had judicially to rescind the acts of synods. And, lastly, the restitution of Athanasius and the other bishops had no complete effect, till it was confirmed by the synod of Sardica, backed by the imperial authority; which in effect did restore them. This instance therefore is in many respects deficient as to their purpose.

3. They produce Marcellus being restored by the same pope Julius. Socr. i. 36.

But that instance, beside the forementioned defects, hath this, that the pope was grievously mistaken in the case; whence St. Basil much blameth him for his proceeding therein. Bas. Ep. 10.

4. They cite the restitution of Eustathius (bishop of Sebastia) by pope Liberius, out of an Epistle of St. Basil, where he says, [t] *What the most blessed bishop Liberius proposed to him, and to what he consented, we know not; only that he brought a letter to be restored, and upon shewing it to the synod at Tyana was restored to his see.*

I answer, that restitution was only from an invalid deposition by a synod of Arians at Melitine; Soz. iv. 24.

[t] Τίνα μέν ἐστιν ἃ προετέθη αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ μακαριστάτου ἐπισκόπου Λιβερίου, τίνα δὲ αὐτὸς συνέθετο ἀγνοοῦμεν· πλὴν ὅτι ἐπιστολὴν ἐκόμισεν ἀποκαθιστῶσαν αὐτὸν, ἣν ἀποδείξας τῇ κατὰ Τύανα συνόδῳ ἀποκατέστη τῷ τόπῳ ——. Bas. Ep. 74.

importing only an acknowledgment of him, upon approbation of his faith professed by him at Rome; the which had such influence to the satisfaction of the diocesan synod at Tyana, that he was restored. Although indeed the Romans were abused by him, he not being sound in faith; for [t]*he now*, saith St. Basil, *doth destroy that faith for which he was received* ——.

5. They adjoin, that Theodoret was restored by pope Leo I. for in the Acts of the synod of Chalcedon it is said, that [u]*he did receive his place from the bishop of Rome.*

I answer, the act of Leo did consist in an approbation of the faith, which Theodoret did profess to hold; and a reception of him to communion thereupon; which he might well do, seeing the ground of Theodoret's being disclaimed was a misprision, that he (having opposed Cyril's writings, judged orthodox) did err in faith, consenting with Nestorius.

Εἰς κοινωνίαν ἐδέξατο —. Syn. Chalc. Act. viii. p. 368.

Theodoret's state before the second Ephesine synod is thus represented in the words of the emperor; [v]*Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, whom we have before commanded to mind only his own church, we charge not to come to the holy synod, before the whole synod being met, it shall seem good to them that he come and bear his part in it.*

[t] Οὗτος νῦν πορθεῖ τὴν πίστιν, ἐφ' ᾗ ἐδέχθη. Id.

[u] Τὸν οἰκεῖον ἀπολαβὼν τόπον παρὰ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς μεγαλωνύμου Ῥώμης ——. Act. i. p. 53.

[v] Θεοδώρητον μέν τοι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Κύρου πόλεως, ὃν ἤδη ἐκελεύσαμεν τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτοῦ μόνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ σχολάζειν, θεσπίζομεν μὴ πρότερον ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν σύνοδον, ἐὰν μὴ πάσῃ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ συνελθούσῃ δόξῃ καὶ αὐτὸν παραγενέσθαι, καὶ κοινωνὸν γενέσθαι τῆς αὐτῆς ἁγίας συνόδου. Imp. Theod. Epist. ad Diosc. in Syn. Chalc. Act. i. p. 53.

[x]He was not perfectly deposed; as others were, ho had others substituted in their places. He was eposed by the Ephesine synod.

The pope was indeed ready enough to assume the atronage of so very learned and worthy a man, who ı so very suppliant and respectful a way had adressed to him for succour; for whom doth not ourtship mollify? And the majority of the synod being inflamed against Dioscorus and the Eutyhian party) was ready enough to allow what the ope did in favour of him. Yet a good part of the ynod, (the bishops of Egypt, of Palestine, of Illyicum,) notwithstanding the pope's restitution, (that ı, his approbation in order thereto,) did stickle gainst his admission into the synod; [y]*Crying out, Have pity on us, the faith is destroyed, the caons proscribe this man, cast him out, cast out Vestorius's master.* So that the imperial agents vere fain to compromise the business, permitting im to sit in the synod, as one whose case was deendent, but not in the notion of one absolutely retored. [z]*Theodoret's presence shall prejudice no an, each one's right of impleading being reserved oth to you and him.*

He therefore was not entirely restored, till upon clear and satisfactory profession of his faith he vas acquitted by the judgment of the synod. The

[x] Pro Theodoreto autem et Eusebio nullus ordinatus est. *Liberat.* 12. Vid. Conc. Chalc. part. iii. p. 490. Excludi vero ab piscopatu, &c. in imperatoris. *Theod. rescript.*

[y] Ἐξεβόησαν, ἐλεήσατε, ἡ πίστις ἀπόλλυται, οἱ κανόνες τοῦτον ἐκβάλλουσι, τοῦτον ἔξω βάλε, τὸν διδάσκαλον Νεστορίῳ ἔξω βάλε. Id. p. 54.

[z] Πρόκριμα ἀπὸ τοῦ παρεῖναι Θεοδώρητον οὐδενὶ γενήσεται, φυλαττομένου ἑκατέροις μετὰ ταῦτα παντὸς λόγου καὶ ὑμῖν, καὶ ἐκείνῳ ——. Ibid.

effectual restitution of him proceeded from the emperor, who repealed the proceedings against him; as himself doth acknowledge; [a]*All these things,* says he, *has the most just emperor evacuated* —— [b]*to these things he premised the redressing my injuries;* and the imperial judges in the synod of Chalcedon join the emperor in the restitution.— [c]*Let the most reverend Theodoret enter, and bear his part in the synod; since the most holy archbishop Leo and sacred emperor have restored his bishopric to him.* Hence it may appear that the pope's restitution of Theodoretus was only opinionative, dough-baked, incomplete; so that it is but a slim advantage which their pretence can receive from it.

IX. It belongeth to sovereigns to receive *appeals* from all lower judicatures, for the final determination of causes; so that no part of his subjects can obstruct resort to him, or prohibit his revision of any judgment.

This power therefore the pope doth most stiffly assert to himself. At the synod of Florence, this was the first and great branch of authority, which he did demand of the Greeks explicitly to avow:— [d]*He will* (said his three cardinals to the emperor) *have all the privileges of his church, and that ap-*

[a] Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα λέλυκεν ὁ δικαιότατος βασιλεὺς ——. Id. Ep. 139. (ad Asperam.)

[b] Προτέθεικε τούτοις τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀδικίας τὴν ἴασιν ——. Ep. 138. (ad Anatol.)

[c] Εἰσίτω καὶ ὁ εὐλαβέστατος Θεοδώρητος κοινωνήσων τῇ συνόδῳ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀπεκατέστησεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ὁ ἁγιώτατος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Λέων, καὶ θειότατος βασιλεὺς ——. Act. i. p. 53.

[d] Θέλει τὰ προνόμια πάντα τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ θέλει ἔχειν τὴν ἔκκλητον ——. Syn. Flor. sess. xxv. p. 846.

peals be made to him. When pope Alexander III. was advised not to receive an appeal in Becket's case, he replied in that profane allusion; [e]*This is my glory, which I will not give to another.* He hath been wont to encourage all people, even upon the slightest occasions, *iter arripere,* (as the phrase is obvious in their canon law,) to run with all haste to his audience; [f]*Concerning appeals for the smallest causes we would have you hold, that the same deference is to be given them for how slight a matter soever they be made, as if they were for a greater.* See, if you please, in Gratian's Decree, Caus. ii. qu. 6. iii. 6. Caus. ii. quæst. 6. where many papal decrees (most ix. 3. cap. indeed drawn out of the spurious epistles of ancient 16. popes, but ratified by their successors, and obtaining for current law) are made for appeals to the see of Rome.

It was indeed one of the most ancient encroachments, and that which did serve most to introduce the rest; inferring hence a title to an universal jurisdiction: [g]*They are the canons,* says pope Nicholas I. *which will that all appeals of the whole church be brought to the examination of this see, and have decreed that no appeal be made from it, and that thus she judge of the whole church; but*

[e] Hæc est gloria mea, quam alteri non dabo.

[f] De appellationibus pro minimis causis volumus te tenere, quod eis pro quacunque levi causa fiant, non minus est, quam si pro majoribus fierent, deferendum. *Alex. III. Ep. ad Vigorn. Episc. in Decret. Greg.* lib. ii. tit. 28. cap. 11.

[g] Ipsi sunt canones, qui appellationes totius ecclesiæ ad hujus sedis examen voluere deferri; ab ipsa vero nusquam prorsus appellari debere sanxerunt, ac per hoc illam de tota ecclesia judicare ipsam ad nullius commeare judicium. *P. Nich. I.* Ep. 8.

herself goes to be judged by none other: and the same pope, in another of his Epistles, says, [h]*The holy statutes and venerable decrees have committed the causes of bishops, as being weighty matters, to be determined by us* ——. [i]*As the synod has appointed and usage requires, let greater and difficult cases be always referred to the apostolic see,* says pope Pelagius II. [k]*They are the canons which will have the appeals of the whole church tried by this see,* saith pope Gelasius I.

But this power is upon various accounts unreasonable, grievous, and vexatious to the church; as hath been deemed, and upon divers occasions declared, by the ancient Fathers, and grave persons in all times; upon accounts not only blaming the horrible abuse of appeals, but implying the great mischiefs inseparably adherent to them.

The synod of Basil thus excellently declared concerning them: [l]*Hitherto many abuses of intolerable vexations have prevailed, whilst many have too*

[h] Sacra statuta, et veneranda decreta episcoporum causas, utpote majora negotia nostræ definiendas censuræ mandarunt. *P. Nich. I.* Ep. 38.

[i] Majores vero et difficiles quæstiones (ut sancta synodus statuit, et beata consuetudo exigit) ad sedem apostolicam semper referantur. *P. Pelag. II.* Epist. 8.

[k] Ipsi sunt canones, qui appellationes totius ecclesiæ ad hujus sedis examen voluere deferri. *P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 4.

[l] Concil. Basil. sess. xxxi. (p. 86.) Inoleverunt autem hactenus intolerabilium vexationum abusus permulti, dum nimium frequenter a remotissimis etiam partibus ad Romanam curiam, et interdum pro parvis et minutis rebus ac negotiis quamplurimi citari, et evocari consueverunt, atque ita expensis et laboribus fatigari, ut nonnunquam commodius arbitrentur juri suo cedere, aut vexationem suam gravi damno redimere, quam in tam longinqua regione litium subire dispendia, &c. Vid. *Opt.*

often been called and cited from the most remote parts to the court of Rome, and that sometime for small and trifling matters, and with charges and trouble to be so wearied, that they sometime think it their best way to recede from their right, or buy off their trouble with great loss, rather than be at the cost of suing in so remote a country.

St. Bernard complaineth of the mischiefs of appeals in his times, in these words: [m]*How long will you be deaf to the complaints of the whole world, or make as if you were so? Why sleep you? When will the consideration of so great confusion and abuse in appeals awake in you? They are made without right or equity, without due order, and against custom. Neither place, nor manner, nor time, nor cause, nor person, are considered: they are everywhere made lightly, and, for the most part, unjustly:* with much more passionate language to the same purpose.

But in the primitive church the pope had no such power.

1. Whereas in the first times many causes and differences did arise, wherein they who were condemned and worsted would readily have resorted thither, where they might have hoped for remedy, if Rome had been such a place of refuge, it would have been very famous for it; and we should find history full of such examples; whereas it is very silent about them.

2. The most ancient customs and canons of the church are flatly repugnant to such a power; for

[m] Bern. de Consid. lib. iii. cap. 2. Quousque murmur universæ terræ aut dissimulas, aut non advertis? —— &c.

they did order causes finally to be decided in each province.

So the synod of Nice did decree; as the African Fathers did allege, in defence of their refusal to allow appeals to the pope: [n]*The Nicene decrees,* said they, *most evidently did commit both clergymen of inferior degrees and bishops to their metropolitans.*

So Theophilus in his Epistle; [o]*I suppose you are not ignorant what the canons of the Nicene council command, ordaining that a bishop should judge no cause out of his own district.*

3. Afterward, when the *diocesan* administration was introduced, the last resort was decreed to the synods of them, (or to the *primates* in them,) all other appeals being prohibited; [p]*as dishonourable to the bishops of the diocese; reproaching the canons, and subverting ecclesiastical order:* to which canon the emperor Justinian referred; [q]*For it is decreed by our ancestors, that against the sentence of these prelates there should be no appeal.* So Constantius told pope Liberius; [r]*that those things*

[n] Decreta Nicena sive inferioris gradus clericos, sive episcopos suis metropolitanis apertissime commiserunt. *Syn. Afr. in Ep. ad P. Celest.*

[o] Arbitror te non ignorare quid præcipiant Niceni concilii canones, sancientes episcopum non judicare causam citra terminos suos —— nam ——. *Pallad.* cap. 7.

[p] *Note,* That the synod of Constantinople, (Can. 6.) mentioning appeals to the emperor, secular judicatories, a general synod, saith, Ἀτιμάσας τοὺς τῆς διοικήσεως ἐπισκόπους, &c. Syn. Const. Can. 6. Concil. Constantinop. Can. 2, 6. Concil. Chalced. Can. 9, 17.

[q] Nam contra horum antistitum sententias non esse locum appellationi a majoribus nostris constitutum est. *Cod. Lib.* i. tit. 4. cap. 29.

[r] Τὰ ἤδη τύπον ἐσχηκότα ἀναλύεσθαι οὐ δύναται. Theod. xi. 16.

which had a form of judgment passed on them could not be rescinded. This was the practice (at least in the eastern parts of the church) in the time of Justinian; as is evident by the Constitutions extant in the Code and in the Novels[s].

4. In derogation to this pretence, divers provincial synods expressly did prohibit all appeals from their decisions. Can. 12. Conc. Ant. Can. 15. Con. Carth. Can. 31.

That of Milevis; [t]*Let them appeal only to African councils or the primates of provinces; and he who shall think of appealing beyond sea, let him be admitted into communion by none in Afric.*

[u]*For if the Nicene council took this care of the inferior clergy, how much more did they intend it should relate to bishops also?*

5. All persons were forbidden to entertain communion with bishops condemned by any one church; which is inconsistent with their being allowed relief at Rome.

6. This is evident in the case of Marcion, by the assertion of the Roman church at that time.

7. When the pope hath offered to receive appeals, or to meddle in cases before decided, he hath found opposition and reproof. Thus when Felicissimus and Fortunatus, having been censured and rejected from communion in Afric, did apply themselves to pope Cornelius, with supplication to be admitted by him; Cypr. Ep. 55. (ad Cornelium.)

[s] Nov. cxxiii. cap. 22. Cod. Lib. i. tit. 4. sect. 29. Vid. Græc.

[t] Non provocent nisi ad Africana concilia, vel ad primates provinciarum; ad transmarina autem qui putaverit appellandum, a nullo infra Africam in communionem suscipiatur. *Conc. Milev.* cap. 22. *Conc. Afr.* Can. 72.

[u] Nam si de inferioribus clericis in concilio Niceno hoc præcaverunt; quanto magis de episcopis voluit observari? *Conc. Afr.* Can. 105. (*vel Epist.*)

St. Cyprian maintaineth that fact to be irregular and unjust, and not to be countenanced, for divers reasons. Likewise, when Basilides and Martialis, being for their crimes deposed in Spain, had recourse to pope Stephanus for restitution, the clergy and people there had no regard to the judgment of the pope; the which their resolution St. Cyprian did commend and encourage.

Cypr. Ep. 68.

When Athanasius, Marcellus, Paulus, &c. having been condemned by synods, did apply themselves for relief to pope Julius; the oriental bishops did highly tax this course as irregular; disclaiming any power in him to receive them, or meddle in their cause. Nor could pope Julius by any law or instance disprove their plea; nor did the pope assert to himself any particular authority to revise the cause, or otherwise justify his proceeding, than by right common to all bishops of vindicating right and innocence, which were oppressed; and of asserting the faith, for which they were persecuted. Indeed at first the oriental bishops were contented to refer the cause to pope Julius as arbitrator; which signifieth that he had no ordinary right; but afterward, either fearing their cause or his prejudice, they started, and stood to the canonicalness of the former decision.

The contest of the African church with pope Celestine, in the cause of Apiarius, is famous; and the reasons which they assign for repelling that appeal are very notable and peremptory.

8. Divers of the Fathers allege like reasons against appeals. [u]St. Cyprian allegeth these:

[u] Refer ad sect. 7. Vid. supr. Oportet utique eos quibus præsumus non circumcursare, nec episcoporum concordiam cohærentem sua subdola et fallaci temeritate collidere, sed agere illic causam

1. Because there was an ecclesiastical law against them.

2. Because they contain iniquity; as prejudicing the right of each bishop granted by Christ, in governing his flock.

3. Because the clergy and people should not be engaged to run gadding about.

4. Because causes might better be decided there, where witnesses of fact might easily be had.

5. Because there is everywhere a competent authority, equal to any that might be had otherwhere.

6. Because it did derogate from the gravity of bishops to alter their censure——.

7. Pope Liberius desired of Constantius that the judgment of Athanasius might be made in Alexandria for such reasons, [x] *because there the accused, the accusers, and their defender were.*

8. St. Chrysostom's argument against Theophilus meddling in his case may be set against Rome as well as Alexandria.

9. St. Austin, in matter of appeal, or rather of reference to candid arbitration, (more proper for ecclesiastical causes,) doth conjoin other apostolical churches with that of Rome; [y] *For the business,* says he, *was not about priests and deacons, or the inferior clergy, but the colleagues,* [*bishops,*] *who may reserve their*

suam, ubi et accusatores habere, et testes sui criminis possint. *Cypr.* Ep. 55.

[x] —— ἔνθα ὁ ἐγκαλούμενος, καὶ οἱ ἐγκαλοῦντές εἰσι, καὶ ὁ ἀντιπωούμενος αὐτῶν ——. Theod. xi. 16.

[y] Neque enim de presbyteris aut diaconis, aut inferioris ordinis clericis, sed de collegis agebatur qui possunt aliorum collegarum judicio, præsertim apostolicarum ecclesiarum, causam suam integram reservare. *Aug.* Ep. 162.

cause entire for the judgment of their colleagues, especially those of the apostolical churches. He would not have said so, if he had apprehended that the pope had a peculiar right of revising judgments.

10. Pope Damasus (or rather pope Siricius) doth affirm himself incompetent to judge in a case which had been afore determined by the synod of Capua; —[z]***but,*** says he, ***since the synod of Capua has thus determined it, we perceive we cannot judge it.***

11. Anciently there were no appeals (properly so called, or jurisdictional) in the church; they were, as Socrates telleth us, introduced by Cyril of Jerusalem; who [a]***first did appeal to a greater judicature, against ecclesiastical rule and custom.*** This is an argument, that about that time (a little before the great synod of Constantinople) greater judicatories, or *diocesan* synods, were established; whenas before *provincial* synods were the last resorts.

12. Upon many occasions appeals were not made to the pope, as in all likelihood they would have been, if it had been supposed that a power of receiving them did belong to him. Paulus Samosatenus did appeal to the emperor. The Donatists did not appeal to the pope, but to the emperor[b]. Their

[z] Sed cum hujusmodi fuerit concilii Capuensis judicium —— advertimus quod a nobis judicandi forma competere non possit.

[a] Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν μόνος καὶ πρῶτος παρὰ τὸ σύνηθες τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ κανόνι Κύριλλος ἐποίησεν, ἐκκλήτοις ὡς ἐν δημοσίῳ δικαστηρίῳ χρησάμενος. Socr. ii. 40. Καθαιρεθεὶς δ' οὖν ὅμως ἐκκλήτου βιβλίον τοῖς καθελοῦσι διαπεμψάμενος μεῖζον ἐπικαλέσατο δικαστήριον. Ibid. Being deposed, he sent a libel of appeal to them who deposed him, appealing to a greater judicature.

[b] Illos vero ab ecclesiastico judicio provocasse, &c. *Aug.* Ep. 162. Ad imperatorem appellaverunt. *Aug. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 16.

cause was by the emperor referred, not to the pope singly, (as it ought to have been, and would have been by so just a prince, if it had been his right,) but to him and other judges as the emperor's commissioners[c]. Athanasius did first appeal to the emperor. St. Chrysostom did request the pope's succour, but he did not appeal to him as judge; although he knew him favourably disposed, and the cause sure in his hand; but he appealed to a general council: the which Innocent himself did conceive *necessary* for decision of that cause.

Ἀναγκαία ἐστὶ διάγνωσις συνοδική. Soz. viii. 26.

[There are in history innumerable instances of bishops being condemned and expelled from their sees, but few of appeals; which is a sign that was no approved remedy in common opinion.]

Eutyches did appeal to all the patriarchs. Theodoret did intend to appeal to all the western bishops. Infra. Infra.

13. Those very canons of Sardica (the most unhappy that ever were made to the church) which did introduce appeals to the pope, do yet upon divers accounts prejudice his claim to an original right, and do upon no account favour that use of them, to which (to the overthrow of all ecclesiastical liberty and good discipline) they have been perverted. For,

1. They do pretend to confer a privilege on the pope; which argueth that he before had no claim thereto.

2. They do qualify and restrain that privilege to certain cases and forms; which is a sign, that he had no power therein flowing from absolute sovereignty:

[c] Quid quod nec ipse usurpavit; rogatus imperator judices misit episcopos qui cum ipso sederent, et de tota illa causa quod justum videretur statuerent. *Aug.* Ep. 162.

4.

for it is strange, that they who did pretend and intend so much to favour him should clip his power.

3. It is not really a power which they grant of receiving appeals in all causes; but a power of constituting judges, qualified according to certain conditions, to revise a special sort of causes concerning the judgment and deposition of bishops. Which considerations do subvert his pretence to original and universal jurisdiction upon appeals.

14. Some popes did challenge jurisdiction upon appeals, as given them by the Nicene canons, meaning thereby those of Sardica; which sheweth they had no better plea, and therefore no original right. And otherwhere we shall consider what validity those canons may be allowed to have.

15. The general synod of Chalcedon (of higher authority than that of Sardica) derived appeals, at least in the eastern churches, into another channel; namely, to the *primate* of each *diocese*, or to the
Can. 9, 17. patriarch of Constantinople. That this was the last resort doth appear, from that otherwise they would have mentioned the pope.

16. Appeals in cases of faith or general discipline were indeed sometimes made to the consideration of the pope; but not only to him, but to all other patriarchs and primates, as concerned in the common maintenance of the common faith or discipline. So did Eutyches appeal to the patriarchs.

Baron. ann. 865 —. P. Nic. I. Ep. 37, &c. 17. The pope, even in later times, even in the western parts, hath found rubs in his trade of appeals. Consider the scuffle between pope Nicholas I. and Hincmarus, bishop of Rhemes.

Vid. Matt. Paris, ann. 1094. 18. Christian states, to prevent the intolerable vexations and mischiefs arising from this practice,

have been constrained to make laws against them. Particularly England. Statutes of provisors, premunire, &c.

In the twelfth age pope Paschal II. complained of king Henry I. [d]*that he deprived the oppressed of the benefit of appealing to the apostolic see.* It was one of king Henry Ist's laws, — [e]*none is permitted to cry from thence, no judgment is thence brought to the apostolic see.* [f]*Foreign judgments we utterly remove,* — [g]*there let the cause be tried where the crime was committed.* It was one of the grievances sent to pope Innocent IV. [h]*that Englishmen were drawn out of the kingdom by the pope's authority, to have their causes heard.*

Nor in after-times were appeals by law in any case permitted without the king's leave; although sometimes by the facility of princes, or difficulty of times, the Roman court (ever importunate and vigilant for its profits) did obtain a relaxation or neglect of laws inhibiting appeals.

19. There were appeals from popes to general councils very frequently. Vid. The senate of Paris after the concordates between Lewis XI. and pope Leo X.

20. By many laws and instances it appeareth, that appellations have been made to the emperors in the greatest causes; and that without popes re- Πᾶσα ψυχή. Rom. xiii. 1.

[d] Vos oppressis apostolicæ sedis appellationem subtrahitis. *Eadm.* p. 113.

[e] Nullus inde clamor, nullum inde judicium ad sedem apostolicam destinantur. *Ibid.*

[f] Peregrina judicia modis omnibus submovemus. *Hen. I. Leg.* cap. 31.

[g] Ibi semper causa agatur, ubi crimen admittitur. *Ibid.*

[h] Quod Anglici extra regnum in causis auctoritate apostolica trahuntur. *Matt. Paris.* p. 699. 10.

Acts xxv. 15. claiming or taking it in bad part. St. Paul did *appeal to Cæsar*. [i]Paulus Samosatenus did appeal to Aurelianus. So the Donatists did appeal to Constantine. *Athanasius to Constantine. The †Egyptian bishops to Constantine. [k]Priscillianus to Maximus. Idacius to Gratian. So that canons were made to restrain bishops from recourse *ad comitatum*.

* Apol. ii. p. 804. †Ath. Apol. ii. p. 797, 798.

21. Whereas they do allege instances for appeal, those well considered do prejudice their cause; for they are few, in comparison to the occasions of them, that ever did arise; they are near all of them late, when papal encroachments had grown; some of them are very impertinent to the cause; some of them may strongly be retorted against them; all of them are invalid.

If the pope originally had such a right, (known, unquestionable, prevalent,) there might have been producible many, ancient, clear, proper, concluding instances.

Bell. ii. 21. All that Bellarmine (after his own search, and that of his predecessors in controversy) could muster, are these following; upon which we shall briefly reflect: (adding a few others, which may be alleged by them.)

Ann. 142. He allegeth Marcion, as appealing to the pope.

The truth was, that Marcion, for having corrupted a maid, was by his own father, bishop of Sinope, [l]*driven from the church*; whereupon he did thence *fly to Rome*, there *begging admittance*

[i] Ad imperatorem appellaverunt. *Aug. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 16.

[k] Ad principem provocavit. *Sulp. Sev.* ii. 64. *Id.* ii. 63. *Conc. Ant.* Can. P. de Marca. iv. 4 ——.

[l] Epiph. Hær. 42. Ἐξεοῦται τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

to communion, but none did grant it[m]: at which he expostulating, they replied, [n]*We cannot without the permission of thy honourable father do this; for there is one faith, and one concord; and we cannot cross thy father our good fellow-minister.* This was the case and issue: and is it not strange this should be produced for an appeal, which was only a supplication of a fugitive criminal to be admitted to communion; and wherein is utterly disclaimed any power to thwart the judgment of a particular bishop or judge, upon account of unity in common faith and peace? Should the pope return the same answer to every appellant, what would become of his privilege? So that they must give us leave to retort this as a pregnant instance against their pretence.

He allegeth the forementioned address of Felicissimus and Fortunatus to pope Cornelius; the which was but a factious circumcursation of desperate wretches; the which, or any like it, St. Cyprian argueth the pope in law and equity obliged not to regard; because a definitive sentence was already passed on them by their proper judges in Afric, from whom in conscience and reason there could be no appeal. So Bellarmine would filch from us one of our invincible arguments against him. Cypr. Ep. 55. ann. 252.

He also allegeth the case of Basilides; which also we before did shew to make against him; his application to the pope being disavowed by St. Cyprian, and proving ineffectual. Cypr. Ep. 68.

These are all the instances which the first three

[m] Ἀποδιδράσκει καὶ ἄνεισιν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην.

[n] Οὐ δυνάμεθα ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ τιμίου πατρὸς σοῦ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· μία γάρ ἐστι πίστις, καὶ μία ὁμόνοια, καὶ οὐ δύναμεθα ἐναντιωθῆναι τῷ καλῷ συλλειτουργῷ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ.

hundred years did afford; so that all that time this great privilege lay dormant.

Ann. 350. He allegeth the recourse of Athanasius to pope Julius; but this was not properly to him as to a judge, but as to a fellow-bishop, a friend of truth and right, for his succour and countenance against persecutors of him, chiefly for his orthodoxy[o]. The pope did undertake to examine his plea, partly as arbitrator upon reference of both parties; partly for his own concern, to satisfy himself whether he might admit him to communion. And having heard and weighed things, the pope denied that he was condemned in a legal way by competent judges; and that therefore the pretended sentence was null; and consequently he did not undertake the cause as upon appeal. But whereas his proceeding did look like an exercise of jurisdiction, derogatory to a synodical resolution of the case, he was opposed by the oriental bishops, as usurping an undue power. Unto
Socr. ii. 20. which charge he doth not answer directly, by asserting to himself any such authority by law or custom; but otherwise excusing himself. In the issue, the pope's sentence was not peremptory; until, upon examining the merits of the cause, it was approved for just, as to matter, by the synod of Sardica[p]. These things otherwhere we have largely shewed; and consequently this instance is deficient.

He allegeth St. Chrysostom, as appealing to pope Innocent I. [q] but if you read his Epistles to that

[o] Διδάσκοντες ἐπὶ καταλύσεως τῆς πίστεως τὰς καθαιρέσεις γενέσθαι. Socr. ii. 20.

[p] Ὥστε (Athanasius et Paulus) τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐπὶ οἰκουμενικῆς συνόδου τέλος λαβεῖν. Ibid.

[q] Tom. vii. Epist. 122, 123. Πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀναδραμεῖν ἀγάπην.

pope, you will find no such matter; he doth only complain, and declare to him the iniquity of the process against him, not as to a judge, but as to a friend and fellow-bishop concerned, that such injurious and mischievous dealings should be stopped[r]; requesting from him, not judgment of his cause, but succour in procuring it by a general synod; to which indeed he did appeal, as Sozomen expressly telleth us; and as indeed he doth himself affirm[s]. Accordingly pope Innocent did not assume to himself the judgment of his cause, but did endeavour to procure a synod for it, affirming it to be *needful:* why so, if his own judgment, according to his privilege, did suffice? Why indeed did not pope Innocent (being well satisfied in the case, yea passionately touched with it) presently summon Theophilus and his adherents, undertaking the trial? Did pope Nicholas I. proceed so in the case of Rhotaldus? [t]Why was he content only *to write consolatory letters to him, and to his people;* not pretending to undertake the decision of his cause? If the pope had been endowed with such a privilege, it is morally impossible that it should not have shone forth clearly upon this occasion; it could hardly be that St. Chrysostom himself should not in plain terms avow it; that he should not formally apply to it, as the most certain and

[r] Παρακαλῶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην διαναστῆναι, καὶ συναλγῆσαι, καὶ πάντα ποιῆσαι, ὥστε στῆναι ταῦτα τὰ κακά.

[s] Οἰκουμενικὴν ἀπεκαλεῖ τὸ σύνοδον. Soz. viii. 17. Ἀλλ' ἀπόντων ἡμῶν καὶ σύνοδον ἐπικαλουμένων. Theod. v. 34. Οἰκουμενικὴν δὲ σύνοδον συναγεῖραι σπουδάζων. Soz. viii. 26. Ἀναγκαία ἐστι διάγνωσις συνοδική. Ibid.

[t] Ἰννοκέντιος δὲ ὁ Ῥώμης, καὶ Φαβιανὸς Ἀντιοχείας οὐκ ἐκοινώνησαν τῇ ἐκβολῇ Ἰωάννου, ἀλλὰ διὰ γραμμάτων τῆς πόλεως τὸν κλῆρον παρεμύθησαν, καὶ ἐδυσχέραινον τοῖς τολμήμασι. Theoph. Soz. viii. 26.

easy way of finding relief; that he should not earnestly mind and urge the pope to use his privilege: why should he speak of that tedious and difficult way of a *general synod*, when so short and easy a way was at hand? But the truth is, he did not know any such power the pope had by himself. St. Chrysostom rather did conceive all such foreign judicatures to be unreasonable and unjust; for the argument which he darteth at Theophilus doth as well reach the papal jurisdiction upon appeals; for, [u]*It was*, saith he, *not congruous, that an Egyptian should judge those in Thrace:* why not an Egyptian, as well as an Italian? And, [x]*If*, saith he, *this custom should prevail, and it become lawful for those who will to go into the parishes of others, even from such distances, and to cast out whom any one pleaseth, doing by their own authority what they please, know that all things will go to wreck* —. Why may not this be said of a Roman, as well as of an Alexandrian? St. Chrysostom also (we may observe) did not only apply himself to the pope, but to other western bishops[y]; particularly to the bishops of Milain and Aquileia, whom he called *Beatissimi Domini:* did he appeal to them?

He allegeth Flavianus, bishop of Constantinople, appealing to pope Leo[z]: but let us consider the

[u] Οὐ γὰρ ἀκόλουθον ἦν τὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῖς ἐν Θράκῃ δικάζειν.

[x] Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο κρατήσειε τὸ ἔθος καὶ ἐξὸν γένοιτο τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰς ἀλλοτρίας ἀπιέναι παροικίας, καὶ ἐκ τοσούτων διαστημάτων, καὶ ἐκβάλλειν οὓς ἂν ἐθέλοι τις, κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἰδίαν πράττοντας ἅπερ ἂν ἐθέλωσιν, ἴστε ὅτι πάντα οἰχήσεται ——. Epist. 122.

[y] Scripsimus ista et ad Venerium Mediolanensem, et ad Chromatium Aquilegiensem episcopum. *Pallad.* cap. 2.

[z] Flavianus autem contra se prolata sententia per ejus legatos

story. Flavianus for his orthodoxy (or upon other accounts) very injuriously treated and oppressed by Dioscorus, who was supported by the favour of the imperial court, having in his case no other remedy, did appeal to the pope; who alone among the patriarchs had dissented from those proceedings. The pope was himself involved in the cause, being of the same persuasion; having been no less affronted and hardly treated (considering their power, and that he was out of their reach) and condemned by the same adversaries.

To him therefore, as to the leading bishop of Christendom, in the first place interested in defence of the common faith, together with a synod, not to him as sole judge, did Flavianus appeal. [a]*He* (saith Placidia, in her Letter to Theodosius) *did appeal to the apostolic see, and to all the bishops of these parts;* that is, to the rest of Christendom, which were not engaged in the party of Dioscorus: and to whom else could he have appealed?

Valentinian, in his Epistle to Theodosius, in behalf of pope Leo, saith, that he did appeal *according to the manner of synods;* and whatever those words signify, that could not be to the pope, as a single judge: for before that time in whatever synod was such an appeal made? what custom could there be favourable to such a pretence? Κατὰ τὸ ἦθος τῶν συνόδων. p. 25.

But what his appeal did import is best interpretable by the proceeding consequent; which was not

sedem apostolicam appellavit libello. *Liber.* cap. 12. Necessitate coactus fuit ita agere, eo quod reliqui patriarchæ adessent ——. *Marc.* vii. 7.

[a] Ὡς προηγούμενον ——. Placidia. Πρὸς τὸν ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἐπισκόπους τῶν μερῶν τούτων. Syn. Chalc. Act. i. p. 26.

the pope's assuming to himself the judicature, either immediately or by delegation of judges, but endeavouring to procure a general synod for it; the which endeavour doth appear in many Epistles to Theodosius and to his sister Pulcheria, soliciting that such a synod might be indicted by his order; [b] *All the bishops,* saith pope Leo, *with sighs and tears do supplicate your grace, that because our agents did faithfully reclaim, and bishop Flavianus did present them a libel of appeal, you would command a general synod to be celebrated in Italy.*

Dioscorus and his party would scarce have been so silly as to condemn Flavianus, if they had known (which, if it had been a case clear in law, or obvious in practice, they could not but have known) that the pope, who was deeply engaged in the same cause, had a power to reverse (and revenge) their proceedings. Nor would the good emperor Theodosius so pertinaciously have maintained the proceedings of that Ephesine synod, if he had deemed the pope duly sovereign governor and judge; or that a right of ultimate decision upon appeal did appertain to him. Nor had the pope needed to have taken so much pains in procuring a synod, if he could have judged without it. Nor would pope Leo (a man of so much spirit and zeal for the dignity of his see) have been so wanting to the maintenance of his right, as not immediately to have proceeded unto trial of the cause, without precarious attendance for a synod, if he thought his pretence to such appeals as we now

[b] Omnes mansuetudini vestræ cum gemitibus et lachrymis supplicant sacerdotes, ut quia et nostri fideliter reclamarunt, et eisdem libellum appellationis Flavianus episcopus dedit, generalem synodum jubeatis intra Italiam celebrari ——. *P. Leo.* Epist. 25.

speak of, to have been good or plausible in the world at that time.

The next case is that of Theodoret. His words indeed, framed according to his condition, needing the patronage of pope Leo, being then high in reputation, do sound favourably; but we abstracting from the sound of words must regard the reason of things. His words are these; [c] *I expect the suffrage of your apostolic see, and beseech and earnestly entreat your holiness to succour me, who appeal to your right and just judicature.*

He never had been particularly or personally judged, and therefore did not need to appeal, as to a judge; nor therefore is his application to the pope to be interpreted for such; but rather as to a charitable succourer of him in his distress, by his countenance and endeavour to relieve him[d].

He only was supposed erroneous in faith, and a perilous abettor of Nestorianism, because he had smartly contradicted Cyril; which prejudice did cause him to be prohibited from coming to the synod of Ephesus; and there in his absence to be denounced heterodox[e].

[c] Ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ ὑμῶν θρόνου περιμένω τὴν ψῆφον, καὶ ἱκετεύω καὶ ἀντιβολῶ τὴν σὴν ἁγιότητα ἐπαμύναι μοι τὸ ὀρθὸν ὑμῶν καὶ δίκαιον ἐπικαλουμένῳ κριτήριον. Theod. Ep. 113. (ad P. Leonem.)

[d] Vid. Ep. 112. ad Domnum. Ἀλλὰ κἀμὲ τὸν ἀπόντα ὁμοίως καλάμῳ κατέσφαξεν, οὔτε καλέσας εἰς δικαστήριον, οὔτε παρόντα κρίνας—— μετὰ τοσούτους ἱδρῶτας καὶ πόνους μὴ δικασάμενος κατεκρίθην. Οἱ δὲ δικαιότατοι δικασταὶ τὸν ἀπόντα κατέκριναν οὐ δικάσαντες, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ λίαν ἐπαινέσαντες τὰ δῆθεν εἰς κατηγορίαν ἡμῶν ἐπιδοθέντα συγγράμματα. Epist. 138.

[e] Βασιλικοῖς γὰρ ἡμᾶς τῇ Κύρκῳ προσδήσαντες γράμμασιν——. Epist. 145. Vid. Theod. Epist. supr. et Ep. 127, 129. Καί με νόμος ἐνθάδε καθείργει βασιλικός. Βασιλικοῖς γράμμασι κωλυθέντες καταλαβεῖν τὴν Ἔφεσον——. Ep. 138, 139. Μαθεῖν ἀντιβολῶ παρ' ὑμῶν εἴτε χρή με

His appeal then to the pope (having no other recourse, in whom he did confide, finding him to concur with himself in opinion against Eutychianism) was no other than (as the word is often used in common speech, when we say, I appeal to your judgment in this or that case) a referring it to the pope's consideration, whether his faith was sound and orthodox; capacitating him to retain his office: the which upon his explication and profession thereof (presented in terms of extraordinary respect and deference) the pope did approve; thereby (as a good divine, rather than as a formal judge) acquitting him of heterodoxy: the which approbation (in regard to the great opinion then had of the pope's skill in those points, and to the favour he had obtained by contesting against the Eutychians) did bear great sway in the synod; so that (although not without opposition of many, and not upon absolute terms) he was permitted to sit among the Fathers of Chalcedon.

Τὰ γὰρ παρ' ὑμῶν κριθησόμενα στέρξομεν ὁποῖα ἂν ᾖ.

Observations.

1. We do not read of any formal trial the pope made of Theodoret's case; that he was cited, that his accusers did appear, that his cause was discussed; but only a simple approbation of him.

2. We may observe, that Theodoret did write to Flavianus in like terms: [f] *We entreat your holiness to fight in behalf of the faith which is assaulted, and to defend the canons which are trampled under foot.*

3. We may observe, that Theodoret expecting this favour of pope Leo, and thence being moved to com-

στέρξαι τὴν ἄδικον ταύτην καθαίρεσιν, ἢ μή. Ep. 113. Ὥστε καὶ τὰς τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀπολαῦσαι κηδεμονίας. Ep. 118.

[f] Τὴν σὴν ἁγιωσύνην παρακαλοῦμεν τῆς πολεμουμένης πίστεως ὑπερμαχῆσαι, καὶ τῶν πατηθέντων ὑπεραγωνίσασθαι κανόνων. Theod. Epist. 86.

mend the Roman see to the height, and to reckon its special advantages, doth not yet mention his supremacy of power, or universality of jurisdiction: for those words, [g] *it befitteth you to be prime in all things*, are only general words relating to the advantages which he subjoineth; of which he saith, [h] *for your throne is adorned with many advantages*, in a florid enumeration whereof he passeth over that of peculiar jurisdiction; he nameth the magnitude, splendour, majesty, and populousness of the city; the early faith praised by St. Paul, the sepulchres of the two great apostles, and their decease there; but the pope's being universal sovereign and judge (which was the main advantage whereof that see could be capable) he doth not mention: why? because he was not aware thereof, else surely he would not have passed it in silence[i].

4. We may also observe, that whatever the opinion of Theodoret was now concerning the pope's power, he not long before did hardly take him for such a judge, when he did oppose pope Celestine, concurring with Cyril, at the first Ephesine synod. He then indeed, looking on pope Celestine as a prejudiced adversary, did not write to him, but to the other bishops of the west, as we see by those words

[g] Διὰ πάντα γὰρ ὑμῖν πρωτεύειν ἁρμόττει ——.

[h] Πολλοῖς γὰρ ὁ ὑμέτερος θρόνος κοσμεῖται πλεονεκτήμασι. Ἔχει γὰρ ὁ πανάγιος θρόνος ἐκεῖνος τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, διὰ πολλὰ, καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, ὅτι αἱρετικῆς μεμένηκε δυσωδίας ἀμύητος, καὶ οὐδεὶς τἀναντία φρονῶν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἐκάθισεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν χάριν ἀκήρατον διεφύλαξε. Theod. Ep. 116. (ad Renatum. Presb.)

[i] That holy see has the principality over the churches in all the world for many reasons; but especially because she continued free from the taint of heresy, and none otherwise minded ever sat in her, she having kept the apostolic state always unmixed.

in his Epistle to Domnus; *And we have written to the bishops of the west about these things, to him of Milain, I say, to him of Aquileia, and him of Ravenna, testifying*[i], &c.

5. Yea we may observe, that Theodoret did intend, with the emperor's leave, to appeal, or refer his cause, to the whole body of western bishops, as himself doth express in those words to Anatolius, [k]*I do pray your magnificence, that you would request this favour of our dread sovereign, that I may have recourse to the west, and may be judged by the most religious and holy bishops there.*

Greg. lib. ii. Indict. 11. Ep. 6. Bellarmine further doth allege the appeal of Hadrianus, bishop of Thebes, to pope Gregory I. the which he received and asserted by excommunicating the archbishop of Justiniana Prima, for deposing Hadrianus, without regard to that appeal. I answer,

1. The example is late, when the popes had extended their power beyond the ancient and due limits: those maxims had got in before the time of that worthy pope; who thought he might use the power of which he found himself possessed.

2. It is impertinent, because the bishop of Justiniana had then a special dependence upon the Roman see; from whence an universal jurisdiction upon appeal cannot be inferred.

3. It might be an usurpation; nor doth the opinion or practice of pope Gregory suffice to determine

[i] Καὶ τοῖς θεοφιλεστάτοις δὲ τῆς δύσεως ἐπισκόποις, τῷ Μεδιολάνου φημὶ, καὶ τῷ Ἀκυιλείας καὶ τῷ Ῥαβέννης περὶ τούτων ἐγράψαμεν, διαμαρτυρόμενοι ὡς τῆς Ἀπολιναρίου ταῦτα καινοτομίας πεπλήρωται. Theod. Epist. 112.

[k] Ἀντιβολῶ τὴν ὑμετέραν μεγαλοπρέπειαν, ταύτην αἰτῆσαι τὴν χάριν τὴν καλλίνικον κορυφὴν, ὥστε με τὴν ἐσπέραν καταλαβεῖν, καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐν ἐκείνῃ θεοφιλεστάτοις καὶ ἁγιωτάτοις ἐπισκόποις δικάσασθαι. Theod. Ep. 119. (ad Anatol.)

a question of right; for good men are liable to prejudice, and its consequences.

To these instances produced by Bellarmine some add the appeal of Eutyches to pope Leo; to which it may be excepted, that if he did appeal, it was not to the pope solely, but to him with the other patriarchs; so it is expressly said in the Acts of the Chalcedon synod; [l]*His deposition being read, he did appeal to the holy synod of the most holy bishop of Rome, and of Alexandria, and of Jerusalem, and of Thessalonica:* the which is an argument, that he did not apprehend the right of receiving appeals did solely or peculiarly belong to him of Rome.

Liberatus saith, that [m]*Johannes Talaida went to Calendion, patriarch of Antioch, and taking of him intercessory synodical letters, appealed to Simplicius, bishop of Rome, as St. Athanasius had done, and persuaded him to write in his behalf to Acacius, bishop of Constantinople.*

In regard to any more instances of this kind we might generally propose these following considerations.

1. It is no wonder, that any bishop being condemned, especially in causes relating to faith or common interest, should have recourse to the Roman bishop, or to any other bishop of great author-

[l] Ἀναγινωσκομένης τῆς καθαιρέσεως, ἐπεκαλέσατο τὴν ἁγίαν σύνοδον τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης, καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ Θεσσαλονίκης. Syn. Chalc. Act. 1.

[m] Ingressus est ad Calendionem Antiochenum patriarcham, et sumptis ab eo intercessionis synodicis literis Romanum pontificem Simplicium appellavit, sicut B. fecerat Athanasius, et suasit scribere pro se Acacio Constantinopolitano episcopo ——. *Liber.* cap. 18. *Baron.* ann. 483. sect. 1.

ity, for refuge or for relief; which they may hope to be procured by them by the influence of their reputation, and their power among their dependents.

2. Bad men, being deservedly corrected, will absurdly resort any whither with mouths full of clamour and calumny; if not with hope of relief, yet with design of revenge; as did Marcion, as did Felicissimus, as did Apiarius to the pope.

3. Good men being abused will express some resentment, and complain of their wrongs, where they may presume of a fair and favourable hearing: so did Athanasius, Flavianus, St. Chrysostom, Theodoret, apply themselves to the same bishops, flourishing in so great reputation and wealth.

So did the monks of Egypt, (Ammonius and Isidorus,) from the persecutions of Theophilus, fly to the protection and succour of St. Chrysostom; which gave occasion to the troubles of that incomparable personage; the which is so illustrious an instance, that the words of the historian relating it deserve setting down.

[n] *They jointly did endeavour, that the trains against them might be examined by the emperor as judge, and by the bishop John; for they conceived that he having conscience of using a just freedom, would be able to succour them according to right: but he did receive the men applying to*

[n] Κοινῇ τε ἐσπούδαζον παρὰ βασιλεῖ κριτῇ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἐλέγχεσθαι τὰς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλάς· ᾤοντο γὰρ ἐνδίκου παῤῥησίας αὐτὸν ἐπιμελούμενον δυνάσθαι τὰ δίκαια βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς· ὁ δὲ προσελθόντας αὐτῷ τοὺς ἄνδρας φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο, καὶ ἐν τιμῇ εἶχε, καὶ εὔχεσθαι ἐπὶ ἐκκλησίας οὐκ ἐκώλυσε —— ἔγραψε δὲ Θεοφίλῳ κοινωνίαν αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦναι, ὡς ὀρθῶς περὶ Θεοῦ δοξάζουσιν· εἰ δὲ δίκῃ δέοι κρίνεσθαι τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς, ἀποστέλλειν ὃν αὐτῷ δοκεῖ δικασόμενον. Soz. viii. 13.

him courteously, and treated them respectfully, and did not hinder them from praying in the church— He also writ to Theophilus to render communion to them, as being orthodox; and if there were need of judging their case by law, that he would send whom they thought good to prosecute the cause.

If this had been to the pope, it would have been alleged for an appeal; and it would have had as much colour as any instance which they can produce.

4. And when men, either good or bad, do resort in this manner to great friends, it is no wonder, if they accost them in highest terms of respect, and with exaggerations of their eminent advantages; so inducing them to regard and favour their cause.

5. Neither is it strange, that great persons favourably should entertain those, who make such addresses to them, they always coming crouching in a suppliant posture, and with fair pretences; it being also natural to men to delight in seeing their power acknowledged; and it being a glorious thing to relieve the afflicted: for [o]*eminence is wont to incline toward infirmity, and with a ready good-will to take part with those who are under.* So when Basilides, when Marcellus, when Eustathius Sebastenus, when Maximus the Cynic, when Apiarius, were condemned, the pope was hasty to engage for them; more liking their application to him, than weighing their cause.

6. And when any person doth continue long in a flourishing estate, so that such addresses are frequently made to him, no wonder that an opinion of

[o] Φιλεῖ μάλιστα κάμπτεσθαι τὸ προέχον πρὸς τὸ ἀσθενὲς, καὶ δι' εὐνοίας ἐκεισίου τῷ ἡλαττωμένῳ προστίθεσθαι. Greg. Naz. Orat. 23.

lawful power to receive them doth arise both in him and in others; so that of a voluntary friend he become an authorized protector, a patron, a judge of such persons in such cases.

X. The sovereign is fountain of all jurisdiction; and all inferior magistrates derive their authority from his warrant and commission, acting as his deputies or ministers, according to that intimation in
1 Pet. ii. 13. St. Peter,—*whether to the king as supreme, or to governors as sent by him.*

Accordingly the pope doth challenge this advantage to himself, that he is the fountain of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; pretending all episcopal power to be derived from him.

[p] *The rule of the church,* saith Bellarmine, *is monarchical; therefore all authority is in one, and from him is derived to others;* the which aphorism he well proveth from the form of creating bishops, as they call it; [q] *We do provide such a church with such a person; and we do prefer him to be father and pastor and bishop of the said church; committing to him the administration in temporals and spirituals in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.*

Pope Pius II. in his Bull of Retractation, thus expresseth the sense of his see; [r] *In the militant*

[p] Regimen ecclesiæ est monarchicum; ergo omnis auctoritas est in uno, et ab illo in alios derivatur. *Bell.* iv. 24. Epiph. Hær. 42.

[q] Providemus ecclesiæ tali de tali persona, et præficimus eum in patrem, et pastorem, et episcopum ejusdem ecclesiæ, committentes ei administrationem in temporalibus et spiritualibus; in nomine, &c. *Ibid.*

[r] In ecclesia militanti, quæ instar triumphantis habet, unus est omnium moderator et arbiter Jesu Christi vicarius, a quo tan-

church, which resembleth the triumphant, there is one moderator and judge of all, the vicar of Jesus Christ, from whom, as from the head, all power and authority is derived to the subject members; the which doth immediately flow into it from the Lord Christ.

A congregation of cardinals, appointed by pope Paulus III. speaking after the style and sentiments of that see, did say to him, [s] ***Your holiness doth so bear the care of Christ's church, that you have very many ministers, by which you manage that care; these are all the clergy, on whom the service of God is charged; especially priests, and more especially curates, and above all, bishops.***

Durandus, bishop of Mande, according to the sense of his age, saith, [t] ***The pope is head of all bishops, from whom they as members from an head descend, and of whose fulness all receive; whom he calls to a participation of his care, but admits not into the fulness of his power.***

This pretence is seen in the ordinary titles of bishops, who style themselves bishops of such a place,

quam capite omnis in subjecta membra potestas et authoritas derivatur, quæ a Christo Domino sine medio in ipsum influit. *P. Pius II. in Bull. Retract.*

[s] Sanctitas vestra ita gerit curam ecclesiæ Christi, ut ministros plurimos habeat, per quos curam exerceat; hi autem sunt clerici omnes, quibus mandatus est cultus Dei; presbyteri præsertim, et maxime curati, et præ omnibus episcopi ——. *Apud Cham. de Pont. Œcum.* 10, 13.

[t] Summus pontifex caput est omnium pontificum, a quo illi tanquam a capite membra descendunt, et de cujus plenitudine omnes accipiunt quos ipse vocat in partem solicitudinis, non in plenitudinem potestatis. *Durand. Mimat. Offic.* ii. 1, 17.

[u] *by the grace of God and of the apostolic see.* O shame!

The men of the Tridentine convention (those great betrayers of the church to perpetual slavery, and Christian truth to the prevalency of falsehood, till God pleaseth) do, upon divers occasions, pretend to qualify and empower bishops to perform important matters, originally belonging to the episcopal function, as the pope's delegates.

This was an expedient. Vid. Concil.

But contrariwise according to the doctrine of holy scripture, and the sense of the primitive church, the bishops and pastors of the church do immediately receive their authority and commission from God; being only his ministers.

Col. i. 7. iv. 7. 1 Thess. iii. 2. 1 Tim. iv. 6. Tit. i. 7. 2 Tim. ii. 24.

The scripture calleth them *the ministers of God,* and *of Christ,* (so Epaphras, so Timothy, in regard to their ecclesiastical function are named,) *the stewards of God, the servants of God, fellow-servants* of the apostles.

Acts xx. 28. Naz. Or. 30. Eph. iv. 11. 1 Cor. xii. 29.

The scripture saith, that *the Holy Ghost had made them bishops to feed the church of God;* that *God had given them,* and *constituted them in the church; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ;* that is, to all effects and purposes concerning their office: for *the work of the ministry* compriseth all the duty charged on them, whether in way of order or of governance[x]; as they now do precariously and groundlessly in reference to this case distinguish: and *edifying the body* doth im-

[u] N. Dei et apostolicæ sedis gratia episcopus Colon ——.

[x] Ordo confertur a Deo immediate, jurisdictio mediate. *Bell.* iv. 25.

port all the designed effects of their office; particularly those which are consequent on the use of jurisdiction; the which St. Paul doth affirm was appointed for edification; *according*, saith he, *to the authority which God hath given me for edification, and not for destruction.* They do *preside in the Lord.* They allow no other head but our Lord, *from whom all the body*, &c.

2 Cor. x. 8. xiii. 10.

Προϊστάμενοι ἐν Κυρίῳ. 1 Thess. v. 12.

Eph. iv. 16.

The Fathers clearly do express their sentiments to be the same.

St. Ignatius saith, that the bishop [y] *doth preside in the place of God;* and that [z] *we must look upon him as our Lord himself*, (or as our Lord's representative;) that therefore *we must be subject to him as unto Jesus Christ.*

St. Cyprian affirmeth [a] *each bishop to be constituted by the judgment of God and of Christ:* and *that in his church he is for the present a judge in the place of Christ:*—and *that our Lord Jesus Christ, one and alone, hath a power both to prefer us to the government of his church, and to judge of our acting.*

St. Basil; [b] *A prelate is nothing else but one that sustaineth the person of Christ.*

[y] Προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ. Ign. ad Magnes.

[z] Τὸν οὖν ἐπίσκοπον δῆλον ὅτι ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν Κύριον δεῖ προσβλέπειν. Ign. ad Eph. Ὅταν ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσεσθε ὡς Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ. Ign. ad Trall.

[a] De Dei et Christi ejus judicio. *Cypr.* Ep. 52. *et alibi sæpe.* Unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus judex, vice Christi. *Id.* Ep. 55. Sed expectemus universi judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus et solus habet potestatem et præponendi nos in ecclesiæ suæ gubernatione, et de actu nostro judicandi. *Id. in Conc. Carthag.*

[b] Ὁ γὰρ καθηγούμενος οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστιν, ἢ ὁ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐπέχων πρόσωπον. Bas. Const. Mon. cap. 22.

St. Chrysostom; [c] ***We have received the commission of ambassadors, and come from God; for this is the dignity of the episcopal office.***

[d] ***It behoveth us all, who by divine authority are constituted in the priesthood, to prevent,*** &c.

Wherefore the ancient bishops did all of them take themselves to be vicars of Christ, not of the pope, and no less than the proudest pope of them all; whence it was ordinary for them in their addresses and compellations to the bishop of Rome, and in their speech about him, to call him their ***brother***, their ***colleague***, their ***fellow-minister;*** which had not been modest, or just, if they had been his ministers or shadows. Yea, the popes themselves, even the highest and haughtiest of them, who of any in old times did most stand on their presumed preeminence, did yet vouchsafe to call other bishops their fellow-bishops and fellow-ministers.

Leo. Ep. 84.

Those bishops of France with good reason did complain of pope Nicholas I. [c] ***for calling them his clerks; whenas, if his pride had suffered him, he should have acknowledged them for his brethren, and fellow-bishops.***

In fine, the ancient bishops did not allege any commission from the pope to warrant their jurisdiction, but from God; [f] ***If Moses's chair were so***

[c] Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν πρεσβείας ἀνεδεξάμεθα λόγον καὶ ἤκομεν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀξίωμα. Chrys. in Coloss. Orat. 3.

[d] Oportere nos omnes, qui Deo auctore sumus in sacerdotio constituti illius certaminibus obviare, &c. *Anatol. in Syn. Chalc.* p. 512.

[e] Sciesque nos non tuos esse ut te jactas et extollis clericos, quos ut fratres et coepiscopos recognoscere si elatio permitteret, debueras. *Ann. Pith.*

[f] Εἰ ὁ Μωσέως θρόνος οὕτως ἦν αἰδέσιμος, ὡς δι' ἐκεῖνον ἀκούεσθαι, πολλῷ

venerable, that what was said out of that ought therefore to be heard, how much more is Christ's throne so? We succeed him, from that we speak, since Christ has committed to us the ministry of reconciliation.

'Ημῖν τοίνυν ——. S. Chrys. sup.

[g] *That which is committed to the priest, it is only in God's power to give.*

[h] *Since we also, by the mercy of Christ our King and God, were made ministers of the gospel.*

This is a modern dream, born out of ambition and flattery, which never came into the head of any ancient divine.

It is a ridiculous thing to imagine that Cyprian, Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom, Austin, &c. did take themselves for the vicegerents or ministers of the popes; if they did, why did they not, so frequent occasion being given them, in all their volumes, ever acknowledge it? why cannot Bellarmine and his complices, after all their prolling, shew any passage in them importing any such acknowledgment; but are fain to infer it by farfetched sophisms, from allegations plainly impertinent or frivolous?

The popes indeed in the fourth century began to practise a fine trick, very serviceable to the enlargement of their power; which was to confer on certain bishops, as occasion served, or for continuance, the

μᾶλλον ὁ Χριστοῦ θρόνος; ἐκεῖνον ἡμεῖς διεδεξάμεθα, ἀπὸ τούτου φθεγγόμεθα, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἔθετο ἐν ἡμῖν τὴν διακονίαν τῆς καταλλαγῆς. Chrys. in Coloss. Orat. 3.

[g] Ἀ γὰρ ἐγκεχείρισται ὁ ἱερεὺς, Θεοῦ μόνου ἐστὶ δωρεῖσθαι, &c. Chrys. in Joh. Orat. 83.

[h] Ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐλέει τοῦ συμβασιλέως (l. παμβασιλέως) ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἱερουργοὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐκληρώθημεν ——. Flavian. in Chalc. Act. i. p. 4.

title of their vicar or lieutenant; thereby pretending to impart authority to them: whereby they were enabled for performance of divers things, which otherwise by their own episcopal or metropolitical power they could not perform. By which device they did engage such bishops to such a dependence on them, whereby they did promote the papal authority in provinces, to the oppression of the ancient rights and liberties of bishops and synods, doing what they pleased under pretence of this vast power communicated to them; and for fear of being displaced, or out of affection to their favourer, doing what might serve to advance the papacy.

Evagr. Act. Eph. p. 134. Thus did pope Celestine constitute Cyril in his room.

Pope Leo appointed Anatolius of Constantinople.

Act. Conc. sub Menna. p. 70. Pope Felix Acacius of Constantinople.

Pope Hormisdas Epiphanius of Constantinople.

Pope Simplicius to Zeno bishop of Seville—[h] *We thought it convenient that you should be held up by the vicariat authority of our see.*

So did Siricius and his successors constitute the bishops of Thessalonica to be their vicars in the diocese of Illyricum, wherein being then a member of the western empire they had caught a special jurisdiction; to which pope Leo did refer in those words, which sometimes are impertinently alleged with reference to all bishops, but concern only Anastatius, bishop of Thessalonica; [i] *We have intrusted*

[h] Congruum duximus vicaria sedis nostræ te auctoritate fulciri. *Baron.* ann. 482. sect. 46.

[i] Vices enim nostras ita tuæ credidimus charitati, ut in partem sis vocatus solicitudinis, non in plenitudinem potestatis. *P. Leo.* Ep. 84. (*ad Anastas. Thessal.*)

thy charity to be in our stead, so that thou art called into part of the solicitude, not into plenitude of the authority.

So did pope Zozimus bestow a like pretence of vicarious power upon the bishop of Arles, which city was the seat of the temporal exarch in Gaul. P. Joh. VIII. Ep. 93.

So to the bishop of Justiniani Prima in Bulgaria, (or Dardania Europæa,) the like privilege was granted, [by procurement of the emperor Justinian, native of that place.]

Afterwards temporary or occasional vicars were appointed, (such as Austin in England, Boniface in Germany,) who in virtue of that concession did usurp a paramount authority; and by the exercise thereof did advance the papal interest; depressing the authority of metropolitans and provincial synods.

So at length legates, upon occasion despatched into all countries of the west, came to do there what they pleased, using that pretence to oppress and abuse both clergy and people very intolerably.

Whence divers countries were forced to make legal provisions for excluding such legates, finding by much experience that their business was to rant and domineer in the pope's name, to suck money from the people, and to maintain luxurious pomp upon expense of the countries where they came. P. Pasch. II. Epist. apud Eadm. p. 113, &c.

[k] Of this, John XXII. doth sorely complain; and decrees that all people should admit his legates, under pain of interdicts.

In England, pope Paschal finds the same fault in his letter to king Henry I. *Nuncios, or letters from the apostolic see, unless by your majesty's*

[k] Extrav. commun. i. 1. (p. 310.) Occulti inimici regni. *Matt. Par.* p. 524.

command, are not thought worthy any admittance or reception within your jurisdiction: none complains thence, none appeals thence for judgment to the apostolic see[m].

The pope observing what authority and reverence the archbishops of Canterbury had in this nation, whereby they might be able to check his attempts, did think good to constitute those archbishops his legates of course, (*legatos natos*,) that so they might seem to exercise their jurisdiction by authority derived from him; and owing to him that mark of favour, or honour, with enlargement of power, might pay him more devotion, and serve his interests.

Bell. ii. 10. Bellarmine doth from this practice prove the pope's sovereign power; but he might from thence better have demonstrated their great cunning. It might, from such extraordinary designation of vicegerents, with far more reason be inferred, that ordinarily bishops are not his ministers.

XI. It is the privilege of a sovereign, that he cannot be called to account, or judged, or deposed, or debarred communion, or anywise censured and punished; for this implieth a contradiction or confusion in degrees, subjecting the superior to inferiors; this were making a river run backwards; this were to dam up the fountain of justice; to behead the state; to expose majesty to contempt.

Wherefore the pope doth pretend to this privilege, according to those maxims in the canon law, drawn

[m] Sedis apostolicæ nuncii vel literæ præter jussum regiæ majestatis nullam in potestate tua susceptionem aut aditum promerentur, nullus inde clamor, nullum judicium ad sedem apostolicam destinantur. *P. Pasch. II. Eadm.* p. 113.

from the sayings of popes (either forged or genuine, but all alike) obtaining authority in their court[n].

And according to what pope Adrian let the eighth synod know, [o]*because*, says he, *the apostolic church of Rome stoops not to the judgment of lesser churches.* They cite also three old synods, (of Sinuessa, of Rome under pope Silvester, of Rome under Sixtus III.) but they are palpably spurious, and the learned amongst them confess it.

But antiquity was not of this mind; for it did suppose him no less obnoxious to judgment and correction than other bishops, if he should notoriously deviate from the faith, or violate canonical discipline.

The canons generally do oblige bishops without exception to duty, and (upon defailance) to correction: why is not he excepted, if to be excused or exempted?

It was not questioned of old, but that a pope, in case he should notoriously depart from the faith, or notably infringe discipline, might be excommunicated: the attempting it upon divers occasions doth shew their opinion, although it often had not effect, because the cause was not just and plausible; the truth and equity of the case appearing to be on the pope's side.

St. Isidore Pelusiota denieth of any bishop's office,

[n] Bell. ii. 26. de Conc. ii. 17. Grat. Dist. xl. cap. 6. xxi. 7. Caus. ix. qu. 3. cap. 10. —— Extrav. comm. lib. i. tit. 8. cap. 1. P. Leo IX. Ep. i. cap. 10. —— 17. P. Nich. I. Ep. 8. (p. 504.) P. Joh. VIII. Ep. 75. (p. 31.) P. Gelas Ep. 4. (p. 625, 626.) Ep. 13. (p. 640.) P. Greg. VII. Ep. 8, 21.

[o] Διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Ῥώμης τῇ τῶν ἐλαττόνων μὴ ὑποκύπτειν κρίσει. P. Adrian. in Syn. VIII. Act. vii. p. 963.

that it is ἀρχὴ ἀνυπεύθυνος, *an uncontrollable government.*

In the times of Polycrates and pope Victor the whole eastern church did forbear communion with the pope [p]. Firmilian told pope Stephanus, that by conceiting he might excommunicate all other bishops, he had excommunicated himself. The Fathers of the Antiochene synod did threaten to excommunicate and depose pope Julius. [q] *They did promise to Julius peace and communion, if he did admit the deposition of those whom they had expelled, and the constitution of those whom they had ordained; but if he did resist their decrees, they denounced the contrary.* The oriental bishops at Sardica did excommunicate and depose him. St. Hilary did anathematize pope Liberius, upon his defection to the Arians. [r] Dioscorus did attempt to excommunicate pope Leo. * Acacius of Constantinople renounced the communion of pope Felix. † Timotheus Ælurus cursed the pope. The [s] *African bishops* did *synodically excommunicate pope*

Soz. iii. 11.

Anathema tibi, papa Liberi. *Hil. fragm.*

* Niceph. xvi. 17. Baron. ann. 484. §. 35.

†Baron. an. 457. §. 25.

[p] Ἐν τε χρόνοις Πολυκράτους καὶ Βίκτωρος ὡς ἡ ἀνατολὴ πρὸς τὴν δύσιν διαφερομένη εἰρηνικὰ παρ' ἀλλήλων οὐκ ἐδέχοντο. Epiph. Hær. 70. Audianorum. Dum enim putas omnes abs te abstineri posse, solum te ab omnibus abstinuisti. *Firm. apud Cypr. Ep.*

[q] Δεχομένῳ μὲν Ἰουλίῳ τὴν καθαίρεσιν τῶν πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐληλαμένων, καὶ τὴν κατάστασιν τῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν χειροτονηθέντων, εἰρήνην καὶ κοινωνίαν ἐπηγγέλλοντο· ἀνθισταμένῳ δὲ τοῖς δεδογμένοις τἀναντία προηγόρευσαν. Sozom. iii. 8.

[r] Ἐτόλμησε δὲ καὶ ἀκοινωνησίαν ὑπαγορεῦσαι κατὰ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς μεγάλης Ῥώμης Λέοντος. Evag. ii. 4.

[s] Africani antistites Vigilium Rom. episc. damnatorem capitulorum synodaliter a catholica communione, reservato ei pœnitentiæ loco, recludunt. (l. excludunt.) *Vict. Tun. post Cons. Basilii V. C.* ann. 10.

Vigilius. ‡ Pope Anastasius was rejected by his own clergy. § Pope Constantine, by the people; ‖ and so was pope Leo VIII. ¶ Divers bishops of Italy and Illyricum did abstain from the pope's communion for a long time, because they did admit the fifth synod. [t] Photius did excommunicate and depose pope Nicholas I. [u] Maurus, bishop of Ravenna, did anathematize pope Vitalianus. The emperor Otho II. having with good advice laboured to reclaim pope John XII. without effect, did [x]*indict a council, calling together the bishops of Italy, by the judgment of whom the life of that wicked man should be judged;* and the issue was, that he was deposed. Pope Nicholas I. desired to be judged by the emperor. The fifth synod did in general terms condemn pope Vigilius; and the emperor Justinian did banish him for not complying with the decrees of it. The sixth and seventh general synods did anathematize Honorius by name, when he was dead, because his heresy was not before confuted; and they would have served him so, if he had been alive. Divers synods (that of Worms, of Papia, of Brescia, of Mentz, of Rome, &c.) did reject pope Gregory VII. Pope Adrian himself in the eighth synod (so called) did confess, that a pope being found deviating from the faith might be judged, as Honorius was. Gerbertus (afterward pope Sylves-

‡ Plat. p. 131. et Dist. xix. cap. 21, 22.
§ Plat. p. 223.
‖ Id. p. 291.
¶ P. Pelag. II. Ep. iii. 13.
Baron. ann. 669. sect. 2.
Grat. Caus. ii. qu. 7. cap. 41.
Ann. 1076. Vid. Baron. ann. 1033. sect. 3.

[t] Καθαίρεσιν ὡς ἐνόμισε καὶ ἀναθεματισμὸν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιεῖται Νικολαῶ. Vit. Ignatii. Patr. apud Bin. p. 892. Baron. ann. 863 —.

[u] —— Communi totius sancti concilii consensu depositus. *Luitprand.* vi. 6.

[x] —— Concilium indicit, convocatis episcopis Italiæ, quorum judicio vita sceleratissimi hominis dijudicaretur. *Plat. in Joh. XIII.* (*pro XII.*) Vid. *Baron.* ann. 960. *et Binium.*

Baron. ann. 992. sect. 44—. Conc. Bas. sess. xxxviii. p. 101.

ter II.) did maintain, that popes might be held as ethnics and publicans, if they *did not hear the church.* The synod of Constance did judge and depose three popes.

The synod of Basil did depose pope Eugenius; affirming, that [y] *the catholic church hath often corrected and judged popes, when they either erred from the faith, or by their ill manners became notoriously scandalous to the church.*

Gelas. Ep. 9. Baron. ann. 492. sect. 10. Vid. Tract. de Unit. Eccl.

[z] The practice of popes to give an account of their faith (when they entered upon their office) to the other patriarchs and chief bishops, approving themselves thereby worthy and capable of communion, doth imply them liable to judgment. Of the neglect of which practice Euphemius, bishop of Constantinople, did complain.

Of this we have for example the Synodical Epistles of pope Gregory I.

XII. To the sovereign in ecclesiastical affairs it would belong to define and decide controversies in faith, discipline, moral practice; so that all were bound to admit his definitions, decisions, interpretations. He would be the supreme interpreter of the divine law, and judge of controversies. No point or question of moment should be decided without his cognizance. This he therefore doth pretend to; taking upon him to define points, and requiring from all submission to his determinations.

[y] Ecclesia catholica sæpenumero summos pontifices sive a fide delirantes, sive pravis moribus notorie ecclesiam scandalizantes correxit, et judicavit ——. *Conc. Bass.* sess. 12.

[z] Mos est Romanæ ecclesiæ sacerdoti noviter constituto formam fidei suæ ad sanctas ecclesias prærogare. *P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 1. *ad Laur.*

or doth he allow any synods to decide ques-
ons.

But the ancients did know no such thing. In
se of contentions, they had no recourse to his
dgment; they did not stand to his opinion, his
ithority did not avail to quash disputes. They
id recourse to the holy scriptures, to catholic tra-
tion, to reason; they disputed and discussed points
r dint of argument.

Irenæus, Tertullian, Vincentius Lirinensis, and
hers, discoursing of the methods to resolve points
controversy, did not reckon the pope's authority
r one. Divers of the Fathers did not scruple
enly to dissent from the opinions of popes; nor
ere they wondered at, or condemned for it.

So St. Paul did withstand St. Peter. So Poly- Gal. ii. 11. ἀντίστην.
rpus dissented from pope Elutherius. So Poly-
ates from pope Victor. So St. Cyprian from pope
ephen. So Dionysius Alex. from pope Stephen.
ll which persons were renowned for wisdom and
ety in their times.

Highest controversies were appeased by synods
it of the holy scripture, catholic tradition, the ana-
gy of faith, and common reason, without regard to
e pope. Divers synods in Afric and Asia defined
e point about *rebaptization* without the pope's
ave, and against his opinion. The synod of An-
och condemned the doctrine of Paulus Samosa-
nus, without intervention of the pope, before they
ive him notice. In the synod of Nice the pope
id very small stroke. The general synod of Con-
antinople declared the point of the *divinity* of the
oly Ghost against Macedonius, without the pope;
ho did no more than afterward consent: this the

synod of Chalcedon, in their compellation to the emperor Marcian, did observe; [a]*The Fathers met in Sardica to suppress the relics of Arianism, communicated their decrees to the eastern bishops; and they who here discovered the pestilence of Apolinarius, made known theirs to the western.*

The synod of Afric defined against Pelagius, before their informing pope Innocentius thereof; not seeking his judgment, but desiring his consent to that, which they were assured to be truth.

Divers popes have been incapable of deciding controversies, themselves having been erroneous in the questions controverted: as pope Stephanus, (in part,) pope Liberius, pope Felix, pope Vigilius, pope Honorius, &c. And in our opinion all popes for many ages.

It is observable how the synod of Chalcedon, in their allocution to the emperor Marcian, do excuse pope Leo for expounding the faith, in his Epistle, (the which it seems some did reprehend as a novel method disagreeable to the canons;) [b]*Let not them,* say they, *object to us the Epistle of the marvellous prelate of Rome, as obnoxious to imputation of novelty; but if it be not consonant to the scriptures, let them confute it; or if it be not consentaneous to the Fathers who have preceded; or if it be not apt to confute the irreligious,* &c.

[a] Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ Σαρδικῆς κατὰ τῶν Ἀρείου λειψάνων ἀγωνισάμενοι τοῖς ἐν ἀνατολῇ τὴν κρίσιν ἐξέπεμπον, οἱ δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ἀπολιναρίου λύμην φωράσαντες τοῖς ἐν δύσει τὴν ψῆφον ἐγνώριζον. Conc. Chalced. ad Marc. Orat. p. 468.

[b] Ὡς ξένην τινὰ καὶ τοῖς κανόσιν οὐ νενομισμένην τῆς ἐπιστολῆς διαβάλλῃ τὴν σύνταξιν. Act. Syn. Chalc. p. 465. Μὴ τοίνυν ἡμῖν τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης προέδρου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ὡς καινοτομίας ἔγκλημα, προσφερέτωσαν· ἀλλὰ εἰ μὴ σύμφωνος ταῖς γραφαῖς, ἐλεγχέτωσαν· εἰ μὴ τοῖς προλαβοῦσι πατράσιν ὁμόδοξος· εἰ μὴ πρὸς δυσσεβῶν κατηγορίαν γεγένηται ——.

It was not his judicial authority which they did sist upon, to maintain his Epistle, but the orthoxy and intrinsic usefulness of it to confute errors; on which account they did embrace and confirm by their suffrage.

XIII. If the pope were a sovereign of the church, they make him, it were at least expedient that should be infallible; for why otherwise should he dertake confidently to pronounce in all cases, to fine high and difficult points, to impose his dictes, and require assent from all? if he be fallible, is very probable that often he doth obtrude errors on us for matters of faith and practice.

Wherefore the true fast friends of papal interest assert him to be infallible, when he dictateth as pe, and setting himself into his chair doth thence ean to instruct the whole church. And the pope erefore himself, who countenanceth them, may be esumed to be of that mind. Bell. lib. iv.

Pighius said bouncingly, [c] *The judgment of the postolic see with a council of domestic priests, is r more certain than the judgment of an universal council of the whole earth without the pope.*

This is the syllogism we propose:

The supreme judge must be infallible;

The pope is not infallible: therefore ——

The *major*, the Jesuits, canonists, and courtiers e obliged to prove, it being their assertion; and ey do prove it very wisely and strongly.

The *minor* is asserted by the French doctors; d they do with clear evidence maintain it.

[c] Longe certius est unius apostolicæ sedis cum concilio domecorum sacerdotum judicium, quam sine pontifice judicium unirsalis concilii totius orbis terrarum. *Pighius de Hier.* lib. 6.

The *conclusion* we leave them to infer who are concerned.

It is in effect pope Gregory's argumentation; *no* bishop can be universal bishop, (or universal pastor and judge of the church,) because no bishop can be infallible; for that the lapse of such a pastor would throw down the church into ruin, by error and impiety. [d] *Therefore the universal church, which God forbid, falls, when he falls who is called universal. —The state and order of our Lord's family will decay, when that which is required in the body is not to be found in the head.*

But that he is not infallible, much experience and history do abundantly shew.

The ancients knew no such pretender to infallibility; otherwise they would have left disputing, and run to his oracular dictates for information. They would have only asserted this point against heretics. We should have had testimonies of it innumerable. It had been the most famous point of all [e].

I will not mention pope Stephanus universally approving the baptism of heretics against the decrees of the synod of Nice and other synods. Nor pope Liberius complying with Arianism. Nor pope Innocent I. and his followers, at least till pope Gelasius, first asserting the *communion of infants* for needful. Nor pope Vigilius dodging with the fifth synod.

P. Gelas. I. Ep. ix. p. 636.

[d] Universa ergo ecclesia, quod absit, a statu suo corruit, quando is qui vocatur universalis cadit. *Greg. M. Epist.* iv. 32. Totius familiæ Domini status et ordo nutabit, si quod requiritur in corpore, non inveniatur in capite. *P. Leo.* Ep. 87.

[e] In nullo aliter sapere quam res se habet angelica perfectio est. *Aug. de Bapt. contr. Don.* ii. 5. Not to think of a thing otherwise than it is, is an angelical perfection.

Nor pope Honorius condemned by so many councils and popes for monothelitism. But surely pope Leo and pope Gelasius were strangely deceived, when they condemned *partaking in one kind.* Pope Gregory was foully out, when he condemned the *worship of images;* and when he so declaimeth against the title of *universal bishop;* and when he avowed himself a subject to the emperor Mauritius; and when he denied the books of Maccabees to be *canonical;* and when he asserted the perfection of holy scripture. Pope Leo II. was mistaken, when he did charge his infallible predecessor Honorius of monothelitism; [f]pope Nicholas was a little deceived, when he determined the *atrition of Christ's body.* Pope Urban II. was out, when he allowed it [g]lawful for good catholics to commit murder on persons excommunicate. Pope Innocent IV. erred, when he called kings [h]*the pope's slaves.*

De Consecr. Dist. ii. cap. 12.

Greg. Ep. vii. 110. ii. 62. iv. 32, 36, 38. vi. 30.

In Job. lib. xix. cap. 13. xviii. 14.

Grat. de Consecr. ii. Dist. ii. cap. 42.

Surely those popes did err, who confirmed the synods of Constance and Basil; not excepting the determinations in favour of general councils being superior to popes[i]. All those popes have devilishly erred, who have pretended to dispose of kingdoms; to depose princes; to absolve subjects of their oaths. Pope Adrian II. did not take the pope to be infallible, when he said he might not be judged, excepting the case of heresy; and thereby excuseth the orientals for anathematizing Honorius, he being accused of heresy.

[f] If many popes had been writers, we should have had more errors to charge them with.

[g] Grat. Caus. xxiii. qu. 5. cap. 47.

[h] Mancipia papæ. *Matt. Paris.* ann. 1253.

[i] Joh. XXII. Gerson. Serm. in Pasch. Occam. Celestinus——. Alph. a Castro. Hær. i. 4. Bin. tom. vii. p. 994.

There is one heresy, of which, if all histories do not lie grievously, divers popes have been guilty; a heresy defined by divers popes; the [i] ***heresy of simony;*** How many such heretics have sat in that chair! of which how many popes are proclaimed guilty with a loud voice in history! [k] ***The hand,*** says St. Bernard, ***does all the papal business: shew me a man in all this greatest city who would admit thee to be pope without the mediation of a bribe!*** Yea how few for some ages have been guiltless of this heresy! It may be answered, they were no popes, because their election was null; but then the church hath often and long been without a ***head.*** Then numberless acts have been void; and creations of cardinals have been null; and consequently there hath not probably been any true pope for a long time.

In the judgment of so many great divines, which did constitute the synod of Basil, many popes (near all surely) have been heretics; who have followed or countenanced the opinion, that popes are superior to general councils; the which there is flatly declared heresy. Pope Eugenius by name was there declared [l] *a pertinacious heretic, deviating from the faith.*

[i] P. Greg. VII. Ep. lib. iii. 7. Simoniaca hæresis. P. Jul. II. Conc. Lat. sess. 5. (p. 57.) Idem electus non apostolicus, sed apostaticus, et tanquam hæresiarcha, &c. *Ibid. Tract.* iv. sect. 12, 16. Decernimus, quod——sed etiam contra dictum sic electum vel assumptum a simoniaca labe opponi et excipi possit sicut de vera et indubitata hæresi——.

[k] Omne papale negotium manus agunt; quem dabis mihi de tota maxima urbe, qui te in papam receperit pretio non intercedente? *Bern. de Consid.* iv. 2.

[l] A fide devius, pertinax hæreticus ——. *Concil. Basil.* sess. xxxiv. p. 96, 107.

It often happeneth, that the pope is not skilled in divinity, as pope Innocent X. was wont to profess concerning himself, (to wave discourse about theological points:) he therefore cannot pronounce, in use of ordinary means, but only by miracle, as Balaam's ass. So pope Innocent X. said, that [m] *the vicar of Jesus Christ was not obliged to examine all things by dispute; for that the truth of his decrees depended only on divine inspiration.* What is this but downright *quakerism, enthusiasm, imposture?*

Pope Clemens V. did not take himself to be infallible, when in his great synod of Vienna, the question, whether, beside remission of sin, also virtue were conferred to infants, he resolved thus very honestly,—[n] *The second opinion, which says, that informing grace and virtues are in baptism conferred both upon infants and adult persons, we think fit with the consent of the holy council to be chosen; as being more probable, and more consonant and agreeable to the divinity of the modern doctors.*

Which of the *two* popes were in the right, pope Nicholas IV. who decided that our Lord was so poor that he had right to nothing, or pope John XXII. who declared this to be a heresy, charging our Lord with injustice? Bell. iv. 14. (p. 1318.) Confer Sext. lib. v. tit. 12. cap. 3. Extrav. Joh. XXII. tit. xiv. cap. 3—5.

XIV. A sovereign is in dignity and authority su-

[m] Le pape respondit, que le vicaire de J. C. n'estoit point obligé d'examiner toutes choses par la dispute; que la vérité de ses décrets dépendoit seulement de l'inspiration divine. *Memor. Hist. de 5. Propos.*

[n] —— Opinionem secundam, quæ dicit tam parvulis quam adultis conferri in baptismo informantem gratiam et virtutes, tanquam probabiliorem ac doctorum modernorum theologiæ magis consonam et concordem sacro approbante concilio duximus eligendam. *Clem. in Tit.* 1.

perior to any number of subjects, however conjoined or congregated; as a head is above all the members, however compacted: he is not supreme, who is anywise subject or inferior to a senate, or any assembly in his territory.

Bellarm. de Concil. ii. 17. Therefore the pope doth claim a superiority over all councils; pretending that their determinations are invalid without his consent and confirmation; that he can rescind or make void their decrees; that he can suspend their consultations, and translate or dissolve them.

And Baronius reckons this as one error in Hincmarus, bishop of Rheims, [o] *that he held as if the canons of councils were of greater authority in the church of God than the decrees of popes, which*, says he, *how absurd and unreasonable an opinion it is*, &c.

[p] *That the authority of the apostolic see in all Christian ages has been preferred before the universal church, both the canons of our predecessors and manifold tradition do confirm.*

This is a question stiffly debated among Romanists: but the most (as Æneas Sylvius, afterward pope Pius II. did acutely observe) with good reason do adhere to the pope's side, because the *pope* disposeth of *benefices*, but *councils* give none.

[o] Plane significat majoris esse auctoritatis in ecclesia Dei canones conciliorum decretis pontificum: hæc quam sint absurda et ab omni ratione penitus aliena, &c. *Baron.* ad ann. 992. sect. 56. Concil. Later. V. sess. 11. p. 152. Th. Cajet. Orat. in Conc. Lat. p. 36.

[p] Apostolicæ vero sedis auctoritas, quod cunctis seculis Christianis ecclesiæ prælata sit universæ, et canonum serie paternorum, et multiplici traditione firmatur. *P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 8. (O impudentiam!)

But in truth anciently the pope was not understood superior to councils: for [q] *greater is the authority of the world than of one city*, says St. Jerome. He was but one bishop, that had nothing to do out of his precinct. He had but his vote in them; he had the first vote, as the patriarch of Alexandria the second, of Antioch the third—but that order neither gave to him or them any advantage, as to decision; but common consent, or the suffrages of the majority, did prevail. He was conceived subject to the canons no less than other bishops. Councils did examine matters decreed by him, so as to follow or forsake them as they saw cause. The popes themselves did profess great veneration and observance of conciliar decrees. Pope Leo I. did oppose a canon of the synod of Chalcedon, (not pretending his superiority to councils, but the inviolability of the Nicene canons,) but it notwithstanding that opposition did prevail.

Even in the dregs of times, when the pope had clambered so high to the top of power, this question in great numerous synods of bishops was agitated, and positively decided against him; both in doctrine and practice. Concil. Const. sess. iv. (p. 1003.) Conc. Bass. sess. 2, 33.

The synod of Basil affirmeth the matter of these decrees to be a [r] *verity of the Christian faith, which whoever doth pertinaciously resist, is to be deemed a heretic.*——Those Fathers say, that [s] *none of the*

[q] Major est auctoritas orbis quam urbis. *Hier. et Evag.*

[r] Veritas catholicæ fidei, cui pertinaciter repugnans est censendus hæreticus. *Concil. Bas.* sess. 33.

[s] Nec unquam aliquis peritorum dubitavit summum pontificem in his quæ fidem concernunt judicio eorundem conciliorum universalium esse subjectum. *Conc. Basil. Decret.* p. 117. Conci-

skilful did ever doubt of this truth, that the pope, in things belonging to faith, was subject to the judgment of the same general councils —— that the council has an authority immediately from Christ, which the pope is bound to obey. Those synods were confirmed by popes, without exception of those determinations.

Great churches, most famous universities, a mighty store of learned doctors of the Roman communion, have reverenced those councils, and adhered to their doctrine. Insomuch that the cardinal of Lorrain did affirm him to be an heretic in France, who did hold the contrary.

These things sufficiently demonstrate that the pope cannot pretend to supremacy by universal tradition; and if he cannot prove it by that, how can he prove it? Not surely by scripture, nor by decrees of ancient synods, nor by any clear and convincing reason.

XV. The sovereign of the church is by all Christians to be acknowledged the chief person in the world, inferior and subject to none; above all commands; the greatest emperor being his *sheep* and *subject.*

As in Israel Saul was the head. 1 Sam. xv. 17.

He therefore now doth pretend to be above all princes. Divers popes have affirmed this superiority. They are allowed and most favoured by him, who teach this doctrine. In their Missal he is preferred above all kings, being prayed for before them.

But in the primitive times this was not held; for Rom. xiii. 1. St. Paul requires *every soul to be subject to the higher powers.* Then the emperor was avowed the

lium habet potestatem immediate a Christo, cui papa obedire tenetur ——. *Conc. Bas.* sess. 38. p. 101.

first person, next to God; [t] *To whom*, says Tertullian, *they are second, after whom they are first, before all and above all gods. Why?* &c. —— *we worship the emperor as a man next to God, and less only than God.* And Optatus, —— [u] *Since there is none above the emperor but God who made him.* —— *While Donatus extolleth himself above the emperor, he raises himself, as it were, above humanity, and thinks himself to be God, and not man. For the king is the top and head of all things on earth.* Then even *apostles, evangelists, prophets, all men whoever were subject to the emperor.* The emperors did command them, [w] *even the blessed bishops and patriarchs of old Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Theopolis, and Jerusalem.* Divers popes did avow themselves subject to the emperor. Chrys. in Rom. xiii. 1.

XVI. The confirmation of magistrates, elected by others, is a *branch* of *supremacy* which the pope doth assume. Vid. sect. 5. Dist. lxiii. cap. 4. P. Nic. I. Ep.

Baronius saith that this was the ancient custom; Ann. 482. sect. 1.

[t] —— a quo sunt secundi, post quem primi ante omnes, et super omnes deos; quidni? cum super omnes homines, qui utique vivunt. *Tertul. Apol.* cap. 30. Colimus imperatorem ut hominem a Deo secundum, et solo Deo minorem. *Tertul. ad Scap.* cap. 2.

[u] Cum super imperatorem non sit nisi solus Deus, qui fecit imperatorem. *Opt.* 3. Vid. *Tr.* v. sect. 14. Dum se Donatus super imperatorem extollit, jam quasi hominum excesserat modum, ut se ut Deum non hominem æstimaret. *Id. ibid.* Βασιλεὺς γὰρ κορυφὴ καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐστιν ἁπάντων. Chrys. Ἀνδρ. β'. p. 463.

[w] Jubemus igitur beatissimos episcopos et patriarchas, hoc est senioris Romæ, et Constantinopoleos, et Alexandriæ, et Theopoleos, et Hierosolymorum. *Justinian. Novel.* cxxiii. cap. 3 *P. Greg. M.* Ep. ii. 62. *supra in præf.* sect. iv. tract. 5. sect. 14.

and that pope Simplicius did confirm the election of Calendion, bishop of Antioch.

[x] *Meletius confirmed the most holy Gregory in the bishopric of Constantinople.*

But the truth is, that anciently bishops being elected did only give an account of their choice unto all other bishops; especially to those of highest rank, desiring their approbation and friendship, for preservation of due communion, correspondence, and peace. So the synod of Antioch gave account to the bishops of Rome and Alexandria, [y] *and all their fellow-ministers throughout the world,* &c. of the election of Domnus after Paulus Samosatenus. So the Fathers of Constantinople acquainted pope Damasus and the western bishops with the constitution of Nectarius, Flavianus, &c.

This was not to request confirmation, as if the pope or other bishops could reject the election, if regular, but rather to assure whom they were to communicate with. [z] *We have* (say the Fathers of the synod against Paulus Samosatenus) *signified this,* (*our choosing of Domnus into Paulus's room,*) *that you may write to him, and receive letters of communion from him.*—And St. Cyprian, [a] *That you and our colleagues may know to whom they may write, and from whom they may receive letters.*

[x] Ἐβεβαίωσε τῷ θειοτάτῳ Γρηγορίῳ τὴν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως πρεσβρίαν. Theod. v. 8.

[y] Καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσι συλλειτουργοῖς ——. Euseb. vii. 30.

[z] Ἐδηλώσαμέν τε ὑμῖν ὅπως τοῦτῳ γράφητε, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τούτου κοινικὰ δέχησθε γράμματα ——. Euseb. ibid.

[a] Ut scires tu, et collegæ nostri quibus scribere, et literas mutuo a quibus vos accipere oporteret ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 55. (*ad Cornel.*)

Thus the bishops of Rome themselves did acquaint other bishops with their election, their faith, &c. So did Cornelius; whom therefore St. Cyprian asserteth as established by the consent and approbation of his colleagues; [b]*When the place of Peter and the sacerdotal chair was void, which by God's will being occupied, and with all our consents confirmed*, &c. — [c]*and the testimony of our fellow-bishops, the whole number of which all over the world unanimously consented.* Vid. P. Greg. Tract. de Unit. Eccl.

The emperor did confirm bishops, as we see by that notable passage in the synod of Chalcedon; where Bassianus, bishop of Ephesus, pleading for himself saith, [d]*Our most religious emperor knowing these things presently ratified it, and by a memorial published it, confirming the bishopric; afterwards he sent his rescript by Eustathius, the silentiary again confirming it.*

XVII. It is a privilege of sovereigns to grant *privileges, exemptions, dispensations.*

This he claimeth; but against the laws of God and rights of bishops; against the decrees of synods —against the sense of good men in all times. Vid. Bern.

XVIII. It is a prerogative of sovereign power, to erect, translate spiritual presidences.

[b] Cum locus Petri, et gradus cathedræ sacerdotalis vacaret, quo occupato de Dei voluntate, atque omnium nostrûm consensione firmato ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 52.

[c] —— et coepiscoporum testimonio, quorum numerus universus per totum mundum concordi unanimitate consensit. *Ibid.*

[d] Γνοὺς δὲ ταῦτα ὁ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς, εὐθὺς τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἐβεβαίωσε, καὶ εὐθέως διὰ ὑπομνηστικοῦ ἐδήλωσεν ἐν φανερῷ, βεβαιῶν τὴν ἐπισκοπήν· μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπέστειλε σάκραν πάλιν διὰ Εὐσταθίου τοῦ Σιλεντιαρίου βεβαιοῦσαν τὴν ἐπισκοπήν. Conc. Chalc. Act. xi. (p. 404.)

P. Innoc. III. in Greg. Decr. lib. i. tit. 7. cap. 1.—&c.

Wherefore this the pope claimeth. *Cum ex illo*, &c. But at first he had nothing to do therein, except in his own province or diocese.

As Christianity did grow and enter into cities, so the neighbour bishops did ordain bishops there.

Princes often, as they did endow, so they did erect episcopal sees, and did, as was suitable, change places.

Pope Paschal II. doth by complaining attest to this, writing to the archbishop of Poland, [e] *What shall I say of the translations of bishops, which among you are presumed to be made, not by apostolic authority, but the king's command?*

XIX. It is a great prerogative of sovereignty to impose taxes on the clergy or people.

Wherefore the pope doth assume this; as for instance that decree of pope Innocent IV. in the first synod of Lyons; [f] *By the common consent of the council we ordain that all the clergy, as well those who are under authority as the prelates, pay for three years a twentieth part of their ecclesiastical revenues towards the assistance of the Holy Land, into the hands of those who shall be thereto appointed by the prudence of the apostolic see.*—

[e] Quid super episcoporum translationibus loquar, quæ apud vos non auctoritate apostolica, sed nutu regis præsumuntur? *P. Pasch. II.* Ep. 6. Præter authoritatem nostram episcoporum translationes præsumitis ——. *Eadm.* p. 115.

[f] Cæterum ex communi concilii approbatione statuimus, ut omnes omnino clerici, tam subditi quam prælati, vigesimam ecclesiarum proventuum usque ad triennium conferant in subsidium terræ sanctæ, per manus eorum, qui ad hoc apostolica fuerint providentia ordinati. —— sciantque se omnes ad hoc fideliter observandum per excommunicationis sententiam obligatos. *Lugdun. Concil.* 1. (anno 1245.)

And let all know that this they are bound faithfully to do under pain of excommunication.

But antiquity knew no such impositions: when the church, the clergy, the poor, were maintained and relieved by voluntary offerings, or obventions.

Even the invidious splendour of the Roman bishop was supported by the *oblations of matrons*, as Marcellinus observeth [g].

This is an encroachment upon the right of princes, unto whom clergymen are subjects, and bound *to render tribute to whom tribute belongeth.* Rom. xiii.

SUPPOSITION VII.

A further grand assertion of the Roman party is this, *That the papal supremacy is indefectible and unalterable.*

But good reasons may be assigned, why, even supposing that the pope had an universal sovereignty in virtue of his succession to St. Peter conferred on him, it is not assuredly consequent, that it must always, or doth now belong to him. For it might be settled on him, not absolutely, but upon conditions, the which failing, his authority may expire. It might be God's will that it should only continue for a time. And there are divers ways whereby, according to common rules of justice, he might be disseized thereof.

1. If God had positively declared his will con-

[g] Ut ditentur oblationibus matronarum. *Marcel.* 27. Vid. *Const. Apost.* ii. 25. Nam qui constituerunt vel fundarunt sanctissimas ecclesias pro sua salute et communis reipublicæ, reliquerunt illis substantias, ut per eas debeant sacræ liturgiæ fieri, et ut illis a ministrantibus piis clericis Deus colatur. *Cod. Lib.* i. tit. 3. sect. 42.

cerning this point, that such a sovereignty was by him granted irrevocably and immutably, so that in no case it might be removed or altered, then indeed it must be admitted for such; but if no such declaration doth appear, then to assert it for such is to derogate from his power and providence; by exemption of this case from it. It is the ordinary course of Providence so to confer power of any kind or nature on men, as to reserve to himself the liberty of transferring it, qualifying it, extending or contracting it, abolishing it, according to his pleasure, in due seasons and exigencies of things. Whence no human power can be supposed absolutely stable, or immoveably fixed in one person or place.

2. No power can have a higher source, or firmer ground, than that of the civil government hath; for *all such power is from Heaven;* and in relation to that it is said, *There is no power but from God; the powers that are, are ordained by God:* but yet such power is liable to various alterations, and is like the sea, having ebbs and flows, and ever changing its bounds, either personal or local.

John xix. 11. Rom. xiii. 1—.

Any temporal jurisdiction may be lost by those revolutions and vicissitudes of things, to which all human constitutions are subject; and which are ordered *by the will and providence of the Most High, who ruleth in the kingdom of men, appointing over it whom he pleaseth; putting down one, and setting up another.*

Dan. v. 21. Ps. lxxv. 7.

Adam, by God's appointment, was sovereign of the world; and his first-born successors derived the same power from him: yet in course of time that order hath been interrupted, and divers independent sovereignties do take place.

Every prince hath his authority from God, or by virtue of divine ordination, within his own territory; and according to God's ordinance the lawful successor hath a right to the same authority; yet by accidents such authority doth often fail totally, or in part, changing its extent.

Why then may not any spiritual power be liable to the same vicissitudes? Why may not a prelate be degraded as well as a prince? Why may not the pope, as well as the emperor, lose all, or part of his kingdom?

Why may not the successor of Peter, no less than the heir of Adam, suffer a defailure of jurisdiction?

That spiritual corporations, persons, and places, are subject to the same contingencies with others, as there is like reason to suppose, so there are examples to prove: God removed his sanctuary from Shiloh; *Go ye now unto my place, which was in Shiloh, where I set my name at first*, &c. Jer. vii. 12, 14. He deserted Jerusalem. He removeth the candlesticks. Rev. ii. 5. He placed Eli (of the family of Ithamar) in the high priesthood, and displaced his race from it; *I said indeed*, saith God, *that thy house, and the house of thy father, should walk before me for ever: but now the Lord saith, Be it far from me*, &c. 1 Sam. ii. 30. 1 Kings ii. 27.

3. The reason and exigency of things might be sufficient ground for altering an universal jurisdiction; for when it should prove very inconvenient or hurtful, God might order such an alteration to happen, and men be obliged to allow it.

As God first did institute one universal monarchy, but that form (upon the multiplication of mankind, and peopling of the earth) proving incommodious,

Providence gave way for its change, and the setting up of particular governments; to which men are bound to submit: so God might institute a singular presidency of the church; but when the church grew vastly extended, so that such a government would not conveniently serve the whole, he might order a division, in which we should acquiesce.

4. It hath ever been deemed reasonable, and accordingly been practised, that the church, in its exterior form and political administrations, should be suited to the state of the world, and constitution of worldly governments, that there might be no clashing or disturbance from each to other.

Wherefore, seeing the world is now settled under so many civil sovereignties, it is expedient that ecclesiastical discipline should be so modelled, as to comply with each of them.

And it is reasonable, that any pretence of jurisdiction should vail to the public good of the church and the world.

That it should be necessary for the church to retain the same form of policy, or measure of power affixed to persons or places, can nowise be demonstrated by sufficient proof, and it is not consistent with experience; which sheweth the church to have subsisted with variations of that kind.

There hath in all times been found much reason or necessity to make alterations, as well in the places and bounds of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as of secular empire.

Wherefore St. Peter's monarchy, reason requiring, might be cantonized into divers spiritual supremacies; and as other ecclesiastical jurisdictions have been chopped and changed, enlarged or diminished,

removed and extinguished, so might that of the Roman bishop. The pope cannot retain power in any state against the will of the prince: he is not bound to suffer correspondences with foreigners, especially such who apparently have interests contrary to his honour and the good of his people.

5. Especially that might be done, if the continuance of such a jurisdiction should prove abominably corrupt, or intolerably grievous to the church.

6. That power is defectible, which according to the nature and course of things doth sometime fail.

But the papal succession hath often been interrupted by contingencies, (of *sedition, schism, intrusion, simoniacal election, deposition,* &c. as before shewed,) and is often interrupted by vacancies from the death of the incumbents.

7. If, leaving their dubious and false suppositions, (concerning divine institution, succession to St. Peter, &c.) we consider the truth of the case, and indeed the more grounded plea of the pope, that papal preeminence was obtained by the wealth and dignity of the Roman city, and by the collation or countenance of the imperial authority; then by the defect of such advantages it may cease or be taken away; for when Rome hath ceased to be the capital city, the pope may cease to be head of the church. When the civil powers, which have succeeded the imperial, each in its respective territory, are no less absolute than it, they may take it away, if they judge it fit; for whatever power was granted by human authority, by the same may be revoked; and what the emperor could have done, each sovereign power now may do for itself.

An indefectible power cannot be settled by man; because there is no power ever extant at one time greater than there is at another; so that whatever power one may raise, the other may demolish; there being no bounds whereby the present time may bind all posterity.

However, no human law can exempt any constitution from the providence of God; which at pleasure can dissolve whatever man hath framed. And if the pope were divested of all adventitious power, obtained by human means, he would be left very bare; and hardly would take it worth his while to contend for jurisdiction.

8. However or whencesoever the pope had his authority, yet it may be forfeited by defects and defaults incurred by him.

If the pope doth encroach on the rights and liberties of others, usurping a lawless domination, beyond reason and measure, they may in their own defence be forced to reject him, and shake off his yoke.

If he will not be content to govern otherwise than by infringing the sacred laws, and trampling down the inviolable privileges of the churches, either granted by Christ, or established by the sanctions of general synods; he thereby depriveth himself of all authority; because it cannot be admitted upon tolerable terms, without greater wrong of many others, (whose right outweigheth his,) and without great mischief to the church, the good of which is to be preferred before his private advantage.

This was the maxim of a great pope, a great stickler for his own dignity; for when the bishop of Constantinople was advanced by a general synod above his ancient pitch of dignity, that pope op-

posing him did say, that [h] *whoever doth affect more than his due, doth lose that which properly belonged to him:* the which rule, if true in regard to another's case, may be applied to the pope; *For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.* Matt. vii. 2.

On such a supposition of the papal encroachment, we may return his words upon him; [i] *It is too proud and immoderate a thing to stretch beyond one's bounds, and, in contempt of antiquity, to be willing to invade other men's right, and to oppose the primacies of so many metropolitans, on purpose to advance the dignity of one.*

[k] *For the privileges of churches, being instituted by the canons of the holy Fathers, and fixed by the decrees of the venerable synod of Nice, cannot be plucked up by any wicked attempt, nor altered by any innovation.*

[l] *Far be it from me, that I should in any church infringe the decrees of our ancestors made in favour of my fellow-priests; for I do myself injury, if I disturb the rights of my brethren.*

The pope surely (according to any ground of scrip-

[h] Propria perdit, qui indebita concupiscit. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 54.

[i] Superbum nimis est et immoderatum ultra fines proprios tendere, et antiquitate calcata alienum jus velle præripere; utque unius crescat dignitas, tot metropolitanorum impugnare primatus ——. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 55.

[k] Privilegia enim ecclesiarum, sanctorum patrum canonibus instituta, et venerabilis Nicenæ synodi fixa decretis, nulla possunt improbitate convelli, nulla novitate mutari. *Ibid.*

[l] Absit hoc a me, ut statuta majorum consacerdotibus meis in qualibet ecclesia infringam, quia mihi injuriam facio, si fratrum meorum jura perturbo. *Greg. I. Epist.* ii. 37.

ture, or tradition, or ancient law) hath no title to greater principality in the church, than the duke of Venice hath in that state: now if the duke of Venice, in prejudice to the public right and liberty, should attempt to stretch his power to an absoluteness of command, or much beyond the bounds allowed him by the constitution of that commonwealth, he would thereby surely forfeit his supremacy, (such as it is,) and afford cause to the state of rejecting him: the like occasion would the pope give to the church by the like demeanour.

9. The pope, by departing from the doctrine and practice of St. Peter, would forfeit his title of successor to him; for in such a case no succession in place or in name could preserve it; [m] *The popes themselves had swerved and degenerated from the example of Peter.*

[n] *They are not the sons of the saints, who hold the places of the saints, but they that do their works.* (Which place is rased out of St. Jerome.)

[o] *They have not the inheritance of Peter, who have not the faith of Peter, which they tear asunder by ungodly division.*

So Gregory Nazianzen saith of Athanasius, that [p] *he was successor of Mark no less in piety than*

[m] Pontifices ipsi a Petri vestigiis discesserant. *Plat. in Joh.* x. (p. 275.)

[n] Non sanctorum filii sunt, qui tenent loca sanctorum, sed qui exercent opera eorum ——. *Hieron. ad Heliod. apud Grat.* Dist. xl. cap. 2.

[o] Non habent Petri hæreditatem qui Petri fidem non habent, quam impia divisione discerpunt. *Ambr. de Pœn.* i. 6.

[p] Οὐχ' ἧττον τῆς εὐσεβείας, ἢ τῆς προεδρίας διάδοχος —— ἦν δὴ καὶ κυρίως ὑπολητέον διαδοχήν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὁμόγνωμον καὶ ὁμόθρονον· τὸ δὲ ἀντίδοξον καὶ ἀντίθρονον ——. Greg. Naz. Or. 21.

esidency: the which we must suppose to be pro-rly succession: otherwise the mufti of Constan-ople is successor to St. Andrew, of St. Chrysostom, . the mufti of Jerusalem to St. James.

If then the bishop of Rome, instead of teaching ristian doctrine, doth propagate errors contrary it; if, instead of guiding into truth and godliness, seduceth into falsehood and impiety; if, instead declaring and pressing the laws of God, he de-ereth and imposeth precepts opposite, prejudicial, structive of God's laws; if, instead of promoting nuine piety, he doth (in some instances) violently pose it; if, instead of maintaining true religion, doth pervert and corrupt it by bold defalcations, superstitious additions, by foul mixtures and al-s; if he coineth new creeds, articles of faith, new riptures, new sacraments, new rules of life, ob-ding them on the consciences of Christians; if conformeth the doctrines of Christianity to the terests of his pomp and profit, *making gain god-ess;* if he prescribe vain, profane, superstitious ys of worship, turning devotion into foppery and geantry; if, instead of preserving order and peace, fomenteth discords and factions in the church, ing a make-bait and incendiary among Christians; he claimeth exorbitant power, and exerciseth op-ession and tyrannical domination over his bre-ren, cursing and damning all that will not submit his dictates and commands; if, instead of being a epherd, he is a wolf, worrying and tearing the ck by cruel persecution: he by such behaviour, *so facto,* depriveth himself of authority and office; becometh thence no guide or pastor to any Chris-n; there doth in such case rest no obligation to

hear or obey him; but rather to decline him, to discost from him, to reject and disclaim him [q].

This is the reason of the case; this the holy scripture doth prescribe; this is according to the primitive doctrine, tradition, and practice of the church. For,

10. In reason, the nature of any spiritual office consisting in instruction in truth and guidance in virtue toward attainment of salvation; if any man doth lead into pernicious error or impiety, he thereby ceaseth to be capable of such office: as a blind man, by being so, doth cease to be a guide; and much more he that declareth a will to seduce; for, [r] *Who so blind as he that will not see?*

Mat. xv. 14. No man can be bound to *follow any one into the ditch;* or to obey any one in prejudice to his own Ezek. iii. 18. salvation; *to die in his iniquity.* Seeing God saith Matt. xv. 9. in such a case, μάτην σέβονταί με, *In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the precepts of men.*

They themselves do acknowledge, that heretics cease to be bishops; and so to be popes. Indeed Bell. de P. R. 2, 30. (p. 1083.) they cease to be Christians; for, ἐξέστραπται ὁ τοιοῦτος, *such a one is subverted.*

11. According to their principles, the pope hath the same relation to other bishops and pastors of the church, which they have to their people; he being pastor of pastors: but if any pastor should teach

[q] Non facit ecclesiastica dignitas Christianum. *Hier.* Ecclesiastical dignity makes not a Christian. Non omnes episcopi episcopi sunt. *Id.* All bishops are not bishops. Οἱ παρ' αὐτῷ κατάσκοποι, οὐ γὰρ ἐπίσκοποι. Athan. Const. Ap. viii. 2. They with them are scouts or spies, not overseers or bishops.

[r] Luke vi. 39. Μήτι δύναται τυφλὸς τυφλὸν ὁδηγεῖν;

bad doctrine, or prescribe bad practice, his people may reject and disobey him; therefore, in proportion, the pastors may desert the pope misguiding or misgoverning them. In such cases any inferior is exempted from obligation to comply with his superior, either truly or pretendedly such.

12. The case may be, that we may not hold communion with the pope, but may be obliged to shun him; in which case his authority doth fail, and no man is subject to him.

13. This is the doctrine of the scripture. The high priest and his fellows, under the Jewish economy, had no less authority than any pope can now pretend unto; they did *sit in the chair of Moses*, and therefore all their true doctrines and lawful directions the people were obliged to learn and observe; but their false doctrines and impious precepts they were bound to shun[s]; and consequently to disclaim their authority, so far as employed in urging such doctrines and precepts; Ἄφετε αὐτούς, *Let them alone*, saith our Saviour, *they are blind leaders of the blind.* Under the Christian dispensation the matter is no less clear; our Lord commandeth us *to beware of false prophets;* and to *see that no man deceive us;* although he wear the clothing of a sheep, or come under the name of a shepherd (*coming in his name*—). St. Paul informeth us, that if *an apostle*, if *an angel from heaven*, doth preach beside the old apostolical doctrine, (introducing any new gospel, or a divinity devised by himself,) he is to be *held accursed* by us. He affirmeth, that even

Matt. xxiii. 2. xv. 6.

Matt. xv. 14.

Matt. vii. 15.

Matt. xxiv. 4.

Gal. i. 8, 9.

[s] Matt. xvi. 6. Ὁρᾶτε καὶ προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης —— ἀπὸ τῆς διδαχῆς. Vers. 12. Beware and take heed of the leaven —— of the doctrine.

2 Cor. i. 24. the apostles themselves were not *lords of our faith*, nor might challenge any power inconsistent with
2 Cor. xiii. 7, 8. the maintenance of Christian truth and piety; *We*, saith he, *can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth:* the which an ancient writer doth well apply to the pope, saying, that he [t]*could do nothing against the truth more than any of his fellow-priests could do;* which St. Paul did in practice shew, when he *resisted* St. Peter, *declining from the truth of the gospel.* He chargeth, that [u]if any one doth ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν, *teach heterodoxies*, we should *stand off from him;* that [w]*if any brother walketh disorderly, and not according to apostolical tradition, we should withdraw from him;* that if any one doth [x]*raise divisions and scandals beside the doctrines received from the apostles, we should de-*
Tit. iii. 10. *cline from him;* that we are *to refuse any heretical person.* He telleth us, that [y]*grievous wolves should come into the church, not sparing the flock;* that
Acts xx. 30. *from among Christians there should arise men speaking perverse things, to draw disciples after them:* but no man surely ought to follow, but to shun them.

These precepts and admonitions are general, without any respect or exception of persons great or small, pastor or layman: nay, they may in some

[t] Nec aliquid contra veritatem, sed pro veritate, plus suis consacerdotibus potest. *Fac. Hermian.* ii. 6. Gal. ii. 11, 14. Ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσι πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου.

[u] 1 Tim. vi. 3, 5. Εἴ τις ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖ —— ἀφίστασο ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων.

[w] 2 Thess. iii. 6. Στέλλεσθαι ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀδελφοῦ ——.

[x] Rom. xvi. 17. Ἐκκλίνειν ἀπὸ αὐτῶν.

[y] Acts xx. 29. Εἰσελεύσονται εἰς ὑμᾶς.

spect more concern bishops than others; for that ey declining from truth, are more dangerous and ntagious.

14. The Fathers (in reference to this case) do arly accord, both in their doctrine and practice. . Cyprian telleth us, that [z] *a people obedient to e Lord's commandments, and fearing God, ought separate itself from a sinful bishop;* that is, m one guilty of such sins which unqualify him r Christian communion, or pastoral charge; and, *et not,* addeth he, *the common people flatter elf, as if it could be free from the contagion of ilt, if it communicate with a sinful bishop;* hose irreligious doctrine or practice doth render m uncapable of communion; for [b] *how* (saith he herwhere) *can they preside over integrity and ntinence, if corruptions and the teaching of vices begin to proceed from them?*

[c] *They who reject the commandment of God, and bour to establish their own tradition, let them be ongly and stoutly refused and rejected by you.*

St. Chrysostom, commenting on St. Paul's words, *I, or an angel* —— saith, that St. Paul [d] *mean-*

[z] Plebs obsequens præceptis Dominicis et Deum metuens a catore præposito separare se debet. *Cypr.* Ep. 68.

[b] Nec sibi plebs blandiatur, quasi immunis esse a contagio de- i possit cum sacerdote peccatore communicans. *Cypr.* Ep. 68.

[c] Quomodo enim possunt integritati et continentiæ præesse, si ipsis incipiant corruptelæ et vitiorum magisteria procedere? *rr.* Ep. 62.

Qui mandatum Dei rejiciunt, et traditionem suam statuere antur, fortiter a vobis et firmiter respuantur. *Cypr.* Ep. 40. 73.)

[d] Ἀλλὰ δεῖξαι βουλόμενος, ὅτι ἀξίωμα προσώπων οὐ προσίεται, ὅταν περὶ θείας ὁ λόγος ᾖ. Chrys. in Gal. i. 9.

eth to shew, that dignity of persons is not to be regarded where truth is concerned; that [e]*if one of the chief angels from heaven should corrupt the gospel, he were to be accursed;* that [f]*not only, if they shall speak things contrary, or overturn all, but if they preach any small matter beside the apostolical doctrine, altering the least point whatever, they are liable to an anathema.*

And otherwhere, very earnestly persuading his audience to render due respect and obedience to their bishop, he yet interposeth this exception, [g]*If he hath a perverse opinion, although he be an angel, do not obey him; but if he teacheth right things, regard not his life, but his words.*

[i]*Ecclesiastical judges, as men, are for the most part deceived.*

[k]*For neither are catholic bishops to be assented to, if peradventure in any case they are mistaken, so as to hold any thing contrary to the canonical scriptures of God.*

[l]*If there be any church which rejects the faith,*

[e] Κἂν γὰρ τῶν πρώτων ἀγγέλων ᾖ τις τῶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, διαφθείρῃ τὸ κήρυγμα, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. Ibid. i. 8.

[f] Καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν, ἐὰν ἐναντία καταγγέλλωσιν, ἢ ἀνατρέπωσι τὸ πᾶν, ἀλλὰ κἂν μικρόν τι εὐαγγελίζωνται παρ' ὃ εὐαγγελισάμεθα, κἂν τὸ τυχὸν παρακινήσωσι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστωσαν. Ibid.

[g] Εἰ μὲν γὰρ δόγμα ἔχει διεστραμμένον, κἂν ἄγγελος ᾖ, μὴ πείθου· εἰ δὲ ὀρθὰ διδάσκει, μὴ τῷ βίῳ πρόσεχε, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ῥήμασι. Chrys. in 2 Tim. Orat. 2.

[i] Ecclesiastici judices ut homines plerunque falluntur——. *Aug. contr. Cresc.* ii. 21.

[k] Quia nec catholicis episcopis consentiendum est, sicubi forte falluntur, ut contra canonicas Dei scripturas aliquid sentiant. *August. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 10.

[l] Si qua est ecclesia, quæ fidem respuat, nec apostolicæ prædi-

and does not hold the fundamentals of the apostolical doctrine, it ought to be forsaken, lest it infect others with its heterodoxy.

If in such a case we must desert any church, then the Roman; if any church, then much more any bishop, particularly him of Rome.

This hath been the doctrine of divers popes.

[m] *Which not only the apostolical prelate, but any other bishop may do,* viz. *discriminate and sever any men, and any place, from the catholic communion, according to the rule of that fore-condemned heresy.*

[n] *Faith is universal, common to all, and belongs, not only to clergymen, but also to laics, and even to all Christians.*

[o] *Therefore the sheep which are committed to the care of their pastor ought not to reprehend him, unless he swerve and go astray from the right faith.*

15. That this was the current opinion, common practice doth shew, there being so many instances of those who rejected their superiors, and withdrew from their communion, in case of their maintaining

ationis fundamenta possideat, ne quam labem perfidiæ possit spergere deserenda est. *Ambr. in Luc.* ix. (p. 85.)

[m] Quod non solum præsuli apostolico facere licet, sed cuicunue pontifici, ut quoslibet et quemlibet locum, secundum regulam æreseos ipsius ante damnatæ, a catholica communione discerant. *P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 4.

[n] Fides universalis est, omnium communis est, non solum ad ericos, verum etiam ad laicos, et ad omnes omnino pertinet hristianos. *P. Nich. I.* Ep. viii. p. 506.

[o] Oves ergo quæ pastori suo commissæ fuerint, eum nec repreendere, nisi a recta fide exorbitaverit, debent ——. *P. Joh. I.* p. 1. (*apud Bin.* tom. iii. p. 812.)

errors, or of their disorderly behaviour; such practice having been approved, by general and great synods, as also by divers popes.

When Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, did introduce new and strange doctrine, [p] ***divers of his presbyters did rebuke him, and withdraw communion from him;*** which proceeding is approved in the Ephesine synod.

Particularly Charisius did assert this proceeding in those remarkable words presented to that same synod; [q] ***It is the wish and desire of all well-affected persons, to give always all due honour and reverence especially to their spiritual fathers and teachers: but if it should so happen, that they, who ought to teach, should instil unto those who are set under them such things concerning the faith, as are offensive to the ears and hearts of all men, then of necessity the order must be inverted, and they who teach wrong doctrine must be rebuked of those who are their inferiors.***

Pope Celestine I. in that case did commend the people of Constantinople, deserting their pastor; [r] ***Happy flock***, said he, ***to whom the Lord did afford to judge about its own pasture.***

[p] Ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ πολλάκις τινὲς τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων πρεσβυτέρων ἤλεγξαν αὐτὸν, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπείθειαν αὐτοῦ τῆς αὐτοῦ κοινωνίας αὐτοὺς ἐξέβαλον—. Conc. Eph. part. i. p. 220.

[q] Εὐχὴ μὲν ἅπασι τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι, τιμὴν ἀεὶ καὶ πρέπουσαν αἰδῶ πνευματικοῖς μάλιστα πατράσι καὶ διδασκάλοις ἀπονέμειν· εἰ δέ που συμβῇ τοὺς διδάσκειν ὀφείλοντας τοιαῦτα τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐνηχεῖν περὶ τῆς πίστεως, οἷα τὰς ἁπάντων ἀκοὰς καὶ καρδίας καταβλάπτει, ἀνάγκη τὴν τάξιν ἀνταλλάττεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς κακῶς διδάσκειν ἑλομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἡσσόνων διελέγχεσθαι. Charis. in Conc. Eph. Act. vi. p. 358.

[r] Μακάριος δὲ ὅμως ἡ ἀγέλη ᾗ παρέσχεν ὁ Κύριος κρίνειν περὶ τῆς ἰδίας ποιμῆς. Celest. I. in Conc. Eph. p. 190.

St. Jerome did presume to write very briskly and smartly in reproof of John, bishop of Jerusalem, in whose province he a simple presbyter did reside.

[s] *Who makes a schism in the church? we whose whole house in Bethlehem communicate with the church, or thou, who either believest aright, and proudly concealest the truth, or art of a wrong belief, and really makest a breach in the church? Art thou only the church? And is he who offendeth thee excluded from Christ?*

[t] Malchion, presbyter of Antioch, disputed against Paulus Samosatenus, his bishop.

Beatus, presbyter, confuted his bishop, Elipandus of Toledo.

[u] *But if the rector swerve from the faith, he is to be reproved by those who are under him.*

16. The case is the same of the pope; for if other bishops, who are reckoned successors of the apostles, and vicars of Christ within their precinct; if other patriarchs, who sit in apostolical sees, and partake of a like extensive jurisdiction, by incurring heresy or schism, or committing notorious disorder and injustice, may be deprived of their authority, so that their

[s] Quis scindit ecclesiam? nos quorum omnis domus in Bethlehem in ecclesia communicat; an tu qui aut bene credis, et superbe de fide taces, aut male et vere scindis ecclesiam?——An tu solus ecclesia es; et qui te offenderit a Christo excluditur? *Hier.* Ep. lxi. cap. 16. Ep. lxii.

[t] Malchion disertissimus Antiochenæ ecclesiæ presbyter, adversus Paulum Samosatenum, qui Antiochenæ ecclesiæ episcopus dogma Artemonis instaurârat, disputavit. *Hieron. in Catal.*

[u] Quod si a fide exorbitaverit rector, tunc arguendus erit a subditis. *Isid. Hisp. de Offic.* iii. 39. Vid. Thomam Aq. in 4. Dist. xix. Art. 2.

subjects may be obliged to forsake them, then may the pope lose his: for truth and piety are not affixed to the chair of Rome more than to any other; there is no ground of asserting any such privilege, either in holy scripture or in old tradition; there can no promise be alleged for it, having any probable show, (that of *Oravi pro te* being a ridiculous pretence,) it cannot stand without a perpetual miracle; there is in fact no appearance of any such miracle; from the ordinary causes of great error and impiety (that is, ambition, avarice, sloth, luxury) the papal state is not exempt, yea, apparently, it is more subject to them than any other; all ages have testified and complained thereof.

17. Most eminent persons have in such cases withdrawn communion from the pope; as otherwhere we have shewed by divers instances.

18. The canon law itself doth admit the pope may be judged if he be a heretic.—[x] *Because he that is to judge all persons is to be judged of none, except he be found to be gone astray from the faith.*

The supposition doth imply the possibility; and therefore the case may be put that he is such, and then he doth (according to the more current doctrine ancient and modern) cease to be a bishop, yea a Christian; hence no obedience is due to him; yea no communion is to be held with him.

19. This in fact was acknowledged by a great pope, allowing the condemnation of pope Honorius for good, because he was erroneous in point of faith:

[x] Quia cunctos ipse judicaturus a nemine est judicandus, nisi deprehendatur a fide devius. *Grat.* Dist. xl. cap. 6. Vid. P. Innoc. III. apud Laun. contra Baron ——.

[y] ***For*** (saith he, in that which is called the eighth synod) ***although Honorius was anathematized after his death by the oriental bishops, it is yet well known that he was accused for heresy; for which alone it is lawful for inferiors to rise up against superiors.***

Now that the pope (or papal succession) doth pervert the truth of Christian doctrine, in contradiction to the holy scripture, and primitive tradition; that he doth subvert the practice of Christian piety, in opposition to the divine commands; that he teacheth falsehoods, and maintaineth impieties, is notorious in many particulars, some whereof we shall touch.

We justly might charge him with all those extravagant doctrines and practices which the high-flying doctors do teach, and which the fierce zealots upon occasion do act; for the whole succession of popes of a long time hath most cherished and encouraged such folks, looking squintly on others, as not well affected to them; but we shall only touch those new and noxious or dangerous positions, which great synods, managed and confirmed by their authority, have defined, or which they themselves have magisterially decreed; or which are generally practised by their influence or countenance.

It is manifest, that the pope doth support and cherish as his special favourites the ventors of wicked errors; such as those who teach the *pope's infallibility*, his *power over temporal princes*, to cashier and *depose* them, to *absolve subjects from their al-*

[y] Καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ τῷ Ὀνορίῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν μετὰ θάνατον ἀνάθεμα ἐβρέθη, ὅμως γνωστόν ἐστιν, ὅτι ἐπὶ αἱρέσει κατηγορήθη, δι' ἣν καὶ μόνον ἔξεστι τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους τῶν μειζόνων κατεξανίστασθαι. Syn. VIII. Act. vii. p. 963.

legiance—the doctrine of *equivocation, breach of faith with heretics,* &c. the which doctrines are heretical, as inducing pernicious practice; whence whoever doth so much as communicate with the maintainers of them, according to the principles of ancient Christianity, are guilty of the same crimes.

The holy scripture and catholic antiquity do teach
Matt. iv. 10. Rev. xix. 10. xxii. 9. Col. ii. 18. Rom. i. 25. and enjoin us *to worship and serve God alone,* our Creator; forbidding us to worship any creature, or *fellow-servant;* even not angels: [z]*For I who am a creature will not endure to worship one like to me.*

[a]But the pope and his clients do teach and charge us to worship angels and dead men; yea even to venerate *the relics and dead bodies of the saints.*

1 Cor. iv. 5. Rom. xiv. 4. The holy scripture teacheth us to *judge nothing* (about the present or future state of men, absolutely) *before the time, until the Lord come, who will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of hearts, and then each man shall have praise of God.*

But the pope notoriously (in repugnance to those precepts, anticipating God's judgment, and arrogating to himself a knowledge requisite thereto) doth presume to determine the state of men, canonizing them, declaring them to be saints, and proposing them to be worshipped; and on the other side, he damneth, curseth, and censureth his fellow-servants.

[z] Κτίσμα γὰρ ὢν οὐκ ἀνέξομαι τὸν ὅμοιον προσκυνεῖν. Bas. apud Sozom. vi. 16.

[a] Similiter et sanctos una cum Christo regnantes venerandos atque invocandos esse:—atque horum reliquias esse venerandas. *Pii IV. Profess. Fid.* Bonum atque utile esse eos invocare——sanctorum quoque corpora——a fidelibus veneranda esse. *Conc. Trid.*

God in his law doth command us not [b]*to bow down ourselves unto any image,* or worship *the likeness of any thing in heaven, or earth, or under the earth;* the which law (whether moral or positive) the gospel doth ratify and confirm; charging us to *keep ourselves from idols, and to fly worshipping of idols,* that is, to observe the Second Commandment; the validity whereof the Fathers most expressly assert; and divers of them were so strict in their opinion about it, that they deemed it unlawful so much as to make any image.

1 John v. 21. 1 Cor. x. 14, 7. Clem. Alex Tertul.

But the pope and his adherents (in point-blank opposition to divine law and primitive doctrine) require us to *fall down before* and to worship images. [c]*Moreover we decree, that the images of saints be especially had and retained in churches, and that due honour and veneration be imparted to them —— so that by those images which we kiss, and before which we uncover the head and fall down, we adore Christ, and venerate the saints whose likeness they bear.*

Neither is he satisfied to recommend and decree these unwarrantable venerations, but (with a horrible strange kind of uncharitableness and ferity) doth he [d]*anathematize those, who teach* or think

[b] Exod. xx. 4. Οὐ ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ εἴδωλον, οὐδὲ παντὸς ὁμοίωμα ——.

[c] Imagines porro —— sanctorum in templis præsertim habendas, et retinendas; eisque debitum honorem et venerationem impertiendam —— ita ut per imagines, quas osculamur, et coram quibus caput aperimus, et procumbimus, Christum adoremus, et sanctos quorum illæ similitudinem gerunt, veneremur. *Conc. Trid.* sess. 25.

[d] Siquis autem his decretis contraria docuerit, aut senserit, anathema sit. *Ibid.*

any thing opposite to his decrees concerning them; so that if the ancient Fathers should live now, they would live under this curse.

Ezek. xviii. Luke xv. Rom. x. 9. Mark i. 15. The holy scripture, under condition of repentance and amendment of life, upon recourse to God and trust in his mercy, through Jesus Christ our Saviour, doth offer and promise remission of sins, acceptance with God, justification and salvation; this is the tenor of the evangelical covenant; nor did the primitive church know other terms.

But the pope doth preach another doctrine, and requireth other terms, as necessary for remission of sins and salvation; for he hath decreed the confession of all and each mortal sin, which a man by recollection can remember, to a priest, to be necessary thereto; anathematizing all who shall say the contrary; although the Fathers (particularly St. Chrysostom frequently) have affirmed the contrary[c].

The which is plainly preaching another gospel, (forged by himself and his abettors,) as offering remission upon other terms than God hath prescribed; and denying it upon those which Christianity proposeth.

He teacheth that no sin is pardoned without absolution of a priest.

He requireth satisfaction imposed by a priest, be-

[c] Si quis dixerit in sacramento pœnitentiæ ad remissionem peccatorum necessarium non esse jure divino confiteri omnia et singula peccata mortalia, quorum memoria cum debita et diligenti præmeditatione habeatur —— anathema sit. *Sess.* xiv. *de Pœn.* Can. 7. If any one shall say, that in the sacrament of penance it is not necessary by divine right to confess all and singular mortal sins, the remembrance whereof may be had by due and diligent premeditation, let him be anathema.

sides repentance and new obedience, as necessary. Which is also another gospel [f].

[g] He dispenseth pardon of sin upon condition of performances unnecessary and insufficient; such as undertaking *pilgrimages to the shrines of saints, visiting churches,* making *war upon infidels* or *heretics, contributing money, repeating prayers,* undergoing *corporal penances,* &c. Which is likewise to frame and publish another gospel.

These doctrines are highly presumptuous, and well may be reputed heretical.

God hath commanded, that *every soul should be subject to the higher powers* temporal, *as to God's ministers;* so as to obey their laws, to submit to their judgments, to pay tribute to them. And the Fathers expound this law to the utmost extent and advantage: [h] *If every soul, then yours; if any attempt to except you, he goes about to deceive you.* Rom. xiii. 1—. Tit. iii. 1. 1 Pet. ii. 13. ἀνίστε λος —. Chrys.

But the pope countermandeth, and exempteth all clergymen from those duties, by his canon law; excommunicating lay judges, who shall perform their

[f] Si quis negaverit ad integram et perfectam peccatorum remissionem requiri — contritionem, confessionem, et satisfactionem. *Sess.* xiv. Can. 4. If any shall deny that contrition, confession, and satisfaction, is required, to the entire and perfect remission of sin.

[g] Et qui Hierosolymam proficiscuntur, et ad Christianam gentem defendendam, et tyrannidem infidelium debellandum efficaciter auxilium præbuerint, quorum peccatorum remissionem concedimus ——. *Conc. Lat. I.* Can. 11. And whoever go to Jerusalem, and powerfully afford help to defend Christian people, and to subdue the tyranny of infidels, to them we grant forgiveness of their sins ——.

[h] Si omnis et vestra —— si quis tentat excipere, conatur decipere. *Bern.* Ep. 42.

office in regard to them. [i] *Because indeed some lay persons constrain ecclesiastics, yea and bishops themselves, to appear before them, and to stand to their judgment, those that henceforth shall presume to do so, we decree that they shall be separate from the communion of the faithful.*

Tertul.Opt. Cyril. &c. alibi. Greg.Ep.ii. 62. Agatho,&c. The scriptures do represent the king (or temporal sovereign) as supreme over his subjects, to whom all are obliged to yield special respect and obedience: the Fathers yield him the same place, above all, next to God; and subject to God alone: the ancient good popes did acknowledge themselves servants and subjects to the emperor.

2Thess.ii.4. But later popes, like *the man of sin* in St. Paul, have advanced themselves above all civil power; claiming to themselves a supereminency, not only of rank, but of power, over all Christian princes; even to depose them. [k] *Christ has committed the rights both of terrestrial and celestial government to that blessed man who bears the keys of eternal life.*

[l] *If the secular power be believers, God would*

[i] Lex canonica simpliciter eos eximit. *Bell. de Cler.* cap. 1. Sane quia laici quidam ecclesiasticas personas et ipsos etiam episcopos suo judicio stare compellunt, eos qui de cætero id præsumpserint, a communione fidelium decernimus segregandos. *Conc. Lat. III.* Can. 14. *Ibid. II.* 15. *Steph. VI.* Ep. 1. (tom. i. p. 130.) *Nichol. I.* Ep. 8. (tom. vi. p. 513.)

[k] Christus beato æternæ vitæ clavigero terreni simul et cœlestis imperii jura commisit. *P. Nich. II. apud Grat.* Dist. xxii. cap. 1. *Greg. VII.* Ep. viii. 21. *Caus.* xv. qu. 6. cap. 3.

[l] Seculi potestates si fideles sunt, Deus ecclesiæ sacerdotibus voluit esse subjectas—imperatores Christiani subdere debent executiones suas ecclesiasticis præsulibus, non præferre. *P. Joh. VIII. apud Grat.* Dist. xcvi. cap. 11.

have them subject to the priests of the church — Christian emperors ought to submit, and not prefer the execution of their laws to the rulers of the church.

God by indispensable law hath obliged us to retain our obedience to the king, even pagan; charging us under pain of damnation to be subject to him, and not to resist him ——.

But the pope is ready upon occasion to discharge subjects from that obligation, to absolve them from their solemn oaths of allegiance, to encourage insurrection against him, to prohibit obedience ——. [m] *We observing the decrees of our holy predecessors, by our apostolical authority absolve those from their oath who were bound by their fealty and oath to excommunicated persons: and we forbid them by all means that they yield them no allegiance, till they come and make satisfaction.*

Thus doth he teach and prescribe *rebellion, perjury* — together with all the *murders* and *rapines* consequent on them: which is a far greater heresy, than if he should teach *adultery, murder*, or *theft* to be lawful. [n] *For they are enjoined by no authority to perform the allegiance which they have sworn to a Christian prince, who is an adversary*

[m] Nos sanctorum prædecessorum nostrorum statuta tenentes, eos qui excommunicatis fidelitate aut sacramento constricti sunt, apostolica auctoritate a sacramento absolvimus; et ne eis fidelitatem observent omnibus modis prohibemus, quousque ipsi ad satisfactionem veniant. *Greg. VII. in Syn. Rom. Grat. Caus.* xv. qu. 6. cap. 4.

[n] Fidelitatem enim quam Christiano principi jurarunt, Deo ejusque sanctis adversanti, eorum præcepta calcanti, nulla cohibentur auctoritate persolvere ——. *P. Urb. II. apud Grat. Caus.* xv. qu. 6. cap. 5.

to God and his saints, and contemns their commands.

Ezek. xiii. 3, &c. Not only the holy scripture, but common sense doth shew it to be an enormous presumption to obtrude for the inspirations, oracles, and dictates of God, any writings or propositions, which are not really such.

This the pope doth notoriously, charging us to admit divers writings (which the greatest part of learned men in all ages have refused for such) as sacred and canonical; anathematizing all those who do not hold each of them for such[o]:— even as they are extant in a translation, not very exact, and framed partly out of Hebrew, partly out of Greek, upon divers accounts liable to mistake; as its author St. Jerome doth avow.

According to which decree, all who consent with St. Jerome, St. Austin, St. Athanasius, &c. with common sense, with the author of the Second of Maccabees himself, must incur a curse. What can be more uncharitable, more unjust, more silly, than such a definition?

He pretendeth to infallibility, or encourageth them who attribute it to him; which is a continual enthusiasm, and profane bold imposture.

The scripture doth avow a singular reverence due to itself, as containing the oracles of God —.

[o] Si quis autem libros ipsos integros cum suis partibus, prout in ecclesia catholica legi consueverunt, et in veteri vulgata Latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit —— anathema sit. *Conc. Trid.* sess. 4. But if any shall not receive for sacred and canonical those whole books, with the parts of them, according as they have been wont to be read in the catholic church, and are had in the old vulgar Latin edition; let him be anathema.

But the pope doth obtrude the *oral traditions* of his church (divers of which evidently are new, dubious, vain —) to be worshipped with equal reverence as the holy scripture. [p] *And also receives and venerates, with the like pious respect and reverence, the traditions themselves — which have been preserved by continual succession in the catholic church.*

Among which traditions they reckon all the tricks and trumpery of their mass service; together with all their new notions about purgatory, extreme unction, &c. [q] *He also used several ceremonies, as mystical benediction, lights, incensings, garments, and many other such things, from apostolical discipline and tradition.*

The scriptures affirm themselves to be written for common instruction, comfort, edification in all piety; they do therefore recommend themselves to be studied and searched by all people; as the best and surest means of attaining knowledge and finding truth. [r] The Fathers also do much exhort all people (even women and girls) constantly to read, and diligently to study the scriptures.

[s] But the pope doth keep them from the people,

[p] —— nec non traditiones ipsas —— continua successione in ecclesia catholica conservatas pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipit, et veneratur. *Syn. Trid.* sess. 4.

[q] Ceremonias item adhibuit, ut mysticas benedictiones, lumina, thymiamata, vestes, aliaque id genus multa ex apostolica disciplina et traditione ——. *Conc. Trid.* sess. xxii. cap. 5, 11. *de Sacrif. Miss.*

[r] 2 Tim. iii. 15.—Rom. xv. 4. 1 Cor. ix. 10. x. 11. 2 Pet. i. 20. ἐκβρέφους. John v. 39. Acts xvii. 11. Psalm cxix.— Hier. ad Læt. Epitaph. Paul. Vit. Hilar. ——. Chrys. in Colos. Or. 9. Aug. Serm. 55. de temp.

[s] N. P. Pius IV. did authorize certain rules for prohibition and

locked up in languages not understood by them; prohibiting translations of them to be made, or used. The scripture teacheth, and common sense sheweth, and the Fathers do assert, (nothing indeed more frequently or more plainly,) that all necessary points of faith and good morality are with sufficient evidence couched in holy scripture, so that *a man of God,* or pious men, may thence *be perfectly furnished to every work;* but they contrariwise blaspheme the scriptures, as obscure, dangerous, &c.

2 Tim. iii. 17.

Common sense dictateth, that devotions should be performed with understanding and affection; and that consequently they should be in a known tongue: and St. Paul expressly teacheth, that it is requisite for private and public edification; [t] *From this doctrine of Paul it appears, that it is better for the edification of the church, that public prayers, which are said in the audience of the people, should be said in a tongue common to the clergy and the people, than that they should be said in Latin.*

All ancient churches did accordingly practise; and most others do so, beside those which the pope doth ride.

But the pope will not have it so, requiring the public liturgy to be celebrated in an unknown tongue; and that most Christians shall say their devotions

permission of books; in which it is permitted to bishops to grant a faculty of reading the scriptures translated —— but to this rule there is added an observation, that *this power was taken from bishops by command of the Roman universal inquisition.* Ind. Lib. Prohib. a Clem. VIII.

[t] 1 Cor. xiv. 14. Ex hac Pauli doctrina habetur, quod melius est ad ecclesiæ ædificationem orationes publicas, quæ audiente populo dicuntur, dici lingua communi clericis et populo, quam dici Latine. Cajet. in 1 Cor. xiv.

like parrots. He anathematizeth those, who [u]*think the mass should be celebrated in a vulgar tongue;* that is, all those who are in their right wits, and think it fit to follow the practice of the ancient church.

The holy scripture teacheth us that there is but one head of the church; and the Fathers do avow no other (as we have otherwhere shewed).

But the pope assumeth to himself the headship of the church, affirming all [x]*power and authority to be derived from him into the subject members of the church.*

[y]*We decree that the Roman pontiff is the true vicar of Christ, and the head of the whole church.*

The scripture declareth, that God did institute marriage for remedy of incontinency and prevention of sin; forbidding the use of it to none, who should think it needful or convenient for them[z]; reckoning the [a]*prohibition of it* among heretical doctrines; implying it to be [b]*imposing a snare* upon men. Matt. xix. 11.

But the pope and his complices do prohibit it to whole orders of men, (*priests*, &c.) engaging them into dangerous vows. Vid. tom. vii. Conc. p. 465. Syn. Trid. sess. xxiv. de Matr. Can. 9.

Our Lord forbiddeth any marriage lawfully contracted to be dissolved, otherwise than in case of adultery. Matt. v. 32. xix. 7. 1 Cor. vii. 10.

[u] —— aut lingua tantum vulgari missam celebrari debere— anathema sit. *Sess.* xxii. Can. 9.

[x] A quo tanquam capite omnis in subjecta membra potestas et authoritas derivetur. *P. Pius II. in Bull. Retract.*

[y] Definimus Romanum pontificem——verum Christi vicarium totiusque ecclesiæ caput——. *Defin. Syn. Flor.*

[z] Μὴ οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν;— 1 Cor. ix. 5.

[a] Κωλυόντων γαμεῖν· 1 Tim. iv. 3.

[b] Βρόχον ἐπιβάλλειν· 1 Cor. vii. 35.

But the pope commandeth priests married to be divorced. [a] *And that marriages contracted by such persons should be dissolved.*

He dissolveth matrimony agreed, by the profession of monkery of one of the espoused. [b] *If any shall say, that matrimony confirmed, not consummate, is not dissolved by the solemn profession of religion of either party, let him be anathema.*

Our Saviour did institute and enjoin us (under pain of damnation, if we should wilfully transgress his order) to eat of his body, and drink of his blood, in participation of the holy supper [c].

The Fathers did accordingly practise, with the whole church, till late times.

But [d] *notwithstanding Christ's institution,* (as they express it,) papal synods do prohibit all laymen, and priests not celebrating, to partake of Christ's blood; so maiming and perverting our Lord's institution: [e] *and yet they decline to drink the blood of our redemption.*

In defence of which practice, they confound body

[a] Contracta quoque matrimonia ab hujusmodi personis disjungi. *Conc. Lat. I.* cap. 21. *Lat. II. Trid.* Sess. xxiv. Can. 9.——

[b] Si quis dixerit matrimonium ratum, non consummatum, per solennem religionis professionem alterius conjugum non dirimi, anathema sit. *Sess.* xxiv. Can. 6.

[c] Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες. Matt. xxvi. 27. Ἐὰν μὴ—πίητε αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα, οὐκ ἔχετε ζωήν. Joh. vi. 53.

[d] Non obstante. *Conc. Const.* Sess. xiii. Conc. Trid. Sess. xiii. cap. 8. Can. 3. Sess. xxi. cap. 4. Can. 3.

[e] This pope Leo I. condemneth. *De Quadr.* Serm. iv. (p. 38.) Sanguinem redemptionis nostræ haurire declinant——. P. Gelasius calleth the division of the sacrament a grand sacrilege. *Gratian. in De Consecr. Dist.* ii. cap. 12.

and blood; and under a curse would oblige us to believe, that one kind doth contain the other; or that a part doth contain the whole. Conc. Trid. Sess. xxi. Can. 3. Sess. xiii. Can. 3.

Whereas our Lord saith, that *whoso eateth his flesh and drinketh his blood hath eternal life;* and consequently supposeth, that bad men do not partake of his body and blood; yet they condemn this assertion under a curse[f]. John vi. 54.

The holy scripture, and the Fathers after it, commonly do call the elements of the eucharist, after consecration, bread and wine; affirming them to retain their nature. Ἄρτον τοῦτον. 1 Cor. xi. 26. Theod. Gelas.——

But the popish Cabal anathematizeth those who say, *that bread and wine do then remain.*

[g] *If any shall say, that in the holy sacrament of the eucharist the substance of bread and wine remain—let him be anathema.*

The nature of the Lord's supper doth imply communion and company; but they forbid any man to say, that a priest *may not communicate alone;* so establishing the belief of nonsense and contradiction.

The holy scripture teacheth us, that our Lord hath departed, and is absent from us in body; until that he shall come to judge, which is called his *presence;* [h]that heaven, whither he ascended, and

[f] Si quis dixerit tantum in usu, &c. *Trid. Conc.* Sess. xiii. cap. 8. Can. 4.——

[g] Si quis dixerit in sacrosancto eucharistiæ sacramento remanere substantiam panis et vini——anathema sit. *Trid. Conc. de Euch.* Sess. xiii. Can. 2. Si quis dixerit missas in quibus sacerdos solus sacramentaliter communicat, illicitas esse, anathema sit. *Sess.* xxii. *de Sacr. Miss.* Can. 8. Sess. xiii. Can. 8.

[h] 2 Cor. v. 6.—— Acts ii. 33. Col. iii. 1. Εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς ἐκάθισε. Heb. x. 12. Ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν δέχεσθαι. Acts iii. 21.

where he sitteth at God's right hand, must ***hold him till the times of the restitution of all things.***

But the pope with his Lateran and Tridentine complices draw him down from heaven, and make him corporally present every day, in numberless places here.

The scripture teacheth us, that our Lord is a man, [i] *perfectly like to us in all things.*

But the pope and his adherents make him extremely different from us, as having a body at once present in innumerable places; insensible, &c. divested of the properties of our body; thereby destroying his human nature, and in effect agreeing with Eutyches, Apollinarius, and other such pestilent heretics.

The scripture representeth him born once for us; but they affirm him every day made by a priest, uttering the words of consecration; as if that which before did exist, could be made; as if a man could make his Maker.

Heb. ix. 26. x. 10, 12, 14. ἐφάπαξ. μιᾷ προσφορᾷ.

The scripture teacheth, that our Lord was *once offered for expiation of* our sins; but they pretend every day to offer him up as a *propitiatory sacrifice.*

These devices, without other foundation than a figurative expression, (which they resolve to expound in a proper sense, although even in that very matter divers figurative expressions are used, as they cannot but acknowledge,) they with all violence and fierceness obtrude upon the belief, as one of the most necessary and fundamental articles of the Christian religion.

[i] Ὤφειλε κατὰ πάντα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὁμοιωθῆναι. Heb. ii. 17.

The scripture teacheth us humbly to acknowledge the rewards assigned by God to be gratuitous and free; and that we, *after we have done all, must acknowledge ourselves unprofitable servants.* Eph. ii. 8, 9. Tit. iii. 5. Rom. iii. 24. Luke xvii. 10.

But the papists curse those who, although out of humility and modesty, will not acknowledge the good works of justified persons to be truly meritorious; *deserving the increase of grace, eternal life, and augmentation of glory:* so forcing us to use saucy words and phrases, if not impious in their sense. Sess. vi. de Justif. Can. 32.

The scripture teacheth one church diffused over the whole world; whereof each part is bound to maintain charity, peace, and communion with the rest, upon brotherly terms.

But the Romanists arrogate to themselves the name and privilege of the only church; condemning all other churches besides their own, and censuring all for apostatical who do not adhere to them, or submit to their yoke; just like the Donatists, who said that [k] *the world had apostatized,* excepting those who upon their own terms did communicate with them; *only the communion of Donatus remained* the true church.

The holy scripture biddeth us take care of persons pretending to extraordinary inspirations; charging on the Holy Spirit their own conceits and devices. 1 John iv. 1. Jer. xxix. 8—.

Such have been their synods, boldly fathering their decrees on God's Spirit —. And their pope is infallible, by virtue of inspiration communicated to him, when he pleaseth to set himself right in his

[k] Orbis terrarum apostatavit, et sola remansit Donati communio. *Aug. de Unit.* 12 ——.

chair. Whence we may take them for bodies of enthusiasts and fanatics: the difference only is, that other enthusiasts pretend singly, they conjunctly and by conspiracy. Others pretend it in their own direction and defence, these impose their dreams on the whole church.

Luke xi. 13. James i. 5. 1 John ii. 27. Heb. viii. 11. Rom. viii. 9. Acts v. 32. Aug. Doctr. Christ. Ep. ad Jen.

If they say that God hath promised his Spirit to his church, it is true; but he hath no less plainly and frequently promised it to single Christians, who should seek it earnestly of him.

The ancient Fathers could in the scriptures hardly discern more than two sacraments, or mysterious rites of our religion, by positive law and institution of our Saviour to be practised.

But the popes have devised others, and under uncharitable curses propound them to be professed for such[l]; affirming them to confer grace by the bare performance of them.

Every clergyman and monk is bound by Pius IV. to profess [m]*there are just seven of them;* and the Tridentine synod [n]*anathematizeth all those, who do say there are more or fewer;* although the ancients did never hit on that number.

[o]*But these our sacraments both contain grace,*

[l] Si sacramenta essent pauciora, magna impietas fuisset, et superstitio, &c. *Bell. de Sacr.* ii. 25. If the sacraments were fewer, there would have been great impiety and superstition, &c.

[m] Profiteor quoque septem esse proprie et vere sacramenta. *Bulla Pii IV.*

[n] Si quis dixerit —— esse plura vel pauciora quam septem —— anathema sit. *Syn. Trid.* sess. vii. Can. 1.

[o] Hæc vero nostra et continent gratiam, et ipsam digne suscipientibus conferunt. *P. Eug. in Instr. Arm.* Si quis dixerit per ipsa novæ legis sacramenta ex opere operato, non conferri gratiam —— anathema sit. *Ibid.* Can. 8.

and also confer it upon those who worthily receive them.

They require men to believe under a curse that each of those were instituted of Christ, and confer grace by the bare performance.

Particularly, they curse those who do not hold [o]***matrimony for a sacrament, instituted by Christ, and conferring grace.*** What can be more ridiculous than to say, that marriage was instituted by Christ, or that it doth confer grace?

Yet with another anathema they prefer virginity before it: and why, forsooth, is not that another sacrament? And then they must be comparing the worth of these sacraments, condemning those heavily, who may conceive them equal, as being divine institutions. Sess. xxiv. Can. 10.

[p]***If any shall say that these seven sacraments are so equal one to another, that one is in no respect of more worth than another, let him be anathema.***

The first, as it seemeth, who reckoned the sacraments to be seven, was Peter Lombard; whom the schoolmen did follow; and pope Eugenius IV. followed them; [q]and afterward the Trent men formed it into an article backed with an anathema.

[o] Si quis dixerit matrimonium non esse vere ac proprie unum ex septem legis evangelicæ sacramentis, a Christo Domino institutum —— neque gratiam conferre, anathema sit. *Sess.* xxiv. Can. 1.

[p] Si quis dixerit hæc septem sacramenta ita esse inter se paria, ut nulla ratione aliud sit alio dignius, anathema sit. *Sess.* vii. Can. 3.

[q] Novæ legis septem sunt sacramenta, &c. *P. Eug. in Instr. Arm.* Bellarmine could find none before him. Vid. *de Sacram.* ii. 25.

Upon which rash and peremptory sentence touching all ancient divines, we may note;

1. Is it not strange, that an article of faith should be formed upon an ambiguous word, or a term of art, used with great variety?

2. Is it not strange to define a point, whereof it is most plain that the Fathers were ignorant, wherein they never did agree or resolve any thing?

3. Yea, whereof they speak variously.

4. Is it not odd and extravagant to damn or curse people for a point of so little consideration or certainty?

5. Is it not intolerable arrogance and presumption to define, nay, indeed, to make an article of faith, without any manner of ground or colour of authority either from scripture or the tradition of the ancient Fathers[r]?

Matt. xxiii. 8. 2 Cor. i. 24. 1 Thess. v. 21. Col. ii. 8. Matt. xv. 9.

The holy scripture forbiddeth us *to call any man master upon earth*, or absolutely to subject our faith to the dictates of any man; it teacheth us that the apostles themselves are *not lords of our faith*, so as to oblige us to believe their own inventions; it forbiddeth us to swallow whole the doctrines and precepts of men, without examination of them. It forbiddeth us to admit [s]*various and strange doctrines.*

But the pope and Roman church exact from us a submission to their dictates, admitting them for true, without any further inquiry or discussion, barely upon his authority. [t]*They who are pro-*

[r] Multa dicuntur a veteribus sacramenta præter ista septem. *Bell. de Sacr.* ii. 24. Many things are by the ancients called sacraments besides these seven.

[s] Διδαχαῖς ποικίλαις, καὶ ξέναις μὴ περιφέρεσθε. Heb. xiii. 9.

[t] Provisi de beneficiis quibuscunque curam animarum habenti-

vided of any benefices whatever, having cure of souls, let them promise and swear obedience to the Roman church.

They require of us without doubt to believe, to profess, to assert innumerable propositions, divers of them new and strange, nowise deducible from scripture or apostolical tradition, the very terms of them being certainly unknown to the primitive church, devised by human subtilty, curiosity, contentiousness — divers of them being (in all appearance, to the judgment of common sense,) uncertain, obscure, and intricate; divers of them bold and fierce; divers of them frivolous and vain; divers of them palpably false. Namely, all such propositions, as have been taught by their great juntos, allowed by the pope, especially that of Trent.

[u] ***Moreover all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons and œcumenical councils, and especially by the holy synod of Trent, I undoubtedly receive and profess; and also all things contrary thereunto, and all heresies whatsoever condemned and rejected, and anathematized by the church, I in like manner do condemn, reject, and anathematize ——. This is the***

bus —— in Romanæ ecclesiæ obedientiam spondeant ac jurent. *Conc. Trid.* Sess. xxiv. cap. 12. *de Ref.* —— nec non veram obedientiam summo pontifici spondeant et profiteantur. *Sess.* xxv. cap. 2. *de Ref.*

[u] Cætera item omnia a sacris canonibus et œcumenicis conciliis, ac præcipue a sacrosancta Tridentina synodo tradita, definita, et declarata, indubitanter recipio atque profiteor; simulque contraria omnia, atque hæreses quascunque ab ecclesia damnatas et rejectas et anathematizatas ego pariter damno, respuo, et anathematizo. *P. Pii IV. profess.* Hanc veram catholicam fidem, extra quam nulla salus esse potest. *Ibid.*

true catholic faith, out of which there can be no salvation.

This usurpation upon the consciences of Christians (none like whereto was ever known in the world) they prosecute with most uncharitable censures; cursing and damning all who do not in heart and profession submit to them, obliging all their consorts to join therein, against all charity and prudence.

Rom. xiv. 1. xv. 1, 7. The scripture enjoineth us to bear with those who are weak in faith, and err in doubtful or disputable matters.

But the popes, with cruel uncharitableness, not only do censure all that cannot assent to their devices, which they obtrude as articles of faith; but sorely persecute them with all sorts of punishments; even with death itself; a practice inconsistent with Christian meekness, with equity, with reason; and of which the Fathers have expressed the greatest detestation.

[x] ***They have unwoven and altered all theology from head to foot, and of divine have made it sophistical.***

The pope, with his pack of mercenary clients at Trent, did indeed establish a scholastical or sophistical, rather than a Christian theology; framing points, devised by the idle wits of latter times, into definitions and peremptory conclusions, backed with curses and censures: concerning which conclusions it is evident,

Formaliter justos. *Sess.* vi. Can. 10. That the apostles themselves would not be able to understand many of them.

[x] Totam theologiam a capite usque ad calcem retexuerunt, et ex divina sophisticam fecerunt. *Erasm. præf. ad Hieron.*

That the ancient Fathers did never think any thing about them. Ex opere operato. *Sess.* vii. Can. 8.

That divers of them consist in application of artificial terms and phrases devised by human subtilty. Character. *Sess.* vii. Can. 9.

That divers of them are in their own nature disputable; were before disputed by wise men; and will ever be disputed by those who freely use their judgment.

That there was no need of defining many of them.

That they blindly lay about them, condemning and cursing they know not who, Fathers, schoolmen, divines, &c. who have expressly affirmed points so damned by them.

That many truths are uncharitably backed with curses, which disparageth them; (seeing a man may err pardonably—πολλὰ γὰρ πταίομεν ἅπαντες,) *in many things we offend all.* James iii. 2.

For instance, what need was there of defining, what need of cursing those, who think concupiscence *to be truly and properly sin,* upon St. Paul's authority calling it so? *Sess.* v. Can. 5. Rom. vii.

That [y] *Adam presently upon his transgression did lose the sanctity and justice in which he was constituted?*

What need of cursing those, who say that men are justified *by the sole remission of sins,* according to St. Paul's notion and use of the word *justification?* *Sess.* vi. Can. 11.

What need of cursing those, who say the [z] *grace*

[y] Cum mandatum Dei in paradiso fuisset transgressus, statim sanctitatem et justitiam in qua constitutus fuerat amisisse. *Sess.* v. Can. 1.

[z] Sess. vi. Can. 11. Aut etiam gratiam qua justificamur esse tantum favorem Dei.

of God, by which we are justified, is only the favour of God; whereas it is plain enough that *God's grace* there in St. Paul doth signify nothing else, applied to that case?

Sess. vi. Can. 12. Or that faith is *nothing else, but a reliance in God's mercy, remitting sins for Christ*; seeing it is plain that St. Paul doth by faith chiefly mean the belief of that principal point of the gospel?

Or that good works [a] *do not cause an increase of justification*; seeing St. Paul doth exclude justification by works; and it is a free work of God—uncapable of degrees?

Or that after remission of sin in justification, [b] *a guilt of paying temporal pain doth abide?*

Sess. vi. Can. 32. Or that a man cannot *by his works merit increase of grace, and glory, and eternal life*; seeing a man is not to be blamed, who doth dislike the use of so saucy a word; the which divers good men have disclaimed?

What need of cursing those, who do not take the sacraments to be *precisely seven?* or who conceive that some one of their seven may not be *truly and properly* a sacrament; seeing the word *sacrament* is ambiguous, and by the Fathers applied to divers other things, and defined generally by St. Austin, *signum rei sacræ*; and that before Peter Lombard ever did mention that number?

De sacramentis. Si quis dixerit—— esse plura vel paucióra quam septem. *Sess.* vii. Can. 1.

Sess. vii. Can. 3. What need of damning those, who do conceive the sacraments equal in dignity?

Sess. vii. Can. 8. What need of defining, that sacraments do confer

[a] Sess. vi. Can. 24. Non autem ipsius augendæ causam ——.

[b] Ut nullus remaneat reatus pœnæ temporalis exolvendæ——. *Sess.* vi. Can. 30. *Sess.* xiv. *de Pœnit.* Can. 15.

grace *ex opere operato?* which is an obscure scholastical phrase.

What need of cursing those who say, that a [c]*character is not impressed in the soul* of those who take *baptism, confirmation, or orders;* seeing what this character is, (or [d]*this spiritual and indelible mark,*) they do not themselves well understand or agree?

What need of cursing those, who do not think that the validity of sacraments (and consequently the assurance of our being Christians) dependeth on the intention of the minister? Sess. vii. Can. 11.

What need of cursing those, who think that a pastor of the church may change the ceremonies of administering the sacraments; seeing St. Cyprian often teacheth, that every pastor hath full authority in such cases within his own precinct? Sess. vii. Can. 13.

What need of defining the Second Book of Maccabees to be canonical, against the common opinion of the Fathers, (most expressly of St. Austin himself,) of the most learned in all ages, of pope Gelasius himself, (*in Decret.*) which the author himself (calling his work an epitome, and asking pardon for his errors) disclaimeth, and which common sense therefore disclaimeth[e]? Sess. iv.

Their new creed of Pius IV. containeth these novelties and heterodoxies. 1. *Seven sacraments.* 2. *Trent doctrine of justification and original sin.*

[c] Non imprimi characterem in anima. *Sess.* vii. Can. 9.

[d] Hoc est signum quoddam spirituale, et indelebile. *Ibid.*

[e] Fidem minutis dissecant ambagibus
Ut quisque lingua nequior.
Solvunt ligantque quæstionum vincula
Per syllogismos plectiles ——. *Prudent. in Apotheos.*

3. *Propitiatory sacrifice of the mass.* 4. *Transubstantiation.* 5. *Communicating under one kind.* 6. *Purgatory.* 7. *Invocation of saints.* 8. *Veneration of relics.* 9. *Worship of images.* 10. *The Roman church to be the mother and mistress of all churches.* 11. *Swearing obedience to the pope.* 12. *Receiving the decrees of all synods,* and of Trent.

A

DISCOURSE

CONCERNING THE

UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

Non habet charitatem Dei, qui ecclesiæ non diligit unitatem.
AUG. DE BAPT. 3.

A

DISCOURSE

CONCERNING THE

UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

EPHES. iv. 4.

One body, and one spirit.

THE *unity of the church* is a point which may eem somewhat speculative, and remote from prac-ice; but in right judgments it is otherwise; many luties depending upon a true notion and considera-ion of it; so that from ignorance or mistake about t we may incur divers offences or omissions of duty; ience in holy scripture it is often proposed as a con-iderable point, and useful to practice.

And if ever the consideration of it were needful, t is so now, when the church is so rent with dissen-ions, for our satisfaction and direction about the uestions and cases debated in Christendom; for on he explication of it, or the true resolution where-n it doth consist, the controversies about *church-overnment, heresy, schism, liberty of conscience,* nd by consequence many others, do depend; yea, ndeed, all others are by some parties made to de-pend thereon.

St. Paul, exhorting the Ephesians, his disciples, to

the maintenance of charity and peace among themselves, doth for inducement to that practice represent the unity and community of those things which jointly did appertain to them as Christians: the unity of that *body* whereof they were members; of that *spirit* which did animate and act them; of that *hope* to which they were called; of that *Lord* whom they all did worship and serve; of that *faith* which they did profess; of that *baptism* whereby they were admitted into the same state of duties, of rights, of privileges; of that one *God* and universal *Father*, to whom they had all the same relations.

He beginneth with the *unity of the body*; that is, of the Christian church; concerning which unity, what it is, and wherein it doth consist, I mean now to discourse.

In order to clearing which point, we must first state what the church is, of which we discourse; for the word *church* is ambiguous, having both in holy scripture and common use divers senses somewhat different. For,

1. Sometimes any assembly or company of Christ-
Rom. xvi. 5. Col. iv. 15. Philem. ii. ians is called a *church*; as when mention is made of *the church in* such *a house*; (whence Tertullian saith, [a] *Where there are three, even laics, there is a church.*)

2. Sometimes a particular society of Christians, living in spiritual communion, and under discipline; as when, [b] *the church at* such *a town*; [c] *the churches*

[a] Ubi tres, ecclesia est, licet laici. *Tert. de Exh. Cast.* cap. 7.

[b] Acts viii. 1. xiv. 27. v. 11. 1 Cor. i. 1. Col. iv. 16. 1 Thess. i. 1. 2 Cor. i. 1. Rev. ii. 1, &c. Rom. xvi. 1.

[c] Acts ix. 31. Gal. i. 2. 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 19. 2 Cor. viii. 1.

of such *a province*; [d] *the churches; all the churches*, are mentioned: according to which notions St. Cyprian saith, that there is a [e] *church*, where there is *a people united to a priest, and a flock adhering to their shepherd:* and so Ignatius saith, [f] *that without the orders of the clergy a church is not called.*

3. A larger collection of divers particular societies combined together in order, under direction and influence of a common government, or of persons acting in the public behalf, is termed a *church:* as the church of Antioch, of Corinth, of Jerusalem, &c. each of which at first probably might consist of divers congregations, having dependencies of less towns annexed to them; all being united under the care of the bishop and presbytery of those places; but however, soon after the apostles' times, it is certain that such collections were, and were named *churches.*

4. The society of those who at present or in course of time profess the faith and gospel of Christ, and undertake the evangelical covenant, in distinction to all other religions; particularly to that of the Jews; which is called the *synagogue.* Matt. xvi. 18. Eph. iii. 10. Gal. i. 13. 1 Tim. iii. 15. Acts xii. 1. ii. 47. xx. 28.

5. The whole body of God's people that is, ever hath been, or ever shall be, from the beginning of the world to the consummation thereof, who having (formally or virtually) believed in Christ, and sincerely obeyed God's laws, shall finally, by the me- 1 Cor. x. 32. xii. 28. xv. 9. xiv. 12.

[d] Rom. xvi. 4. 1 Cor. iv. 17. xi. 16. Acts xvi. 5. Rev. ii. 7, 11. Κατ' ἐκκλησίαν, Acts xiv. 23.

[e] Ecclesia, plebs sacerdoti adunata, et pastori suo grex adhærens. *Cypr.* Ep. 69.

[f] Χαρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται. Ignat. ad Tral.

ritorious performances and sufferings of Christ, be saved, is called the *church.*

Of these acceptions the two latter do only come under present consideration; it being plain that St. Paul doth not speak of any one particular or present society; but of all at all times who have relation to the same *Lord, faith, hope, sacraments,* &c.

Wherefore, to determine the case between these two, we must observe, that to the latter of these (that is, to the catholic society of true believers and faithful servants of Christ, diffused through all ages, dispersed through all countries, whereof part doth sojourn on earth, part doth reside in heaven, part is not yet extant; but all whereof is described in the register of divine pre-ordination, and shall be re-collected at the resurrection of the just; that, I say, to this church) especially all the glorious titles and excellent privileges attributed to the church in holy scripture do agree.

Eph. i. 10.

Col. i. 18, 20. This is *the body of Christ,* whereof he is *the head,* and Saviour.

Eph. v. 25, 32. Rev. xix. 7. This is the spouse, and wife of Christ; whereof he is the bridegroom and husband.

Matt. xxii. 2. xxv. 1. This is *the house of God;* whereof our Lord is the master; [g] which is *built upon a rock, so that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.*

This is [h] *the city of God; the new, the holy, the heavenly Jerusalem, the mother of us all.*

Ps. cxxxii. 13. This is the *Sion, which the Lord hath chosen, which he hath desired for his habitation,* where he

[g] Matt. xxi. 13. 1 Tim. iii. 15. Heb. iii. 5. 1 Pet. ii. 5. Eph. ii. 21. Matt. xvi. 18.

[h] Rev. iii. 12. xxi. 2, 10. Gal. iv. 26. Heb. xii. 22.

hath resolved to *place his rest and residence for ever.*

This is *the mountain of the Lord, seated above all mountains, unto which all nations shall flow.* Is. ii. 22. Mic. iv. 1.

This is *the elect generation, royal priesthood, holy nation, peculiar people.* 1 Pet. ii. 9.

This is *the general assembly, and church of the first-born, who are enrolled in heaven.* Heb. xii. 23.

This is *the church which God hath purchased with his own blood;* and *for which Christ hath delivered himself, that he might sanctify it, and cleanse it, with the washing of water by the word, that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, nor any such thing; but that it might be holy and unblemished.* Acts xx. 28. Eph. v. 25, 26, 27.

To this church, as those high elogies most properly do appertain, so that unity which is often attributed to the church doth peculiarly belong thereto.

This is that *one body, into which we are all baptized by one Spirit;* which is *knit together, and compacted of parts affording mutual aid, and supply to its nourishment and increase;* the members whereof do hold a mutual sympathy and complacence; which is joined to one Head, deriving sense and motion from it; which is enlivened and moved by *one Spirit.* 1 Cor. xii. 13. Rom. xii. 5. Eph. iv. 16. Col. ii. 19. 1 Cor. xii. 26. 1 Cor. xii. 13.

This is that *one spiritual house,* reared *upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ being the chief corner-stone; in whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord.* 1 Pet. ii. 5. Eph. ii. 20.

This is that *one family of God,* whereof Christ is the οἰκοδεσπότης, whence good Christians are οἰκεῖοι Θεοῦ. Heb. iii. 6. 1 Tim. iii. 15. Matt. x. 25.

Heb. xii. 22. Rev. iii. 12. xxi. 2, 10. Eph. ii. 19. Phil. iii. 20. This is that one city, or corporation, endued with an ample charter and noble privileges, in regard to which St. Paul saith we are συμπολῖται τῶν ἁγίων, (fellow-citizens of the saints,) and that our πολίτευμα (our civil state and capacity) *is in heaven*, or that we are citizens thereof.

1 Pet. ii. 9. Ezek. xxxvii. 22. That one holy nation, and peculiar people, (the spiritual Israel,) subject to the same government and law, (that which is called the kingdom of heaven;) enjoying the same franchises and privileges; following the same customs and fashions; using the same conversation and language; whereof Jesus Christ is the Lord and King.

John x. 16. Ezek. xxxvii. 24. xxiv. 23. John xvii. 20. This is the *one flock, under one Shepherd.* This is the society of those for whom Christ did pray, that they might *be all one.*

It is true, that divers of these characters are expressed to relate to the church after Christ; but they may be allowed to extend to all the faithful servants of God before, who in effect were Christians, being saved upon the same account; and therefore did belong to the same body [i].

To this church in a more special and eminent manner all those titles, and particularly that of *unity*, are ascribed; but the same also in some order and measure do belong and are attributed to the universal church sojourning upon earth.

[i] Ex quo vocantur sancti, est ecclesia in terra. *Aug. in Psal.* 128. Since men are called saints, there is a church upon earth. Sancti ante legem, sancti sub lege, sancti sub gratia, omnes hi perficientes corpus Domini in membris sunt ecclesiæ constituti. *Greg. Mag.* Epist. 24. Saints before the law, saints under the law, saints under the gospel, all these make up the body of Christ, and are reckoned among the members of the church.

For because this visible church doth enfold the other, (as one mass doth contain the good ore and base alloy[k]; as one floor the corn and the chaff; as one field the wheat and the tares; as one net the choice fish and the refuse; as one fold the sheep and the goats; as one tree the living and the dry branches:) because this society is designed to be in reality what the other is in appearance, the same with the other: because therefore presumptively every member of this doth pass for a member of the other, (the time of distinction and separation not being yet come:) because this in its profession of truth, in its sacrifices of devotion, in its practice of service and duty to God, doth communicate with that: therefore commonly the titles and attributes of the one are imparted to the other.

Mat. iii. 12. xiii. 38, 47. xxv. 32. John xv. 2. Matt. xiii. 30.

All, saith St. Paul, *are not Israel who are of Israel*; nor *is he a Jew that is one outwardly*; yet in regard to the conjunction of the rest with *the faithful Israelites*, because of external consent in the same profession, and conspiring in the same services, all the congregation of Israel is styled *a holy nation* and *peculiar people*[l].

Rom. ix. 6. ii. 28. John i. 18.

So likewise do the apostles speak to all members of the church as to elect and holy persons, unto whom all the privileges of Christianity do belong; although really hypocrites and bad men *do not be-*

[k] One great house hath vessels of honour and dishonour. 2 *Tim.* ii. 20. (Rom. ix. 21.)

[l] Sicut lilium in medio spinarum, ita proxima mea in medio filiarum ——. Unde filias appellat, nisi propter communionem sacramentorum? *Aug. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 13. As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters ——. Why doth he call them daughters, but for the communion and agreement in sacraments?

long to the church, nor are ***concerned in its unity,*** as St. Austin doth often teach [l].

The places therefore of scripture which do represent the church one, as unquestionably they belong (in their principal notion and intent) to the true universal church (called the church mystical and invisible;) so may they by analogy and participation be understood to concern the visible church catholic here in earth; which professeth faith in Christ, and obedience to his laws [m].

And of this church (under due reference to the other) the question is, Wherein the unity of it doth consist, or upon what grounds it is called one; being that it compriseth in itself so many persons, societies, and nations?

For resolution of which question, we may consider, that a community of men may be termed one upon several accounts and grounds; as,

[l] Non ad eam pertinent avari, raptores, fœneratores. Videntur esse in ecclesia, non sunt. *Aug. de Bapt. contr. Don.* iv. 1. vi. 3. Ecclesiam veram intelligere non audeo nisi in sanctis et justis. *Ibid.* v. 27. I dare not understand the true church to be but among holy and righteous men. Pax autem hujus unitatis in solis bonis est—sicut autem isti qui intus cum gemitu tolerantur, quamvis ad eandem Columbæ unitatem et illam gloriosam ecclesiam, non habentem maculam aut rugam, aut aliquid ejusmodi non pertineant. *Idem de Bapt.* iii. 18. Nec regenerati spiritualiter in corpus et membra Christi coædificentur nisi boni, &c. *Aug. de Unit.* 18. Multi tales sunt in sacramentorum communione cum ecclesia, et tamen jam non sunt in ecclesia. *Idem de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 20. There are many such who communicate in sacraments with the church, and yet they are not in the church. Omnes mali spiritualiter a bonis sejuncti sunt. *De Bapt.* vi. 4. All evil men are spiritually severed from the good.

[m] Ἐκκλησίαν καλῶ τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν. Clem. Alex. Str. p. 514. I call the church the congregation of the elect.

For specifical unity of nature, or as *unum genus;* so are all men one by participation of common rationality; τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, *humanum genus.*

For cognation of blood; as, *gens una;* so are all Jews, however living dispersedly over the world, reckoned one nation, or people; so all kinsmen do constitute one family: and thus also all men, as made of one blood, are one people.

For commerce of language; so Italians, and Germans, are esteemed one people, although living under different laws and governments.

For consent in opinion, or conformity in manners and practices; as, men of the same sect in religion or philosophy, of the same profession, faculty, trade: so Jews, Mahometans, Arians; so orators, grammarians, logicians; so divines, lawyers, physicians, merchants, artisans, rustics, &c.

For affection of mind, or compacts of good-will; or for links of peace and amicable correspondence; in order to mutual interest and aid; as, friends and confederates.

For being ranged in order under one law and rule; as, those who live under one monarchy, or in one commonwealth; as the people in England, Spain, France; in Venice, Genoa, Holland, &c.

Upon such grounds of unity, or union, a society of men is denominated one; and, upon divers such accounts, it is plain that the catholic church may be said to be one. For,

I. It is evident, that the church is one by consent in faith and opinion concerning all principal matters of doctrine, especially in those which have considerable influence upon the practice of piety toward God, righteousness toward men, and sobriety of con-

My sheep hear my voice. John x. 27, 16.

Tit. ii. 12. versation; to *teach us which the grace of God did appear.*

Regula fidei sola immobilis et irreformabilis—. *Tert. de Virg. vel.* 1. As he that should in any principal doctrine differ from Plato, (denying the *immortality of the soul,* the *providence of God,* the *natural difference of good and evil*) would not be a Platonist; so he that dissenteth from any doctrine of importance, manifestly taught by Christ, doth renounce Christianity.

Rom. vi. 17. Col. ii. 7. Heb. iii. 6. xiii. 9. 1 Cor. xv. 58. Eph. iv. 14. *Phil. i. 27. †Jude 3. 2 Tim. i. 13. All Christians are *delivered into one form of doctrine;* to which they must stiffly and steadfastly adhere, *keeping the* depositum *committed to them:* they must **strive together for the faith of the gospel,* and †*earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered to the saints:* they must *hold fast the form of sound words—in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus;* that *great salvation, which at first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto them by his hearers, God also bearing them witness with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own will.*

Heb. ii. 3, 4.

Τὸ ἓν καὶ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν. Phil. ii. 2. 2 Cor. xiii. 11. Phil. i. 27. Phil. iii. 16. 1 Cor. i. 10. Rom. xv. 6. They are bound *to mind,* or think, *one and the same thing; to stand fast in one spirit with one mind; to walk by the same rule; to be joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment; with one mind and mouth to glorify God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

Ἀφίστασθαι. 1 Tim. vi. 5, 3. 2 Thess. iii. 6. Rom. xvi. 17. They are obliged to disclaim consortship with the gainsayers of this doctrine; *to stand off from those who do* ἑτεροδοξεῖν, or who *do not consent to the wholesome words—of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness:* to *mark those who make divisions and scandals beside the doctrine which Christians had learned,*

and to decline from them: to *reject heretics:* to *beware of false prophets, of seducers; of those who speak perverse things to draw disciples after them:* to *pronounce anathema upon whoever shall preach any other doctrine.* Tit. iii. 10. Matt. vii. 15. xxiv. 11. Acts xx. 29, 30. 2 Pet. ii. 1. Eph. iv. 14. Gal. i. 8.

Thus are all Christians *one in Christ Jesus:* thus are they (as Tertullian speaketh) [n] *confederated in the society of a sacrament,* or of one profession. Gal. iii. 28, (26.)

[o] *This preaching and this faith the church having received, though dispersed over the world, doth carefully hold, as inhabiting one house; and alike believeth these things, as if it had one soul, and the same heart, and consonantly doth preach, and teach, and deliver these things, as if it had but one mouth.*

[p] *As for kings, though their kingdoms be divided, yet he equally expects from every one of them one dispensation, and one and the same sacrifice of a true confession and praise. So that, though there may seem to be a diversity of temporal ordinances, yet an unity and agreement in the right faith may be held and maintained among them.*

[n] De societate sacramenti confœderantur. *Tertull. in Marc.* iv. 5.

[o] Τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα παρειληφυῖα, καὶ ταύτην τὴν πίστιν ἡ ἐκκλησία καίπερ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διεσπαρμένη ἐπιμελῶς φυλάσσει ὡς ἕνα οἶκον οἰκοῦσα· καὶ ὁμοίως πιστεύει τούτοις ὡς μίαν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχουσα καρδίαν· καὶ συμφώνως ταῦτα κηρύσσει καὶ διδάσκει, καὶ παραδίδωσι, ὡς ἓν στόμα κεκτημένη. Iren. i. 3. (apud Epiph. Hær. 31.)

[p] Reges——quorum etsi divisa sunt regna, æqualiter tamen de singulis dispensationem exigit, unamque de eis veræ de se confessionis hostiam laudis exspectat—ut etsi dispositionum temporalium videatur esse diversitas, circa ejus fidei rectitudinem unitatis consonantia teneatur. (*P. Leo II.* Epist. 5. *ad Ervigium R. Hisp.*)

In regard to this union in faith peculiarly the body of Christians, adhering to it, was called the catholic church, from which all those were esteemed *ipso facto* to be cut off and separated who in any point deserted that faith; *such a one*, (saith St. Paul,) ἐξέστραπται, *is turned aside*, or hath left the Christian way of life. He in reality is no Christian, nor is to be avowed or treated as such, but is to be disclaimed, rejected, and shunned.

ἱστρα-
αι ὁ τοιοῦ-
. iii. 11.
m. xvi.
ohn 10.

[q] *He*, saith St. Cyprian, *cannot seem a Christian, who doth not persist in the unity of Christ's gospel and faith.*

[r] *If*, saith Tertullian, *a man be a heretic, he cannot be a Christian.*

Whence Hegesippus saith of the old heretics, that they did [s] *divide the unity of the church by pernicious speeches against God and his Christ.*

[t] ***The virtue*** (saith the pastor Hermes, cited by Clemens Alex.) ***which doth keep the church together, is faith.***

So the Fathers of the sixth council tell the emperor, that [u] ***they were members one of another, and did constitute the one body of Christ, by consent.***

[q] Nec Christianus videri potest, qui non permanet in evangelii ejus et fidei veritate. *Cypr. de Unit. Eccl.*

[r] Si hæretici sunt, Christiani esse non possunt. *Tert. de Præscr.* cap. 37.

[s] Οἵτινες ἐμέρισαν τὴν ἕνωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας φθοριμαίοις λόγοις κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. Eus. Hist. iv. 22.

[t] Ἡ συνέχουσα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀρετὴ, ἡ πίστις ἐστί. Herm. apud Clem. Strom. ii. p. 281.

[u] Μελῶν ἀλλήλων ὄντων ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸ ἓν σῶμα συνιστώντων Χριστοῦ διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀλλήλους ὁμοδοξίας καὶ πίστεως. Conc. VI. Act. xviii. p. 271.

in opinion with him and one another; and by faith.

[x] *We ought in all things to hold the unity of the catholic church; and not to yield in any thing to the enemies of faith and truth.*

[y] *In each part of the world this faith is one, because this is the Christian faith.*

[z] *He denies Christ, who confesses not all things that are Christ's.*

Hence in common practice, whoever did appear to differ from the common faith, was rejected as an apostate from Christianity, and unworthy the communion of other Christians.

There are points of less moment, more obscurely delivered——in which Christians without breach of unity may dissent, about which they may dispute, in which they may err—without breach of unity, or prejudice to charity[a].

The faith of Christians did at first consist in few points, those which were professed in baptism, whereof we have divers summaries in the ancients —by analogy whereto all other propositions were expounded, and according to agreement whereto sound doctrines were distinguished from false: so Iren. i. 2.

[x] Per omnia debemus ecclesiæ catholicæ unitatem tenere, nec in aliquo fidei et veritatis hostibus cedere. *Cypr.* Ep. 71. (*ad Quint. de Steph. P.*)

[y] Utriusque partis terrarum fides ista una est, quia et fides ista Christiana est. *Aug. contr. Jul.* i. 2. (p. 203, 2.)

[z] Negat Christum, qui non omnia quæ Christi sunt confitetur *Ambr. in Luc.* lib. vi. cap. 9. p. 90. (Vid. p. 85.)

[a] Alia sunt in quibus inter se aliquando etiam doctissimi atque optimi regulæ catholicæ defensores, salva fidei compage non consonant, &c. *Aug. contr. Jul.* i. 2. p. 205. Totum hoc genus liberas habet observationes. *Aug. ad Jan.* Ep. 118. 86. (*ad Casal.*)

that he was accounted orthodox who did not violate them—.

[b] *So he that holds that immovable rule of truth which he received at his baptism, will know the words and sayings and parables which are taken out of the scriptures*, &c.

II. It is evident, that all Christians are united by the bands of mutual charity and good-will.

They are all bound to wish one another well, to have a complacence in the good, and a compassion of the evils incident to each other, to discharge all offices of kindness, succour, consolation to each other.

John xv. 12. 1 John iii. 11. 1 Thess. iv. 9. John xiii. 35. Phil. ii. 2. 1 Pet. iii. 8. Gal. vi. 2, 10. 1 Cor. xii. 26. Acts iv. 32. Eph. v. 2. 1 Cor. xvi. 14.

This is the command of Christ to all; (*This is my commandment*, saith he, *That ye love one another*;) this is the common badge by which his disciples are discerned and distinguished, *Hereby*, saith he, *shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another*: they must have *the same love*: they must *love as brethren, be compassionate, pitiful, courteous each to other*: they must *bear one another's burdens*; and, *especially, as they have opportunity, do good to the household of faith. If one member suffer, all the members must suffer with it; and if one member be honoured, all the members must rejoice. The multitude of them who believe must be* (like that in the Acts) *of one heart and of one soul.* They must *walk in love*, and *do all things in love.*

Whoever therefore doth highly offend against charity, maligning or mischieving his brethren, doth

[b] Sic autem qui regulam veritatis immobilem apud se habet quam per baptismum accepit, hæc quidem quæ sunt ex scripturis nomina et dictiones et parabolas cognoscet, &c. *Iren.* i. 1. Vid. Gr. (p. 4.)

thereby separate himself from Christ's body, and cease to be a Christian.

[c] ***They that are enemies to brotherly charity, whether they are openly out of the church, or seem to be within, they are Pseudo-Christians and Anti-Christs.—When they seem to be within the church, they are separated from that invisible conjunction of charity; whence St. John, They went out from us, but were not of us. He saith not, that by their going out they were made aliens, but because they were aliens, therefore he declareth that they went out.***

Wherefore the most notorious violations of charity being the causing of dissensions and factions in the church, the causeless separation from any church, the unjust condemnation of churches——whoever was guilty of any such unchristian behaviour was rejected by the Fathers, and held to be no Christian. Such were the Novatians, the Donatists, the Meletians, the Luciferians,—and other schismatics.

[d] ***For what can be more acceptable and pleasant, than to see those who are severed and scattered into so many places, yet knit and joined together in the bond and union of charity, as harmonious members of the body of Christ.***

[c] Hujus autem fraternæ charitatis inimici sive aperte foris sint, sive intus esse videantur, Pseudo-Christiani sunt et Antichristi. *Aug. de Bapt.* iii. 19.—Cum intus videntur, ab illa invisibili charitatis compage separati sunt; unde Johannes, (1 John ii. 19.) Ex nobis exierunt, sed non erant ex nobis.— Non ait quod exeundo alieni facti sunt, sed quod alieni erant, propter hoc eos exisse declaravit. *Ibid.*

[d] Τί γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο χαριέστερον, ἢ τοὺς τοσούτῳ τῷ πλήθει τῶν τόπων διειργμένους τῇ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης ἑνώσει καθαρᾷν εἰς μίαν μελῶν ἁρμονίαν ἐν σώματι Χριστοῦ δεδέσθαι. Bas. Ep. 220.

[e]*In old time—when the church of God flourished, being rooted in the same faith, united in love: there being, as it were, one conspiracy or league of different members in one body.*

[f]*For the communion of the Spirit is wont to knit and unite men's minds; which conjunction we believe to be between us and your charitable affection.*

[g] *They therefore who by the bond of charity are incorporated into the building settled upon the rock.*

[h]*But the members of Christ are joined together by the charity of union, and by the same cleave close to their head, which is Christ.*

1 Pet. i. 23. Jam. i. 18. John i. 13. Gal. iii. 26. John i. 12.

III. All Christians are united by spiritual cognation and alliance; as being all *regenerated by the same incorruptible seed*, being alike *born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God*; whence, as *the sons of God*, and *brethren of Christ*, they become brethren one to another; so that it is a peculiar title or appellation of Christians, *the brethren* signifying all Christian people; and *a brother* being the same with a Christian professor.

Heb. ii. 10, 11. 1 Cor. vii. 15. v. 11. Rom. xiv. 10, &c.

IV. The whole Christian church is one by its in-

[e] Ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαιῶν καιρῶν —— ἡνίκα ἤνθουν αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐῤῥιζώμεναι τῇ πίστει, ἡνωμέναι τῇ ἀγάπῃ· ὥσπερ ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι μᾶς συμπνοίας διαφόρων μελῶν ὑπαρχούσης. Bas. Ep. 338.

[f] Ἡ κατὰ Πνεῦμα συνάφεια ἐμποιεῖν πέφυκε τὴν οἰκείωσιν, ἣν ἡμῶν εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ἀγάπην ὑμῶν πεπιστεύκαμεν. Bas. Epist. 182.

[g] Qui ergo compage charitatis incorporati sunt ædificio super petram constituto, &c. *Aug. de Unit.* cap. 18.

[h] Membra vero Christi per unitatis charitatem sibi copulantur, et per eandem capiti suo cohærent, quod est Christus. *Aug. de Unit.* cap. 2. Omnes sancti sibi charitate cohærent ——. *Aug. de Bapt.* vi. 3.

corporation into the mystical body of Christ; or as fellow-subjects of that spiritual, heavenly kingdom, whereof Christ is the sovereign head and governor; whence they are governed by the same laws, are obliged by the same institutions and sanctions; they partake of the same privileges, and are entitled to the same promises, and encouraged by the same rewards; (*being called in one hope of their calling.*) Eph. iv. 4.

They are under a covenant of allegiance.

So they make up one spiritual corporation or republic, whereof Christ is the sovereign Lord. [i] *Though the place disjoin them, yet the Lord joins them together, being their common Lord,* &c.

Ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς Κύριος πάντων. Rom. x. 12.

Hence an habit of disobedience doth sever a man from this body; for, *Not every one that saith, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven,* or continue therein. Every such person who *denieth God in works* is a rebel, an outlaw, renouncing his allegiance, forfeiting his title to God's protection and favour. Mat. vii. 21. Tit. i. 16.

[k] He is not *a sheep* of Christ, because he doth not *hear his voice.* John x. 27.

He is separated from the body, by not *holding the head.* Col. ii. 9.

[l] *It is a lie, to call one's self a Christian, and not to do the works of Christ.*

[m] *He that does not the work of a Christian name, seems not to be a Christian.*

[i] Εἰ δὲ ὁ τόπος χωρίζει, ἀλλ' ὁ Κύριος αὐτοὺς συνάπτει κοινὸς ὢν, &c. Chrys. in 1 Cor. Orat. 1. Vid.

[k] Qui eum non sequitur, quomodo se ovem ejus dicere audebit? *Aug. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 10.

[l] Mendacium est, Christianum se dicere, et opera Christi non facere. *Ambr.*

[m] Qui Christiani nominis opus non agit, Christianus non esse videtur. *Salv. de Gub. D.* 4.

[n] *When instead of the works themselves he begins to oppose even the most apparent truth, whereby he is reproved, then he is cut off (from the body, or the church.)*

Vid. supra. Hence St. Austin often denieth wicked persons to be in the church, or to appertain unto its unity.

[o] *For when there is one and the same Lord, that dwelleth in us, he every where joins and couples those that are his with the bond of unity.*

V. All Christians are linked together in peaceable concord and confederacy; so that they are bound to live in good correspondence; to communicate in works of piety and devotion; to defend and promote the common interest of their profession.

Upon the entrance of the gospel by our Lord's incarnation, it was by a celestial herald proclaimed, Luke ii. 14. *Peace on earth, and good-will among men.* It was Acts x. 36. our Lord's office *to preach peace.* It was a prin- Eph. ii. 17. Col. i. 20. cipal end and effect of his death *to reconcile all* Eph. ii. 14. *men, and to destroy enmity.* He specially charged Mark ix. 50. his disciples εἰρηνεύειν ἐν ἀλλήλοις, *to maintain peace one with another.* It was his will at parting with John xiv. 27. them, *Peace I leave with you.*

2 Tim. ii. 22. The apostles frequently do enjoin to *pursue peace with all them who call upon the Lord with a pure* Rom. xiv. 19. *heart;* to follow the things *which make for peace* Eph. iv. 3. *and edification mutual;* to *keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.*

[n] —— Cum pro ipsis operibus etiam veritati apertissimæ, qua redarguitur, resistere cœperit, tunc præciditur. *Aug. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 20.

[o] Nam quum Dominus unus atque idem sit, qui habitat in nobis, conjungit ubique et copulat suos vinculo unitatis. *Firmil. apud Cypr.* Ep. 75.

It was in the prophecies concerning the evangelical state declared, that under it, *The wolf should dwell with the lamb, and the leopard should lie down with the kid, and the sucking child should play on the hole of the asp;* that is, that men of all tempers and conditions, by virtue of this institution, should be disposed to live innocently, quietly, and lovingly together; so that they should *not hurt or destroy in all God's holy mountain;* for that would be a duty incumbent on the disciples of this institution, which all good Christians would observe. Isa. xi. 6. lxv. 25. ii. 4. lxvi. 12. ii. 4. They shall learn war no more.

The evangelical covenant, as it doth ally us to God, so it doth confederate us together: the sacraments of this covenant are also symbols of peace and amity between those who undertake it. Of baptism it is said, *that so many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ;* and thence, *Ye are all one in Christ Jesus. All in one spirit have been baptized into one body.* And in the eucharist, by partaking of one individual food, they are transmuted into one body and substance; *We,* saith St. Paul, *being many are one bread, one body; for all of us do partake of one bread.* Gal. iii. 27, 28. 1 Cor. xii. 13. 1 Cor. x. 7.

[p] *By which sacraments also our people appear to be united: for, as many grains collected, and ground, and mingled together, make one bread; so in Christ, who is the bread of heaven, we may know ourselves to be one body, that our company or number be conjoined and united together.*

[p] Quo et ipso sacramento populus noster adunatus ostenditur: ut quemadmodum grana multa in unum collecta, et commolita, et commixta, panem unum faciunt; sic in Christo, qui est panis cœlestis, unum sciamus esse corpus, cui conjunctus sit noster numerus et adunatus. *Cypr.* Ep. 63.

[q] *With us there is both one church, and one mind, and undivided concord.*

[r] *Let us hold the peace of the catholic church in the unity of concord.*

[s] *The bond of concord remaining, and the individual sacrament of the catholic church continuing,* &c.

[t] *He therefore that keeps neither the unity of the Spirit, nor the conjunction of peace, and separates himself from the bond of the church, and the college (or society) of priests, can have neither the power of a bishop, nor the honour.*

Thus in general. But particularly, all Christians should assist one another in the common defence of truth, piety, and peace, when they are assaulted, in the propagation of the faith, and enlargement of the church, which is συναθλεῖν τῇ πίστει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, *to contend together for the faith of the gospel; to be good soldiers of Christ; warring the good warfare;—striving for the faith once delivered to the saints.*

Phil. i. 27. 1 Tim. i. 18. vi. 12. 2 Tim. iv. 7. Jude 3.

Hence if any where any heresy or bad doctrine should arise, all Christians should be ready to declare against it; that it may not infect, or spread a doubt arising, as in the case of celebrating Easter;

[q] Nobis et ecclesia una, et mens juncta, et individua concordia. *Cypr.* Ep. 57.

[r] Catholicæ ecclesiæ pacem concordiæ unitate teneamus. *Ep.* 45.

[s] Manente concordiæ vinculo, et perseverante catholicæ ecclesiæ individuo sacramento, &c. *Ep.* 52. (*ad Anton.* p. 96.)

[t] Qui ergo nec unitatem Spiritus, nec conjunctionem pacis observat, et se ab ecclesiæ vinculo, atque a sacerdotum collegio separat, episcopi nec potestatem potest habere, nec honorem, &c. *Ibid.* p. 97.

[u] *They all, with one consent, declared by letters the decree of the church to all every where.*

Especially the pastors of the churches are obliged with consent to oppose it. Cypr. Ep. 67.

[x] *While we laboured here, and withstood the force of envy with the whole strength of our faith, your speech assisted us very much.*

Thus did the bishops of several churches meet to suppress the heresy of P. Samosatenus.

This was the ground of most synods.

[y] *So they who afterward in all places and several ways were gathered together against the innovations of heretics, gave their common opinion in behalf of the faith, as being of one mind: what they had approved among themselves in a brotherly way, that they clearly transferred to those who were absent: and they who at the council of Sardis had earnestly contended against the remainders of Arius, sent their judgment to those of the eastern churches: and they who had then discovered the infection of Apolinarius, made their opinions known to the western.*

If any dissension or faction doth arise in any church, other churches, upon notice thereof, should

[u] Πάντες τε μιᾷ γνώμῃ δι' ἐπιστολῶν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν δόγμα τοῖς πανταχόσε διετυποῦντο. Euseb. v. 23.

[x] Laborantes hic nos et contra invidiæ impetum totis fidei viribus resistentes, multum sermo vester adjuvit, &c. *Cypr.* Ep. 23.

[y] Οὕτως οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα πανταχῇ ποικίλως ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν αἱρετικῶν ἀθροισθέντες καινίσμασι κοινὴν ὡς σύμψυχοι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ψῆφον· ἅπερ ἀδελφικῶς ἑαυτοῖς ἐδοκίμασαν, ταῦτα τρανῶς τοῖς ἀποῦσι διαπορθμεύσαντες· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ Σαρδικῆς κατὰ τῶν Ἀρείου λειψάνων ἀγωνισάμενοι τοῖς ἐν ἑσπερίᾳ τὴν κρίσιν ἐξέπεμπον· οἱ δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ἀπολιναρίου λύμην φωράσαντες, τοῖς ἐν δύσει τὴν ψῆφον ἐγνώριζον. Syn. Chalced. ad Imper. Conc. Chalc. pars iii. p. 78.

yield their aid to quench and suppress it; countenancing the peaceable, checking and disavowing the factious.

Vid. Ep. 42. (ad Cornel.) p. 77. Thus did St. Cyprian help to discountenance and quash the Novatian schism.

Thus when the oriental churches did labour under the Arian faction, and dissensions between the catholics, St. Basil (with other orthodox bishops consorting with him) did write to the western bishops (of Italy and France) to yield their succour.

[z] ***For this, my brother, we must earnestly endeavour, and ought to endeavour, to have a care, as much as in us lies, to hold the unity delivered to us from the Lord, and by the apostles, whose successors we are; and what lies in us,*** &c.

All Christians should be ready, when opportunity doth invite, to admit one another to conjunction in offices of piety and charity; in prayer, in communion of the eucharist, in brotherly conversation, and pious conference for edification or advice.

Ep. 398.

[a] *So that he who flies and avoids communion with us, you in your prudence may know, that such a man breaks himself off from the whole church.*

St. Chrysostom doth complain of Epiphanius;

[b] *Then when he came to the great and holy city*

[z] Hoc enim vel maxime, frater, laboramus, et laborare debemus, ut unitatem a Domino, et per apostolos nobis successoribus traditam, quantum possumus, obtinere curemus; et quod in nobis est, &c. *Cypr.* Ep. xlii. p. 78.

[a] Ὥστε ὁ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς κοινωνίαν ἀποδιδράσκων μὴ λανθανέτω ὑμᾶν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν πάσης ἑαυτὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποῤῥηγνύς. Bas. Ep. 75.

[b] Εἶτα τῆς μεγάλης καὶ θεοφιλοῦς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπιβὰς οὐκ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἐξῆλθε κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς, καὶ τὸν ἄνωθεν κρατήσαντα θεσμὸν οὐχ ἡμῖν συνεγένετο, οὐ λόγου μετέδωκεν, ἐκ εὐχῆς, οὐ κοινωνίας, ἀλλ' ἀτεβὰς τῶ πλοίου, &c. Chrys. ad Innoc. P. (Ep. 122.)

Constantinople, he came not out into the congregation according to custom and the ancient manner, he joined not himself with us, nor communicated with us in the word, and prayer, and the holy communion, &c.

So Polycarp, being at Rome, did communicate with P. Anicetus[c].

If dissension arise between divers churches, another may interpose to reconcile them; as did the church of Carthage, between that of Rome and Alexandria. Cod. Afr. Can. 101.

If any bishop were exceedingly negligent in the discharge of his office, (to the common damage of truth and piety,) his neighbour bishops might admonish him thereto; and, if he should not reform, might deprive him of communion. Cod. Afr. Can. 123.

All Christians should hold friendly correspondence, as occasion doth serve, and as it is useful, to signify consent in faith, to recommend persons, to foster charity, to convey succour and advice, to perform all good offices of amity and peace.

[d] ***Siricius, who is our companion and fellow-labourer, with whom the whole world by mutual commerce of canonical or communicatory letters agree together with us in one common society.***

[e] ***The catholic church being one body, it is conse-***

[c] Ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεχώρησεν ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ, κατ' ἐντροπὴν δηλονότι. Euseb. v. 24.

[d] Damaso Siricius hodie, qui noster est socius, cum quo nobis totus orbis commercio formatarum in una communionis societate concordant. *Opt.* lib. ii. p. 40.

[e] Ἑνὸς σώματος ὄντος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀκόλουθόν ἐστι γράφειν ἡμᾶς καὶ σημαίνειν ἀλλήλοις, &c. Alex. Alexandriæ. Socr. i. 6. Theod.

quent thereto, that we write and signify one to another, &c.

In cases of doubt or difficulty one church should have recourse to others for advice; and any church should yield it.

[e]*Both common charity and reason requires, most dear brethren, that we conceal nothing from your knowledge of those things which are done among us, that so there may be common advice taken by us concerning the most useful way of ordering ecclesiastical affairs.*

One church should acquaint others of any extraordinary transaction concerning the common faith or discipline; requesting their approbation and countenance[f].

Euseb. vii. 30. Thus did the eastern churches give account to all other churches of their proceedings against P. Samosatenus.

[g]*Which letters are sent all the world over, and brought to the notice of all the churches, and of all the brethren.*

When any church, or any pastor, was oppressed or injured, he might have recourse to other churches for their assistance, in order to relief.

[e] Et dilectio communis et ratio exposcit, fratres charissimi, nihil conscientiæ vestræ subtrahere de his quæ apud nos geruntur, ut sit nobis circa utilitatem ecclesiasticæ administrationis commune consilium. *Cyp.* Ep. 29. (*ad Cler. Rom.*)

[f] The practice of this we see frequently in St. Cyprian's Epistles; particularly in Epist. 4, 15, 23, 29, 30, 42, 48. (*P. Corn.*)

[g] Quæ literæ per totum mundum missæ sunt, et in notitiam ecclesiis omnibus et universis fratribus perlatæ sunt. *Cypr.* Ep. 52. (*ad Anton.* p. 92.) Scripsimus ad Cornelium collegam nostrum, &c. *Ibid.*

[h] *Let him who is cast out have power to apply himself to the neighbouring bishops, that his cause may be carefully heard and discussed.*

Thus did Athanasius (being overborne and expelled from his see by the Arian faction) go for refuge to the church of Rome.

St. Chrysostom had recourse to the bishop of Rome, and to those of the west, as also to the bishop of Antioch.

VI. Now, because in the transacting of these things, the pastors have the chief hand, and act in behalf of the churches which they inspect, therefore is the church united also by their consent in doctrine, their agreement in peace, their maintaining intercourse, their concurrence to preserve truth and charity.

[i] *We ought all to be vigilant and careful for the body of the whole church, where members are dispersed through many several provinces.*

[k] *Seeing the church, which is one and catholic, is not rent nor divided, but truly knit and united together by the bond of priests united one to another.*

[l] *This agrees with the modesty and discipline*

[h] Habeat potestatem is qui abjectus est, ut episcopos finitimos interpellet, et causa ejus audiatur ac diligenter tractetur, &c. *Conc. Sard.* Can. 17. Vid. Cod. Afr. Can. 125.

[i] Omnes nos decet pro corpore totius ecclesiæ, cujus per varias quasque provincias membra digesta sunt, excubare. *Cypr.* Ep. 30. (*Cler. Rom. ad Cypr. P.*) Quod servis Dei, et maxime sacerdotibus. *Cypr.* Ep. 42. (*ad Cornel.*) Idcirco copiosum corpus est sacerdotum, &c. *Cypr.* Ep. 67. (p. 161.)

[k] Quando ecclesia, quæ catholica una est, scissa non sit, neque divisa, sed sit utique connexa, et cohærentium sibi invicem sacerdotum glutino copulata. *Cypr.* Ep. 69.

[l] Hoc verecundiæ et disciplinæ et vitæ ipsi omnium convenit—

and the very life of all, that many of the bishops meeting together might order all things in a religious way by common advice.

[m] ***That, since it having pleased God to grant us peace, we begin to have greater meetings of bishops, we may also by your advice order and reform every thing.***

[n] ***Which that, with the rest of our colleagues, we may steadfastly and firmly administer; and that we may keep the peace of the church, in the unanimity of concord, the divine favour will vouchsafe to accomplish.***

[o] ***A great number of bishops—we met together.***

Bishops being chosen did acquaint other bishops with it; [p] ***It was sufficient,*** saith St. Cyprian to Cornelius, ***that you should by your letters acquaint us that you were made a bishop.***

Declare plainly to us who is substituted at Arles in the room of Marcian, that we may know to whom we should direct our brethren, and to whom we should write [q].

ut episcopi plures in unum convenientes—disponere omnia consilii communis religione possimus. *Cypr.* Ep. 14. (*Clero suo.*)

[m] Ut cum pace a Domino nobis data plures præpositi convenire in unum cœperimus, communicato etiam vobiscum consilio disponere singula et reformare possimus. *Cypr.* Ep. 15. (*Clero Rom.*)

[n] Quod ut simul cum cæteris collegis nostris stabiliter ac firmiter administremus, atque ut catholicæ ecclesiæ pacem concordiæ unanimitate teneamus, perficiet divina dignatio. *Cypr.* Ep. 45. (*ad Cornel.*)

[o] Copiosus episcoporum numerus—in unum convenimus. *Cypr.* Ep. 52. (*ad Anton.*)

[p] Satis erat, ut tu te episcopum factum literis nunciares. *Cyprian. ad Cornel.* (Epist. 42.)

[q] Significa plane nobis quis in locum Marciani Arelate fuerit

All churches were to ratify the elections of bishops duly made by others, and to communicate with those. And likewise to comply with all reasonable acts for communion. Cypr. Ep. 41, 42, 52. (pag. 93.) Theod. v. 9. Euseb. de P. Samos.

To preserve this peace and correspondence, it was a law and custom, that no church should admit to communion those which were excommunicated by another; or who did schismatically divide.

[r] *We are all believed to have done the same thing, whereby we are found to be all of us associated and joined together by the same agreement in censure and discipline.*

The decrees of bishops were sent to be subscribed[s].

VII. All Christian churches are one by a specifical unity of discipline, resembling one another in ecclesiastical administrations, which are regulated by the indispensable sanctions and institutions of their sovereign.

They are all bound to use the same sacraments, according to the forms appointed by our Lord, not admitting any substantial alteration.

They must uphold that sort of order, government, and ministry in all its substantial parts, which God did *appoint* in the church, or *give thereto*, as St. Paul expresseth it; it being a temerarious and dangerous thing to innovate in those matters which our Lord had a special care to order and settle. 1 Cor. xii. 28. Eph. iv. 11. Rom. xii. 7. Acts xx. 28.

substitutus, ut sciamus ad quem fratres nostros dirigere, et cui scribere debeamus. *Cypr.* Ep. 67. *P. ad Steph.*

[r] Idem enim omnes credimur operati, in quo deprehendimur eadem omnes censuræ, et disciplinæ consensione sociati. *Cler. Rom. ad Cypr.* Epist. 31.

[s] Vid. Conc. Sard. P. Leonis II. Ep. 2. (ad Hisp. Episc.) N. B. p. 385. (tom. v.) P. Bened. II. Ep. 16. (p. 404.)

[t]*Nor can they continue in the church that have not retained divine and ecclesiastical discipline, neither in good conversation, nor peaceable life.*

Ep. Firmil. (pag. 198.) Aug. Ep. 118. et 86. supra.

In lesser matters of ceremony or discipline (instituted by human prudence) churches may differ, and it is expedient they should do so, in regard to the various circumstances of things, and qualities of persons to which discipline should be accommodated; but no power ought to *abrogate*, destroy, or infringe, or violate the main form of discipline, constituted by divine appointment.

Hence, when some confessors had abetted Novatianus against Cornelius, (thereby against a fundamental rule of the church, necessary for preserving of peace and order therein, that but one bishop should be in one church) [u]St. Cyprian doth thus complain of their proceeding —.

(To act any thing) [v]*against the sacrament of divine ordination and catholic unity, once delivered, makes an adulterate and contrary head out of the church.*

[x] —— *Forsaking the Lord's priests contrary to the evangelical discipline; a new tradition of a sacrilegious institution starts up.*

[t] Nec remanere in ecclesia possunt qui deificam et ecclesiasticam disciplinam nec actus sui conversatione, nec morum pace tenuerunt. *P. Cornel. apud Cyprian.* Ep. 48. Vid. Ep. 73. (*ad Jub.*)

[u] Gravat enim me, atque contristat, &c. *Ep.* 44. (*ad Confess. Rom.*)

[v] Contra sacramentum semel traditum divinæ dispositionis et catholicæ unitatis adulterum et contrarium caput extra ecclesiam facit. *Cyprian.* Epist. 42. (*ad Cornel.*)

[x] —— Relictis Domini sacerdotibus contra evangelicam disciplinam nova traditio sacrilegæ institutionis exsurgat. *Cypr.* Ep. 40. (*Plebi suæ.*)

[y] *There is one God, and one Christ, and one hurch, and one see founded upon Peter by the vord of the Lord; besides one altar and one riesthood, another altar cannot be erected, nor a iew priesthood ordained.*

Hence were the Meletians rejected by the church, or introducing ordinations ——.

Hence was Aërius accounted a heretic, for meaning to innovate in so grand a point of discipline, as he subordination of bishops and presbyters.

VIII. It is expedient that all churches should conform to each other in great matters of prudential discipline, although not instituted or prescribed by God: for this is a means of preserving peace, and is a beauty or harmony. For difference of practice doth alienate affections, especially in common people.

So the synod of Nice:

[z] *That all things may be alike ordered in every diocese, it hath seemed good to the holy synod, that men should put up their prayers to God standing,* (viz. between Easter and Whitsuntide, and upon the Lord's day.)

The church is like the world; for as the world doth consist of men, all naturally subject to one King, Almighty God; all obliged to observe his

[y] Deus unus est, et Christus unus, et ecclesia una, et cathedra una super Petrum Domini voce fundata; aliud altare constitui, aut sacerdotium novum fieri præter unum altare, et unum sacerdotium, non potest. *Ibid.*

[z] Ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάντα ἐν πάσῃ παροικίᾳ ὁμοίως τάττεσθαι, ἐστῶτας ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδιδόναι τῷ Θεῷ. Can. 20. Πρὸς τούτοις κἀκεῖνο πάρεστι συνορᾶν, ὡς ἐν τηλικούτῳ πράγματι, καὶ τοιαύτῃ θρησκείας ἑορτῇ διαφωνίαν ἄρχειν ἐστὶν ἀθέμιτον. Const. M. in Epist. ad Eccles. Euseb. Vita Constantini, iii. 18.

laws, declared by natural light; all *made of one blood*, and so brethren; all endowed with common reason; all bound to exercise good offices of justice and humanity toward each other; to maintain peace and amity together; to further each other in the prosecution or attainment of those good things which conduce to the welfare and security of this present life: even so doth the church consist of persons spiritually allied, professing the same faith, subject to the same law and government of Christ's heavenly kingdom; bound to exercise charity, and to maintain peace toward each other, and to promote each other's good in order to the future happiness in heaven.

All those kinds of unity do plainly agree to the universal church of Christ; but the question is, Whether the church is also necessarily, by the design and appointment of God, to be in way of external policy under one singular government or jurisdiction of any kind; so as a kingdom or commonwealth are united under the command of one monarch or one senate?

That the church is capable of such an union, is not the controversy; that it is possible it should be so united, (supposing it may happen that all Christians may be reduced to one nation, or one civil regiment; or that several nations spontaneously may confederate and combine themselves into one ecclesiastical commonwealth, administered by the same spiritual rulers and judges according to the same laws,) I do not question; that when in a manner all Christendom did consist of subjects to the Roman empire, the church then did arrive near such an unity, I do not at present contest; but that such

an union of all Christians is necessary, or that it was ever instituted by Christ, I cannot grant; and, for my refusal of that opinion, I shall assign divers reasons.

1. This being a point of great consideration, and trenching upon practice, which every one were concerned to know; and there being frequent occasions to declare it; yet the holy scripture doth nowhere express or intimate such a kind of unity; which is a sufficient proof that it hath no firm ground. We may say of it, as St. Austin saith of the church itself, [a]*I will not that the holy church be demonstrated from human reasonings, but the divine oracles.*

St. Paul particularly, in divers Epistles, designedly treating about the unity of the church, (together with other points of doctrine neighbouring thereon,) and amply describing it, doth not yet imply any such unity then extant, or designed to be. Eph. iv. 1 Cor. xii. Rom. xii. Gal. iii. 28.

He doth mention and urge the unity of spirit, of faith, of charity, of peace, of relation to our Lord, of communion in devotions and offices of piety; but concerning any union under one singular visible government or polity he is silent: he saith, *One Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all:* not one monarch, or one senate, or one sanhedrin—which is a pregnant sign that none such was then instituted; otherwise he could not have slipped over a point so very material and pertinent to his discourse.

2. By the apostolical history it may appear, that the apostles, in the propagation of Christianity, and

[a] Nolo humanis documentis, sed divinis oraculis sanctam ecclesiam demonstrari. *Aug. de Unit.* cap. 3.

founding of Christian societies, had no meaning, did take no care, to establish any such polity.

They did resort to several places, (whither divine instinct or reasonable occasion did carry them,) where, by their preaching having convinced and converted a *competent number* of persons to the embracing Christian doctrine, they did appoint pastors to instruct and edify them, to administer God's worship and service among them, to contain them in good order and peace, exhorting them to maintain good correspondence of charity and peace with all good Christians otherwhere: this is all we can see done by them.

Ὄχλον ἱκανόν. Acts xi. 26.

Χειροτονήσαντες αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους κατ' ἐκκλησίαν. Acts xiv. 23.

3. The Fathers, in their set treatises, and in their incidental discourses about the unity of the church, (which was *de facto*, which should be *de jure* in the church,) do make it to consist only in those unions of faith, charity, peace, which we have described, not in this political union.

The Roman church gave this reason why they could not admit Marcion into their communion, they would not do it without his father's consent, between whom and them [b]*there was one faith and one agreement of mind.*

Tertullian, in his Apologetic, describing the unity of the church in his time, saith, [c]*We are one body by our agreement in religion, our unity of discipline, and our being in the same covenant of hope.*

And more exactly and largely in his Prescriptions against Heretics, the breakers of unity. [d]*Therefore*

[b] —— μία γάρ ἐστιν ἡ πίστις καὶ μία ἡ ὁμόνοια. Epiph. Hær. 42.

[c] Corpus sumus de conscientia religionis et disciplinæ unitate, et spei fœdere. *Apol.* 39.

[d] Itaque tot ac tantæ ecclesiæ una est illa ab apostolis prima;

such and so many churches are but the same with the first apostolical one, from which all are derived: thus they become all first, all apostolical; whilst they maintain the same unity; whilst there are a communion of peace, names of brotherhood, and contributions of hospitality among them; the rights of which are kept up by no other means, but the one tradition of the same mystery.

[e] ***They and we have one faith, one God, the same Christ, the same hope, the same baptism; in a word, we are but one church.***

And Constantine the Great in his Epistle to the churches:

(Our Saviour) [f] ***would have his catholic church to be one: the members of which, though they be divided into many and different places, are yet cherished by one spirit, that is, by the will of God.***

And Gregory the Great:

[g] ***Our head, which is Christ, would therefore have us be his members, that by the joints of charity and faith he might make us one body in himself.***

ex qua omnes; sic omnes primæ, et omnes apostolicæ; dum unam omnes probant unitatem; communicatio pacis, et appellatio fraternitatis et contesseratio hospitalitatis; quæ jura non alia ratio regit, quam ejusdem sacramenta una traditio. *Tertul. Præscript.* cap. 20.

[e] Una nobis et illis fides, unus Deus, idem Christus, eadem spes, eadem lavacri sacramenta; semel dixerim, una ecclesia sumus. *Tert. de Virg. vel.* 2.

[f] Καὶ μίαν εἶναι τὴν καθολικὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν βεβούληται· ἧς εἰ καὶ τὰ μέλιστα εἰς πολλοὺς καὶ διαφόρους τόπους τὰ μέρη διήρηται, ἀλλ' ὅμως διὰ Πνεύματι, τουτέστι τῷ Θείῳ βουλήματι θάλπεται. Const. M. in Ep. ad Eccles. Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 18.

[g] Caput nostrum, quod Christus est, ad hoc sua esse membra nos voluit, ut per compagem charitatis et fidei unum nos in se corpus efficeret. *Greg. M.* Ep. vii. 111.

Clemens Alexandrinus defineth the church;

[h] ***A people gathered together out of Jews and Gentiles into one faith, by the giving of the testaments fitted into unity of faith.***

[i] ***This one church therefore partakes of the nature of unity, which heresies violently endeavour to divide into many; and therefore we affirm the ancient and catholic church, whether we respect its constitution or our conception of it, its beginning or its excellency, to be but one; which into the belief of that one creed which is agreeable to its own peculiar testaments, or rather to that one and the same testament, in times however different, by the will of one and the same God, through one and the same Lord, doth unite and combine together all those who are before ordained, whom God hath predestinated, as knowing that they would be just persons, before the foundation of the world.***

Many passages in the Fathers, applicable to this point, we have alleged in the foregoing discourses[k].

[h] Ὁ ἐκ νόμου καὶ ἐξ ἐθνῶν εἰς τὴν μίαν πίστιν συναγόμενος λαός. Strom. vi. init. Τῇ κατὰ τὰς διαθήκας δόσει σκευαζόμενον εἰς ἑνότητα τῆς πίστεως. Ibid. vii. (p. 516.)

[i] Τῇ γοῦν τοῦ ἑνὸς φύσει συγκληροῦται ἐκκλησία ἡ μία, ἣν εἰς πολλὰς κατατέμνειν βιάζονται αἱρέσεις· κατά τε οὖν ὑπόστασιν, κατά τε ἐπίνοιαν, κατά τε ἀρχὴν, (principium,) κατά τε ἐξοχὴν, μόνην εἶναί φαμεν τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς ἑνότητα πίστεως μιᾶς τῆς κατὰ τὰς οἰκείας διαθήκας, μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην τὴν μίαν διαφόροις τοῖς χρόνοις, ἑνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ βουλήματι δι' ἑνὸς τοῦ Κυρίου συνάγουσαν τοὺς ἤδη κατατεταγμένους, οὓς προώρισεν, δικαίους ἐσομένους πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου ἐγνωκώς. Strom. vii. (p. 549.)

[k] Catholicam facit simplex et verus intellectus, intelligere singulare, ac verissimum sacramentum, et unitas animorum. *Opt. I.* (p. 14.) Ecclesia non parietibus consistit, sed in dogmatum veritate, &c. *Hier.* Ps. 133.

4. The constitution of such an unity doth involve the vesting some person or some number of persons with a sovereign authority, (subordinate to our Lord,) to be managed in a certain manner; either absolutely, according to pleasure; or limitedly, according to certain rules prescribed to it.

But that there was ever any such authority constituted, or any rules prescribed to it by our Lord, or his apostles, doth not appear; and there are divers reasonable presumptions against it.

It is reasonable, that whoever claimeth such authority, should for assuring his title shew patents of his commission, manifestly expressing it; how otherwise can he justly demand obedience, or any with satisfaction yield thereto?

It was just that the institution of so great authority should be fortified with an undoubted charter, that its right might be apparent, and the duty of subjection might be certain.

If any such authority had been granted by God, in all likelihood it would have been clearly mentioned in scripture; it being a matter of high importance among the establishments of Christianity, conducing to great effects, and grounding much duty. Especially considering that

There is in scripture frequent occasion of mentioning it; in way of history, touching the use of it, (the acts of sovereign power affording chief matter to the history of any society;) in way of direction to those governors how to manage it; in way of exhortation to inferiors how to behave themselves in regard to it; in way of commending the advantages which attend it: it is therefore strange that its mention is so balked.

The apostles do often speak concerning ecclesiastical affairs of all natures, concerning the decent administration of things, concerning preservation of order and peace, concerning the furtherance of edification, concerning the prevention and removal of heresies, schisms, factions, disorders: upon any of which occasions it is marvellous that they should not touch that constitution which was the proper means appointed for maintenance of truth, order, peace, decency, edification, and all such purposes, for remedy of all contrary mischiefs.

There are mentioned divers schisms and dissensions, the which the apostles did strive by instruction and persuasion to remove; in which cases, supposing such an authority in being, it is a wonder that they do not mind the parties dissenting of having recourse thereto for decision of their causes, that they do not exhort them to a submission thereto, that they do not reprove them for declining such a remedy.

It is also strange, that no mention is made of any appeal made by any of the dissenting parties to the judgment of such authority.

Indeed, if such an authority had then been avowed by the Christian churches, it is hardly conceivable that any schisms could subsist, there being so powerful a remedy against them; then notably visible and most effectual, because of its fresh institution, before it was darkened or weakened by age.

Whereas the apostolical writings do inculcate our subjection to one Lord in heaven, it is much they should never consider his vicegerent, or vicegerents, upon earth; notifying and pressing the duties of obedience and reverence toward them.

There are indeed exhortations to honour the elders, and to obey the guides of particular churches; but the honour and obedience due to those paramount authorities, or universal governors, is passed over in dead silence, as if no such thing had been thought of.

They do expressly avow the secular preeminence, and press submission to the emperor as supreme; why do they not likewise mention this no less considerable ecclesiastical supremacy, or enjoin obedience thereto? why *honour the king*, and *be subject to principalities* so often, but honour the spiritual prince or senate doth never occur?

Rom. xiii. 1. Tit. iii. 1. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 17. 1 Tim. i. 2.

If there had been any such authority, there would probably have been some intimation concerning the persons in whom it was settled, concerning the place of their residence, concerning the manner of its being conveyed, (by election, succession, or otherwise.)

Probably the persons would have some proper name, title, or character to distinguish them from inferior governors; that to the place some mark of preeminence would have been affixed.

It is not unlikely, that somewhere some rules or directions would have been prescribed for the management of so high a trust, for preventing miscarriages and abuses to which it is notoriously liable.

It would have been declared absolute, or the limits of it would have been determined, to prevent its enslaving God's heritage.

But of these things in the apostolical writings, or in any near those times, there doth not appear any footstep or pregnant intimation.

There hath never to this day been any place but

one, (namely Rome,) which hath pretended to be the seat of such an authority; the plea whereof we largely have examined.

At present we shall only observe, that before the Roman church was founded, there were churches otherwhere: there was a great church at [l]Jerusalem, (which indeed was [m]*the mother of all churches*, and was by the Fathers so styled, however Rome now arrogates to herself that title.) There were issuing from that mother a fair offspring of churches (those of Judæa, of Galilæa, of Samaria, of Syria and Cilicia, of divers other places) before there was any church at Rome, or that St. Peter did come thither; which was at least divers years after our Lord's ascension. St. Paul was converted——after five years he went to Jerusalem, then St. Peter was there; after fourteen years thence he went to Jerusalem again, and then St. Peter was there; after that, he met with St. Peter at Antioch. Where then was this authority seated? How then did the political unity of the church subsist? Was the seat of the sovereign authority first resident at Jerusalem, when St. Peter preached there? Did it walk thence to Antiochia, fixing itself there for seven years? Was it thence translated to Rome, and settled there ever since? Did this roving and inconstancy become it?

Acts ii. 41, 47. iv. 4. vi. 1. viii. 1.

Acts ix. 31. xv. 41. xi. 19. viii. 1. 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 19. Rom. xvi. 4. Vales. in Euseb. ii. 16. Gal. i. 18, 19. ii. 1, 9, 11.

5. The primitive state of the church did not well comport with such an unity.

For Christian churches were founded in distant places, as the apostles did find opportunity, or received direction to found them; which therefore

[l] Ἐπληθύνετο ἀριθμὸς τῶν μαθητῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ σφόδρα. Acts vi. 7.

[m] Μήτηρ ἁπασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἡ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. Conc. Const. in Synod. Ep. Theod. v. 9.

could not, without extreme inconvenience, have resort or reference to one authority, anywhere fixed.

Each church therefore separately did order its own affairs, without recourse to others, except for charitable advice or relief in cases of extraordinary difficulty or urgent need.

Each church was endowed with a perfect liberty, and a full authority, without dependence or subordination to others, to govern its own members, to manage its own affairs, to decide controversies and causes incident among themselves, without allowing appeals, or rendering accounts to others.

This appeareth by the apostolical writings of St. Paul and St. John to single churches; wherein they are supposed able to exercise spiritual power for establishing decency, removing disorders, correcting offences, deciding causes, &c. Rev. ii. iii. 1 Cor. xiv. 40. 1 Thess. v. 14. 1 Cor. v. 12. vi. 1.

6. This αὐτονομία, and liberty of churches, doth appear to have long continued in practice inviolate; although tempered and modelled in accommodation to the circumstances of place and time.

It is true, that if any church did notoriously forsake the truth, or commit disorder in any kind, other churches did sometime take upon them (as the case did move) to warn, advise, reprove it, and to declare against its proceedings, as prejudicial, not only to the welfare of that church, but to the common interests of truth and peace; but this was not in way of commanding authority, but of fraternal solicitude; or of that liberty which equity and prudence do allow to equals in regard to common good: so did the Roman church interpose in reclaiming the church of Corinth from its disorders and seditions: so did St. Cyprian and St. Denys of Alexandria meddle in Iren. iii. cap. 2.

the affairs of the Roman church, exhorting Novatian and his adherents to return to the peace of their church.

It is also true, that the bishops of several adjacent churches did use to meet upon emergencies, (concerning the maintenance of truth, order, and peace; concerning settlement and approbation of pastors, &c.) to consult and conclude upon expedients for attaining such ends; this probably they did at first in a free way, without rule, according to occasion, as prudence suggested; but afterwards, by confederation and consent, those conventions were formed into method, and regulated by certain orders established by consent, whence did arise an ecclesiastical unity of government within certain precincts, much like that of the United States in the Netherlands; the which course was very prudential, and useful for preserving the truth of religion and unity of faith against heretical devices springing up in that free age; for maintaining concord and good correspondence among Christians, together with an harmony in manners and discipline; for that otherwise Christendom would have been shattered and crumbled into numberless parties, discordant in opinion and practice; and consequently alienated in affection, which inevitably among most men doth follow difference of opinion and manners; so that in short time it would not have appeared what Christianity was, and consequently the religion, being overgrown with differences and discords, must have perished.

Thus in the case, about admitting the Lapsi to communion, St. Cyprian relates, [n] *when the perse-*

[n] Persecutione sopita, cum data esset facultas in unum con-

cution [of Decius] *ceased, so that leave was now given us to meet in one place together, a considerable number of bishops whom their own faith and God's protection had preserved sound and entire,* [from the late apostasy and persecution,] *being assembled, we deliberated of the composition of the matter with wholesome moderation,* &c.

[o] *Which thing also Agrippinus of blessed memory with his other fellow-bishops who then governed the church of Christ in the African province, and in Numidia, did establish; and by the well-weighed examination of the common advice of them all together confirmed it.*

Thus it was the custom in the churches of Asia, as Firmilian telleth us in those words:

[p] *Upon which occasion it necessarily happens, that every year we the elders and rulers do come together to regulate those things which are committed to our care; that if there should be any things of greater moment, by common advice they be determined.*—

Yet while things went thus, in order to common truth and peace; every church in more private mat-

veniendi, copiosus episcoporum numerus, quos integros et incolumes fide sua ac Domini tutela protexit, in unum convenimus, et scripturis diu ex utraque parte prolatis, temperamentum salubri moderatione libravimus, &c. *Cypr.* Ep. 52. (*ad Antonian.*)

[o] Quod quidem et Agrippinus bonæ memoriæ vir cum cæteris coepiscopis suis qui illo tempore in provincia Africa et Numidia ecclesiam Domini gubernabant, statuit et librato consilii communis examine firmavit. *Cypr. Epist.* 71. (*ad Quint.*)

[p] Qua ex causa necessario apud nos fit, ut per singulos annos seniores et præpositi in unum conveniamus, ad disponenda ea quæ curæ nostræ commissa sunt; ut si qua graviora sunt communi consilio dirigantur ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 75.

ters, touching its own particular state, did retain its liberty and authority, without being subject or accountable to any but the common Lord; in such cases even synods of bishops did not think it proper or just for them to interpose, to the prejudice of that liberty and power which derived from a higher source[q].

These things are very apparent, as by the course of ecclesiastical history, so particularly in that most precious monument of antiquity, St. Cyprian's Epistles; by which it is most evident, that in those times every bishop or pastor was conceived to have a double relation or capacity; one toward his own flock, another toward the whole flock:

Vide Epist. xxviii. 39. xiv. 18.

One toward his own flock; by virtue of which, he taking advice of his presbyters, together with [r]*the conscience of his people assisting*, did order all things tending to particular edification, order, peace, reformation, censure, &c. without fear of being troubled by appeals, or being liable to give any account, but to his own Lord, whose vicegerent he was[s].

[q] Superest ut de hac ipsa re singuli quid sentiamus, proferamus, neminem judicantes aut a jure communionis aliquem si diversum senserit amoventes,—&c. Vid. *Conc. Carthag. apud Cypr.* p. 399. Vid. Syn. Ant. Can. 9.

[r] Sub populi assistentis conscientia. *Cypr.* Epist. 78.

[s] —— Actum suum disponit, et dirigit unusquisque episcopus, rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus. *Cypr.* Ep. 52. Every bishop ordereth and directeth his own acts, being to render an account of his purpose to the Lord. Cum statutum sit omnibus nobis ac æquum sit pariter ac justum, ut uniuscujusque causa illic audiatur, ubi est crimen admissum; et singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque præpositus rationem actus sui Domino redditurus. *Cypr.* Ep. 55. *ad* ——. Since it is ordained by us all, and it is likewise just and equal that every

Another toward the whole church, in behalf of his people; upon account whereof he did (according to occasion or order) apply himself to confer with other bishops for preservation of the common truth and peace, when they could not otherwise be well upheld, than by the joint conspiring of the pastors of divers churches.

So that the case of bishops was like to that of princes; each of whom hath a free superintendence in his own territory, but for to uphold justice and peace in the world, or between adjacent nations, the intercourse of several princes is needful.

The peace of the church was preserved by communion of all parts together, not by the subjection of the rest to one part.

7. This political unity doth not well accord with the nature and genius of the evangelical dispensation.

Our Saviour affirmed, that *his kingdom is not of this world;* and St. Paul telleth us, that it consisteth in a spiritual influence upon the souls of men; producing in them virtue, spiritual joy, and peace. John xviii. 36. Rom. xiv. 17.

It disavoweth and discountenanceth *the elements of the world,* by which worldly designs are carried on, and worldly frames sustained. Gal. iv. 3, 9 Col. ii. 20.

man's cause should be there judged where the crime is committed, and to each pastor a portion of the flock is assigned, which is to rule and govern, being to give an account of his act to the Lord. Qua in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, nec legem damus, cum habeat in ecclesiæ administratione voluntatis suæ liberum arbitrium unusquisque præpositus, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus. *Cypr.* Ep. 72. *ad Steph. P.* Vide Ep. lxxiii. p. 186. Ep. lxxvi. p. 212. In which matter neither do we offer violence to any man, or prescribe any law, since every bishop hath in the government of his church the free power of his will, being to render an account of his own act unto the Lord.

It requireth not to be managed by politic artifices
1 Pet. ii. 1. or *fleshly wisdom*, but by simplicity, sincerity, plain dealing: as every subject of it must lay aside all *guile and dissimulation*, so especially the officers of it must do so, in conformity to the apostles, who
2 Cor. i. 12. iv. 2. ii. 17. 1 Thess. ii. 3, 5. *had their conversation in the world* (and prosecuted their design) *in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God*; not *walking in craftiness*, or *handling the word of God deceitfully*, &c.

It needeth not to be supported or enlarged by wealth and pomp, or by compulsive force and vio-
1 Cor. i. 27, 28. James ii. 5. lence; for *God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and the weak things of the world to confound the mighty; and base, despicable things*, &c. *that no flesh should glory in his presence.*

2 Cor. x. 4. And, *The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God*, &c.

It discountenanceth the imposition of new laws and precepts, beside those which God hath enjoined, or which are necessary for order and edification;
Matt. xv. 9. Colos. ii. 8, 20, 21. Gal. iv. 10. derogating from the liberty of Christians and from the simplicity of our religion.

The government of the Christian state is represented purely spiritual; administered by meek persuasion, not by imperious awe; as an humble ministry, not as stately domination; for the apostles
2 Cor. i. 24. themselves did not *lord it over men's faith*, but *did*
2 Cor. iv. 5. *cooperate to their joy*; they did *not preach themselves, but Christ Jesus to be the Lord; and themselves their servants for Jesus.*

1 Pet. v. 3. Matt. xx. 25, 26. It is expressly forbidden to them, *to domineer over God's people.*

They are to be qualified with gentleness and patience; they are forbidden *to strive*, and enjoined to be *gentle toward all, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves.* 2 Cor. vi. 4. 1 Tim. iii. 3. Tit. ii. 2. 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25. Chrys. Isid.

They are *to convince, to rebuke, to exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine*[t]. 2 Tim. iv. 2.

They are furnished with no arms beside the [u]*divine panoply;* they bear no *sword*, but that *of the Spirit; which is the word of God,* —— they may teach, reprove, —— they cannot compel ——. Eph. vi. 17.

They are not to be entangled in the cares of this life[x]. 2 Tim. ii. 4.

But supposing the church was designed to be one in this manner of political regiment, it must be quite another thing, nearly resembling a worldly state, yea, in effect soon resolving itself into such an one; supposing, as is now pretended, that its management is committed to an ecclesiastical monarch, it must become a worldly kingdom; for such a polity could not be upheld without applying the same means and engines, without practising the same methods and arts, whereby secular governments are maintained.

Ἕτερόν τι παρὰ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχὰς αἱ ἀρχιερωσύναι. Arist. Pol. IV. 15.

Its majesty must be supported by conspicuous pomp and phantastry.

Its dignity and power must be supported by wealth; which it must corrade and accumulate by large incomes, by exaction of tributes and taxes.

[t] Episcopus præest volentibus, non nolentibus. *Hier.* Ep. 3. (*ad Nepot.*)

[u] Ἀναλάβετε τὴν πανοπλίαν Θεοῦ. Eph. vi. 13.

[x] Μάλιστα γὰρ ἁπάντων Χριστιανοῖς οὐκ ἐφεῖται πρὸς βίαν ἐπανορθοῦν τὰ τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων πταίσματα ——. Chrys. de Sacerd. 2. Ἐνταῦθα οὐ βιαζόμενον, ἀλλὰ πείθοντα δεῖ ποιεῖν ἁμείνω τὸν τοιοῦτον. Ibid.

It must exert authority in enacting of laws for keeping its state in order, and securing its interests, backed with rewards and pains; especially considering, its title being so dark, and grounded on no clear warrant, many always will contest it.

It must apply constraint and force, for procuring obedience, and correcting transgression.

It must have guards to preserve its safety and authority.

It must be engaged in wars, to defend itself, and make good its interests.

It must use subtlety and artifice, for promoting its interests, and countermine the policies of adversaries.

It must erect judicatories, and must decide causes with formality of legal process; whence tedious suits, crafty pleadings, quirks of law and pettifoggeries, fees and charges, extortion and barretry, &c. will necessarily creep in [y].

Omnis pulchritudo filiæ regis intrinsecus. *Aug.* Ep. 68.

All which things do much disagree from the original constitution and design of the Christian church, which is averse from pomp, doth reject domination, doth not require craft, wealth, or force, to maintain it; but did at first, and may subsist without any such means.

I do not say, that an ecclesiastical society may not lawfully, for its support, use power, policy, wealth, in some measure to uphold or defend itself; but that a constitution needing such things is not divine; or that so far as it doth use them, it is no more than human.

[y] Is modus qui frequentatur execrabilis plane, et qui non dico ecclesiam, sed nec forum deceret, &c. *Bern. de Consid.* i. 9. Attendens itaque S. synodus, quod spiritualia sine carnalibus sustineri nequeant. *Syn. Bass.* sess. xlii. p. 108.

Thus in effect we see that it hath succeeded, from the pretence of this unity; the which hath indeed transformed the church into a mere worldly state; wherein the monarch beareth the garb of an emperor, in external splendour surpassing all worldly princes; crowned with a triple crown [z].

He assumeth the most haughty titles of, *Our most holy Lord*, the *Vicar-general of Christ*, &c. and he suffereth men to call him the *Monarch of Kings*, &c.

He hath respects paid him, like to which no potentate doth assume, (having his feet kissed, riding upon the backs of men, letting princes hold his stirrup and lead his horse [a].)

He hath a court, and is attended with a train of courtiers surpassing in state and claiming precedence to the peers of any kingdom. Cardin. vid. Uss. p. 103.

He is encompassed with armed guards: *Switzers.*

He hath a vast revenue, supplied by tributes and imposts, sore and grievous; the exaction of which hath made divers nations of Christendom to groan most lamentably.

He hath raised numberless wars and commotions for the promotion and advancement of his interests.

He administereth things with all depth of policy, to advance his designs.

[b] He hath enacted volumes of laws and decrees, to

[z] One crown doth serve an emperor, but he must have a triple: to kiss the hands of a king is a sufficient respect, but you cannot salute him without kissing *his blessed feet.*

[a] That which Seneca did take for a piece of enormous pride in Caligula. *De Benef.* ii. 12.

[b] Sub mortali. He imposes rigorous oaths of fealty and obedience.

which obedience is exacted with rigour and forcible constraint.

He draweth grist from all parts to his courts of judgment, wherein all formalities of suspense, all the tricks of squeezing money, &c. are practised, to the great trouble and charge of parties concerned.

Briefly, it is plain, that he doth exercise the proudest, mightiest, subtlest domination that ever was over Christians [c].

8. The union of the whole church in one body, under one government or sovereign authority, would be inconvenient and hurtful; prejudicial to the main designs of Christianity; destructive to the welfare and peace of mankind in many respects.

This we have shewed particularly concerning the pretence of the papacy; and those discourses being applicable to any like universal authority, (perhaps with more advantage, monarchy being less subject to abuse than other ways of government,) I shall forbear to say more.

9. Such an union is of no need, would be of small use, or would do little good, in balance to the great mischiefs and inconveniences which it would produce.

This point also we have declared, in regard to the papacy; and we might say the same concerning any other like authority substituted thereto.

10. Such a connection of churches is not anywise needful or expedient to the design of Christianity; which is to reduce mankind to the knowledge, love, and reverence of God; to a just and loving con-

[c] Exaltatio, et inflatio, et arrogans ac superba jactatio, non de Christi magisterio, qui humilitatem docet, sed de Antichristi spiritu nascitur. *Cypr.* Ep. 55. (*ad P. Cornel.*)

versation together; to the practice of sobriety, tem- Tit. ii. 12.
perance, purity, meekness, and all other virtues; all which things may be compassed without forming men into such a policy.

It is expedient there should be particular societies, in which men may concur in worshipping God, and promoting that design by instructing and provoking one another to good practice, in a regular, decent, and orderly way.

It is convenient that the subjects of each temporal sovereignty should live, as in a civil, so in a spiritual uniformity, in order to the preservation of good-will and peace among them, (for that neighbours differing in opinion and fashions of practice will be apt to contend each for his way, and thence to disaffect one another,) for the beauty and pleasant harmony of agreement in divine things, for the more commodious succour and defence of truth and piety by unanimous concurrence.

But that all the world should be so joined is needless; and will be apt to produce more mischief than benefit.

11. The church, in the scripture sense, hath ever continued one; and will ever continue so; notwithstanding that it hath not had this political unity.

12. It is in fact apparent, that churches have not been thus united, which yet have continued catholic and Christian.

It were great, no less folly than uncharitableness to say, that the Greek church hath been none.

There is no church that hath in effect less reason than that of Rome to prescribe to others.

13. The reasons alleged in proof of such an unity are insufficient and inconcluding; the which (with

great diligence, although not with like perspicuity) advanced by a late divine of great repute, and collected out of his writings with some care, are those which briefly proposed do follow; together with answers declaring their invalidity.

Epil. p. 38. Lat. p. 114. *Arg.* I. The name *church* is attributed to the whole body of Christians; which implieth unity.

Answ. This indeed doth imply an unity of the church, but determineth not the kind or ground thereof: there being several kinds of unity; one of those which we have touched, or several, or all of them may suffice to ground that comprehensive appellation.

Epil. Lat. 144. *Arg.* II. Our creeds do import the belief of such an unity; for in the apostolical we profess to believe ***the holy catholic church***; in the Constantinopolitan, ***the holy catholic*** and ***apostolic church.***

Answ. 1. The most ancient summaries of Christian faith, extant in the first Fathers, (Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, &c.) do not contain this point.

Iren. Tert. Cypr. Conc. Nic.

The word *catholic* was not originally in the Apostolical (or Roman) Creed, but was added after Ruffin and St. Austin's time.

This article was inserted into the creeds upon the rise of heresies and schisms, to discountenance and disengage from them.

Answ. 2. We do avow a catholic church in many respects one; wherefore not the unity of the church, but the kind and manner of unity being in question, the Creed doth not oppose what we say, nor can with reason be alleged for the special kind of unity which is pretended.

Answ. 3. That the unity mentioned in the Constantinopolitan Creed is such as our adversaries con-

tend for, of external policy, is precariously assumed, and relieth only upon their interpretation obtruded on us.

Answ. 4. The genuine meaning of that article may reasonably be deemed this; That we profess our adhering to the body of Christians, which diffused over the world doth retain the faith taught, the discipline settled, the practices appointed by our Lord and his apostles; that we maintain general charity toward all good Christians, that we are ready to entertain communion in holy offices with all such; that we are willing to observe the laws and orders established by authority or consent of the churches, for maintenance of truth, order, and peace; that we renounce all heretical doctrines, all disorderly practices, all conspiracy with any factious combinations of people. Παρασυναγωγαί.

Answ. 5. That this is the meaning of the article may sufficiently appear from the reason and occasion of introducing it; which was to secure the truth of Christian doctrine, the authority of ecclesiastical discipline, and the common peace of the church; according to the discourses and arguments of the Fathers, (Irenæus, Tertullian, St. Austin, Vincentius Lirinensis,) the which do plainly countenance our interpretation.

Answ. 6. It is not reasonable to interpret the article so as will not consist with the state of the church in the apostolical and most primitive ages, when evidently there was no such a political conjunction of Christians.

Arg. III. The apostles delivered one rule of faith to all churches, the embracing and professing whereof, celebrated in baptism, was a necessary con- Ep. p. 40. Lat. p. 144, 151.

dition to the admission into the church, and to continuance therein; therefore Christians are combined together in one political body.

Answ. 1. The consequence is very weak; for from the antecedent it can only be inferred, that (according to the sentiment of the ancients) all Christians should consent in one faith; which unity we avow; and who denieth?

Answ. 2. By like reason all mankind must be united in one political body; because all men are bound to agree in what the light of nature discovereth to be true and good; or because the principles of natural religion, justice, and humanity are common to all.

Epil. p. 37, 49. Lat. p. 153, 118. Leges ferre. Lat. p. 171. *Arg.* IV. God hath granted to the church certain powers and rights, as *jura majestatis;* namely, the power of the keys, (to admit into, to exclude from the kingdom of heaven;) a power to enact laws, (for maintenance of its order and peace, for its edification and welfare;) a power to correct and excommunicate offenders; a power to hold assemblies for God's service; a power to ordain governors and pastors.

Lat. p. 54.

Answ. 1. These powers are granted to the church, because granted to each particular church, or distinct society of Christians; not to the whole, as such, or as distinct from the parts.

Answ. 2. It is evident, that by virtue of such grants particular churches do exercise those powers; and it is impossible to infer more from them than a justification of their practice.

Answ. 3. St. Cyprian often from that common grant doth infer the right of exercising discipline in each particular church; which inference would not be good, but upon our supposition; nor indeed other-

wise would any particular church have ground for its authority.

Answ. 4. God hath granted the like rights to all princes and states; but doth it thence follow, that all kingdoms and states must be united in one single regiment? The consequence is just the same as in our case.

Arg. V. All churches were tied to observe the same laws or rules of practice, the same orders of discipline and customs; therefore all do make one corporation. Ep.p.42,49. Lat. p. 151, 219. 1 Cor.xi.16.

Answ. 1. That all churches are bound to observe the same divine institutions, doth argue only an unity of relation to the same heavenly King, or a specifical unity and similitude of policy, the which we do avow.

Answ. 2. We do also acknowledge it convenient and decent, that all churches in principal observances, introduced by human prudence, should agree so near as may be; an uniformity in such things representing and preserving unity of faith, of charity, of peace.

Whence the governors of the primitive church did endeavour such an uniformity; [c]as the Fathers of Nice profess in the canon forbidding of genuflexion on Lord's days, and in the days of Pentecost.

Answ. 3. Yet doth not such an agreement, or attempt at it, infer a political unity; no more than when all men, by virtue of a primitive general tradition, were tied to offer sacrifices and oblations to God, that consideration might argue all men to have

[c] Περὶ τοῦ πάντα ἐν πάσῃ παροικίᾳ ὁμοίως φυλάττεσθαι. Conc. Nic. Can. 20. Vide de Paschate.

been under the same government; or no more than the usual agreement of neighbour nations in divers fashions doth conclude such an unity.

Answ. 4. In divers customs and observances several churches did vary, with allowance; which doth rather infer a difference of polity, than agreement in other observances doth argue an unity thereof[d].

Cypr. Ep. 73. *Answ.* 5. St. Cyprian doth affirm, that in such matters every bishop had a power to use his own discretion, without being obliged to comply with others.

Ep. p. 39. Lat. p. 159. *Arg.* VI. The Jewish church was one corporation; and in correspondence thereto the Christian church should be such.

Answ. 1. As the Christian church doth in some things correspond to that of the Jews, so it differeth in others, being designed to excel it: wherefore this argumentation cannot be valid; and may as well be employed for our opinion as against it.

Answ. 2. In like manner it may be argued, that all Christians should annually meet in one place; that all Christians should have one archpriest on

[d] Vide Aug. Epist. lxxxvi. (ad Casul.) Ep. cxviii. ad Jan. Cypr. Ep. lxxv. p. 198. Iren. apud Euseb. v. 24. Socr. v. 22. vii. 19. Cætera jam disciplinæ et conversationis admittunt novitatem correctionis, hac lege manente, &c. *Tert. de Virg. vel. Thorn. Lat.* p. 219. *P. Greg. I.* In una fide nihil officit sanctæ ecclesiæ consuetudo diversa. *P. Greg. I.* Epist. i. 41. *P. Leo IX.* Epist. i. cap. 29. Nil obsunt saluti credentium diversæ pro loco et tempore consuetudines, quando una fides per dilectionem operans bona quæ potest uni Deo commendat omnes. *P. Nic. I.* Ep. 6. De consuetudinibus quidem, quem nobis opponere visi estis, scribentes per diversas ecclesias diversas esse consuetudines, si illis canonica non resistit auctoritas, pro qua eis obviare debeamus, nil judicamus vel eis resistimus, &c.

earth; that we should all be subject to one temporal jurisdiction; that we should all speak one language, &c.

Answ. 3. There is a great difference in the case; for the Israelites were one small nation, which conveniently might be embodied; but the Christian church should consist of all nations, which rendereth correspondence in this particular unpracticable, at least without great inconvenience.

Answ. 4. Before the law, Christian religion, and consequently a Christian church, did in substance subsist; but what unity of government was there then? Eus. Hist. i. 4. Baron. App. 2.

Answ. 5. The temporal union of the Jews might only figure the spiritual unity of Christians in faith, charity, and peace.

Arg. VII. All ecclesiastical power was derived from the same fountains, by succession from the apostles; therefore the church was one political body. Ep. p. 51—55. Lat. p. 157.

Answ. 1. Thence we may rather infer, that churches are not so united, because the founders of them were several persons endowed with coordinate and equal power. Iren. iii. 3. Tert. Præscr. 31, 32.

Answ. 2. The apostles did in several churches constitute bishops, independent from each other; and the like may be now, either by succession from those, or by the constitutions of human prudence, according to emergencies of occasion, and circumstances of things.

Answ. 3. Divers churches were αὐτόνομοι· and all were so according to St. Cyprian.

Answ. 4. All temporal power is derived from Adam, and the patriarchs, ancient fathers of fami-

lies: doth it thence follow, that all the world must be under one secular government?

Ep. p. 59, 125. Lat. p. 185, 195. *Arg.* VIII. All churches did exercise a power of excommunication, or of excluding heretics, schismatics, disorderly and scandalous people.

Answ. 1. Each church was vested with this power: this doth therefore only infer a resemblance of several churches in discipline; which we avow.

Answ. 2. This argueth that all churches took themselves to be obliged to preserve the same faith, to exercise charity and peace, to maintain the like holiness of conversation: what then? do we deny this?

Answ. 3. All kingdoms and states do punish offenders against reason and justice, do banish seditious and disorderly persons, do uphold the principles and practice of common honesty and morality: doth it thence follow that all nations must come under one civil government[e]?

Ep. p. 69. Lat. p. 222. *Arg.* IX. All churches did maintain intercourse and commerce with each other by formed, communicatory, pacificatory, commendatory, synodical epistles[f].

[e] Excommunication of other churches is only a declaration against the deviation from Christian truth, or piety, or charity. Communio suspensa restituitur demonstranti causas, quibus id acciderat, jam esse detersas, et profitenti conditiones pacis impletas. *P. Inn. I.* Ep. 16. (*de Attico Constant. Ep.*)

[f] Literæ formatæ. *Optat.* 2. *Conc. Milev.* Can. 20. Communicatoriæ. *Aug.* Ep. 162, 163. Καὶ τὰ παρὰ τούτου κοινωνικά. Euseb. vii. 30. Cypr. Ep. 55, 67. Γράμματα συστατικά. Apost. Can. 12. Εἰρηνικαί. Conc. Chald. Can. 11. Συνοδικαί. Soz. vii. 11. Conc. VI. Act. 11. (p. 158, 198, 223.) Greg. M. (Ep. ——) P. Zach. Baron. ann. 743. sect. 29. Significa plane nobis quis in locum Marciani Arelate fuerit substitutus, ut sciamus ad quem

Answ. 1. This doth signify, that the churches did by admonition, advice, &c. help one another in maintenance of the common faith; did endeavour to preserve charity, friendship, and peace: this is all which thence may be concluded.

Answ. 2. Secular princes are wont to send ambassadors and envoys with letters and instructions for settlement of correspondence and preserving peace; they sometimes do recommend their subjects to other princes; they expect offices of humanity toward their subjects travelling or trading any where in the world; common reason doth require such things; but may common union of polity from hence be inferred?

Arg. X. The effectual preservation of unity in the primitive church is alleged as a strong argument of its being united in one government. Ep. p. 64. Lat. p. 221.

Answ. 1. That unity of faith and charity and discipline, which we admit, was indeed preserved, not by influence of any one sovereign authority, (whereof there is no mention,) but by the concurrent vigilance of bishops, declaring and disputing against any novelty in doctrine or practice which did start up; by their adherence to the doctrine asserted in scripture, and confirmed by tradition; by

fratres nostros dirigere, et cui scribere debeamus ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 42, 67. *ad P. Steph.* (p. 161.) Ep. 55. (N. B. p. 113.) Ἑνὸς σώματος ὄντος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐντολῆς τε οὔσης ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς τηρεῖν σύνδεσμον τῆς ὁμονοίας καὶ εἰρήνης, ἀκόλουθόν ἐστι γράφειν ἡμᾶς, καὶ σημαίνειν ἀλλήλοις τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις γιγνόμενα, &c. Alexandri Epist. Socr. i. 6. The catholic church being one body, there being moreover a command in the holy scriptures, to preserve the bond of peace and concord; hence it follows, that what things (happen to, or) are done by any of us, we ought to write, and signify to each other.

their aiding and abetting one another as confederates against errors and disorders creeping in.

Answ. 2. The many differences which arose concerning the observation of Easter, the rebaptization of heretics, the reconciliation of revolters and scandalous criminals; concerning the decision of causes and controversies, &c. do more clearly shew that there was no standing common jurisdiction in the church: for had there been such an one, recourse would have been had thereto; and such differences by its authority would easily have been quashed.

Ep. p. 119. Lat. p. 209. *Arg.* XI. Another argument is grounded on the relief which one church did yield to another, which supposeth all churches under one government, imposing such tribute.

Answ. 1. This is a strange fetch: as if all who were under obligation to relieve one another in need, were to be under one government. Then all mankind must be so.

Answ. 2. It appeareth by St. Paul, that these succours were of free charity, favour, and liberality; and not by constraint[g].

Ep. p. 51. Lat. p. 400. *Arg.* XII. The use of councils is also alleged as an argument of this unity.

Aug. *Answ.* 1. General councils (in case truth is disowned, that peace is disturbed, that discipline is loosed or perverted) are *wholesome* expedients to clear truth and heal breaches: but the holding them is no more an argument of political unity in the church, than the treaty of Munster was a sign of all Europe being under one civil government.

[g] 2 Cor. viii. 3. Αὐθαίρετοι. Ver. 8. Οὐ κατ' ἐπιταγήν. 2 Cor. ix. 7. Ἕκαστος καθὼς προαιρεῖται. Rom. xv. 26. Εὐδόκησαν. Acts xi. 29. xxiv. 17. Ἐλεημοσύνας ποιήσων.

Answ. 2. They are extraordinary, arbitrary, prudential means of restoring truth, peace, order, discipline; but from them nothing can be gathered concerning the continual ordinary state of the church.

Answ. 3. For during a long time the church wanted them; and afterwards had them but rarely; [h]*For the first three hundred years,* saith Bellarmine, *there was no general assembly; afterwards scarce one in a hundred years.*

And since the breach between the oriental and western churches, for many centenaries, there hath been none.

Yet was the church from the beginning one, till Constantine, and long afterwards.

Answ. 4. The first general councils (indeed all that have been with any probable show capable of that denomination) were congregated by emperors, to cure the dissensions of bishops: what therefore can be argued from them, but that the emperors did find it good to settle peace and truth; and took this for a good mean thereto?

Alb. Pighius said, that general councils were an invention of Constantine; and who can confute him? Bell. de Conc. i. 13.

Answ. 5. They do shew rather the unity of the empire than of the church; or of the church as national under one empire, than as catholic; for it was the state which did call and moderate them to its purposes.

Answ. 6. It is manifest that the congregation of them dependeth on the permission and pleasure of

[h] Primis trecentis annis nulla fuit congregatio generalis; postea vero vix centesimo anno. *De Rom. P.* i. 8.

secular powers; and in all equity should do so, (as otherwhere is shewed[i].)

Answ. 7. It is not expedient that there should be any of them, now that Christendom standeth divided under divers temporal sovereignties; for their resolutions may intrench on the interests of some princes; and hardly can they be accommodated to the civil laws and customs of every state.

Whence we see that France will not admit the decrees of their Tridentine synod.

Answ. 8. There was no such inconvenience in them while Christendom was in a manner confined within one empire; for then nothing could be decreed or executed without the emperor's leave, or to his prejudice.

Hist. Trid. p. 67. A free council. P. Leo I. Ep.

Answ. 9. Yea, (as things now stand,) it is impossible there should be a free council; most of the bishops being sworn vassals and clients to the pope; and by their own interests concerned to maintain his exorbitant grandeur and domination.

Answ. 10. In the opinion of St. Athanasius[k], there was no reasonable cause of synods, except in case of new heresies springing up, which may be confuted by the joint consent of bishops.

Answ. 11. As for particular synods, they do only signify, that it was useful for neighbour bishops to

[i] The validity of synodical decrees (as spiritual) doth proceed from the obligation to each singular bishop; as if princes in confederacy do make any sanction, the subjects of each are bound to observe them, not from any relation to the body confederating, but because of their obligation to their own prince consenting.

[k] Αἱ δὲ νῦν κινούμεναι παρ' αὐτῶν σύνοδοι ποίαν ἔχουσιν εὔλογον αἰτίαν, &c. Athan. de Syn. p. 873.

conspire in promoting truth, order, and peace, as we have otherwhere shewed[1].

Councils have often been convened for bad designs, and been made engines to oppress truth and enslave Christendom.

That of Antioch against Athanasius: of Ariminum for Arianism. The second Ephesine, to restore Eutyches and reject Flavianus. The second of Nice, to impose the worship of babies. The synod of Ariminum, to countenance Arian. So the fourth synod of Lateran, (*sub Inn. III.*) to settle the prodigious doctrine of transubstantiation, and the wicked doctrine of papal authority over princes. The first synod of Lyons, to practise that hellish doctrine of deposing kings. The synod of Constance, to establish the maim of the eucharist; against the Calistines of Bohemia. The Lateran (under Leo X.) was called (as the archbishop of Patras affirmed) *for the exaltation of the apostolical see.* The synod of Trent, to settle a raff of errors and superstitions.

Pro apostolicæ sedis exaltatione. *Lat. Syn.* sess. x. p. 129.

Obj. II. It may further be objected, that this doctrine doth favour the conceits of the independents, concerning ecclesiastical discipline.

I answer, No. For,

1. We do assert, that every church is bound to observe the institutions of Christ, and that sort of government which the apostles did ordain, consisting of bishops, priests, and people.

[1] Subrependi enim occasiones non pretermittit ambitio, et quoties ob intercurrentes causas generalis congregatio facta fuerit sacerdotum, difficile est ut cupiditas improborum non aliquid supra mensuram suam non moliatur appetere. *Leo M.* Ep. 62. (*ad Maximum Ant. Ep.* ——)

2. We avow it expedient (in conformity to the primitive churches, and in order to the maintenance of truth, order, peace) for several particular churches or parishes to be combined in political corporations; as shall be found convenient by those who have just authority to frame such corporations: for that otherwise Christianity, being shattered into numberless shreds, could hardly subsist; and that great confusions must arise.

3. We affirm, that, such bodies having been established and being maintained by just authority, every man is bound to endeavour the upholding of them by obedience, by peaceable and compliant demeanour.

Jude xix. Οἱ ἀποδιορίζοντες.

4. [m] We acknowledge it a great crime, by factious behaviour in them, or by needless separation from them, to disturb them, to divide them, to dissolve or subvert them.

5. [n] We conceive it fit that every people under one prince (or at least of one nation, using the same language, civil law, and fashions) should be united in the bands of ecclesiastical polity; for that such a unity apparently is conducible to the peace and welfare both of church and state; to the furtherance of God's worship and service; to the edification of

[m] We allow the Apost. Can. 31. Εἴ τις καταφρονήσας τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου χωρὶς συναγάγῃ, καὶ θυσιαστήριον ἕτερον πήξῃ, μηδὲν κατεγνωκὼς τῷ ἐπισκόπου ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, καθαιρείσθω ὡς φίλαρχος, &c. If any person, despising his own bishop, shall set up a separate meeting, and build another altar, having nothing to condemn in his bishop, either for his piety or uprightness, let him be deposed as one that ambitiously affects to be a governor, &c.

[n] Δίκαιον οὖν ἐστι πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων κόσμῳ διδασκάλους τῷ νόμου αὐτὰ περὶ τοῦ νόμου φρονεῖν, καὶ μὴ διαφόροις διδασκαλίαις τὴν πίστιν μιαίνειν. Syn. Rom. apud Theod. ii. 22.

people in charity and piety; by the encouragement of secular powers, by the concurrent advice and aid of ecclesiastical pastors; by many advantages hence arising.

6. We suppose all churches obliged to observe friendly communion; and, when occasion doth invite, to aid each other by assistance and advice, in synods of bishops, or otherwise.

7. We do affirm, that all churches are obliged to comply with lawful decrees and orders, appointed in synods with consent of their bishops, and allowed by the civil authorities, under which they live: as if the bishops of Spain and France assembling should agree upon constitutions of discipline which the kings of both those countries should approve; and which should not thwart God's laws; both those churches, and every man in them, were bound to comply in observance of them.

From the premises divers corollaries may be deduced.

1. Hence it appeareth, that all those clamours of the pretended catholics against other churches, for not submitting to the Roman chair, are groundless; they depending on the supposition, that all churches must necessarily be united under one government.

2. The injustice of the adherents to that see; in claiming an empire (or jurisdiction) over all, which never was designed by our Lord; heavily censuring and fiercely persecuting those who will not acknowledge it.

3. All churches, which have a fair settlement in several countries, are coordinate; neither can one challenge a jurisdiction over the other.

4. The nature of schism is hence declared; viz. that it consisteth in disturbing the order and peace of any single church; in withdrawing from it obedience and compliance with it; in obstructing good correspondence, charity, peace, between several churches; in condemning or censuring other churches without just cause, or beyond due measure.

In refusing to maintain communion with other churches, without reasonable cause; whence Firmilian did challenge pope Stephanus with schism[o].

5. Hence the right way of reconciling dissensions among Christians is not affecting to set up a political union of several churches, or subordination of all to one power; not for one church to enterprise upon the liberty of others, or to bring others under it, (as is the practice of the Roman church and its abettors,) but for each church to let the others alone, quietly enjoying its freedom in ecclesiastical administrations; only declaring against apparently hurtful errors and factions; shewing good-will, yielding succour, advice, comfort, upon needful occasion; according to that excellent advice of the Constantinopolitan Fathers to the pope and western bishops——(after having acquainted them with their proceedings) towards the conclusion they thus exhort them.

[p] *We having in a legal and canonical way de-*

[o] Excidisti enim teipsum; noli te fallere; siquidem ille est vere schismaticus, qui se a communione ecclesiasticæ unitatis apostatam fecerit. *Firmil. apud Cypr.* Ep. 75.

[p] Οἷς εὐθέσμως καὶ κανονικῶς παρ' ἡμῖν κεκρατηκόσι καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν συγχαίρειν παρακαλοῦμεν εὐλάβειαν, τῆς πνευματικῆς μεσιτευούσης ἀγάπης, καὶ τοῦ κυριακοῦ φόβου πάσαν μὲν καταστέλλοντος (compressing) ἀνθρωπίνην προσπάθειαν, τὴν δὲ ἐκκλησιῶν οἰκοδομὴν προτιμοτέραν ποιοῦντος τῆς πρὸς τὸν καθ' ἕνα συμπαθείας ἢ χάριτος· οὕτω γὰρ τοῦτε τῆς πίστεως συμφωνηθέντος λόγου, καὶ τῆς χριστιανικῆς κυρωθείσης ἐν ἡμῖν ἀγάπης παυσόμεθα

rmined these controversies, do beseech your re-rence to congratulate with us, your charity spirit-ully interceding, the fear of the Lord also com-·essing all human affection, so as to make us to ·efer the edification of the churches to all private ·spect and favour toward each other; for by this eans the word of faith being consonant among us, id Christian charity bearing sway over us, we all cease from speaking after that manner which e apostle condemns, I am of Paul, and I am of pollos, but I am of Cephas; *for if we all do ap-ar to be of Christ, who is not divided amongst us, e shall then through God's grace preserve the dy of the church from schism, and present our-lves before the throne of Christ with boldness.*

6. All that withdraw their communion or obeinnce from particular churches fairly established, (unto hich they do belong, or where they reside,) do cur the guilt of schism: [q]for such persons being *jure* subject to those particular churches, and exmmunicating themselves, do consequentially sever emselves from the catholic church; they commit eat wrong toward that particular church, and ward the whole church of Christ.

7. Neither doth their pretence of joining themselves the Roman church excuse them from schism: for e Roman church hath no reason or right to admit

ωτες τὸ παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατεγνωσμένον, Ἐγὼ μέν εἰμι Παύλου, ἐγὼ Ἀπολλώ, ἐγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ· πάντες δὲ Χριστοῦ φανέντες, ὃς ἐν ἡμῖν οὐ μεμέταται ἄσχιστον τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τηρήσομεν, καὶ τῷ βήματι τοῦ ρίου μετὰ παῤῥησίας παραστησόμεθα. Theod. v. 9.

[q] Aug. contra Jul. Ep. 2. Te certe occidentalis terra genera-, occidentalis regeneravit ecclesia: quid ei quæris inferre quod ea non invenisti, quando in ejus membra venisti? imo quid, &c.

or to avow them; it hath no power to exempt or excuse them from their duty; it thereby abetteth their crime, and involveth itself therein; it wrongeth other churches. As no man is freed from his allegiance by pretending to put himself under the protection of another prince; neither can another prince justly receive such disloyal revolters into his patronage.

Syn. Sard. Can. 13. Gr.

Thornd. Lat. p. 220.

It is a rule grounded upon apparent equity, and frequently declared by ecclesiastical canons, that no church shall admit into its protection or communion any persons who are excommunicated by another church, or who do withdraw themselves from it: (ᵗfor self-excommunication, or spiritual felony *de se*, doth involve the church's excommunication, deserving it, and preventing it.)

Αὐτοκατάκριτος. Tit. iii. 11.

Which canon, as the African Fathers do allege and expound it, doth prohibit the *pope himself* from receiving persons rejected by any other church ˢ.

ᵗ Εἴ τις κληρικὸς ἢ λαϊκὸς ἀφωρισμένος, ἤτοι ἄδεκτος ἀπελθὼν, ἐν ἑτέρᾳ πόλει δεχθῇ ἄνευ γραμμάτων συστατικῶν, ἀφοριζέσθω καὶ ὁ δεξάμενος, καὶ ὁ δεχθείς. Apost. Can. 12. Κρατείτω ἡ γνώμη κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τὸν διαγορεύοντα τοὺς ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἀποβληθέντας, ὑφ' ἑτέρων μὴ προσίεσθαι. Conc. Nic. Can. 5. If any clerk, or laic, who hath been excommunicated, and not yet readmitted, (by his own church,) shall depart thence, and be received in another city without letters commendatory, both he who doth receive him, and he that is received, let them be excommunicated. Let the sentence be ratified which is according to that canon which commands others not to admit those whom others have ejected.

ˢ Μηδὲ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀποκοινωνήτους εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ λαικοῦ θέλητε δέξασθαι, ἐπειδὰν τοῦτο καὶ τῇ ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδῳ ὁρισθὲν εὐχερῶς εὕρῃ ἡ σὴ σεβασμιότης. Syn. Afr. Epist. ad P. Celest. I. Εἴ τις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου ἀκοινώνητος γέγονεν, μὴ πρότερον αὐτὸν παρ' ἑτέρων δεχθῆναι, εἰ μὴ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παραδεχθείη τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου ——. Conc. Ant. Can. 6. Idem in Concil. Sard. Can. 13, 14. (Græc.)

So when Marcion, having been excommunicated by his own father, coming to Rome, did sue to be received by that church into communion, they refused, telling him, that [t] *they could not do it without the consent of his reverend father, between whom and them there being one faith and one agreement of mind, they could not do it in opposition to their worthy fellow-labourer, who was also his father.*

St. Cyprian refused to admit Maximus (sent from the Novatian party) to communion. Ep. lv. p. 113.

So did pope Cornelius reject Felicissimus, condemned by St. Cyprian, without further inquiry. Ep. lv. init. (absque rejectum. Vid.) Vid. Rig. p. 79.

It was charged upon Dioscorus as a heinous misdemeanour, that [u] *he had, against the holy canons, by his proper authority, received into communion persons excommunicated by others.*

The African synod (at the suggestion of St. Austin) decreed, that [x] *if it happened that any for their evil deeds were deservedly expelled out of the church, and taken again into communion by*

[t] Ἔλεγε, τί μὴ ἐθελήσατέ με ὑποδέξασθαι; τῶν δὲ λεγόντων, ὅτι οὐ δυνάμεθα ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ τιμίου πατρός σου τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· μία γάρ ἐστιν ἡ πίστις, καὶ μία ἡ ὁμόνοια, καὶ οὐ δυνάμεθα ἐναντιωθῆναι τῷ καλῷ συλλειτουργῷ, πατρὶ δὲ σῷ. Epiph. Hær. 42.

[u] —— quosdam a diversis conciliis rite damnatos, in communionem, propria auctoritate, suscepit, sanctis regulis præcipientibus excommunicatos ab aliis, in communionem alios non debere suscipere. *Epist. Syn. Chalced. ad Imper.* Act. iv. pag. 286. —— καθαιρεθέντα κανονικῶς παρὰ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου αὐθεντήσας ἀκανονίστους εἰς κοινωνίαν ἐδέξατο. Evagr. ii. 4.

[x] Augustinus episcopus, legatus provinciæ Numidiæ dixit; Hoc statuere dignamini, ut si qui forte merito facinorum suorum ab ecclesia pulsi sunt, et sive ab aliquo episcopo vel presbytero fuerint in communionem suscepti, etiam ipse pari cum eis crimine teneatur obnoxius ——. *Cod. Afr.* Can. 9.

any bishop or priest whatsoever, that he also who received him should incur the same penalty of excommunication.

The same is by latter papal synods decreed[y].

The words of Synesius are remarkable: he, having excommunicated some cruel oppressors, doth thus recommend the case to all Christians[z].

P. Leo. Ep. lxxxiv. cap. 9. Upon which grounds I do not scruple to affirm the recusants in England to be no less schismatics than any other separatists. They are indeed somewhat worse; for most others do only forbear communion, these do rudely condemn the church, to which they owe obedience; yea, strive to destroy it: they are most desperate rebels against it.

8. It is the duty and interest of all churches to disclaim the pretences of the Roman court; maintaining their liberties and rights against its usurpations: for compliance therewith, as it doth greatly prejudice truth and piety; (leaving them to be corrupted by the ambitious, covetous, and voluptuous designs of those men;) so it doth remove the ge-

[y] Sanctorum quippe canonum sanxit auctoritas, et ea passim ecclesiæ consuetudo servat, ut a quolibet juste excommunicatum episcopo, alius absolvere non præsumat. *P. Urb. II. Epist.* 20. (*apud Bin.*) A suis episcopis excommunicatos, ab aliis episcopis, abbatibus et clericis in communionem recipi proculdubio prohibemus. *Conc. Lat. I.* (*sub P. Calixto II.*) cap. 9. —— Qui vero excommunicato antequam ab eo qui eum excommunicaverit absolvatur, scienter communicare præsumpserit, pari sententiæ teneatur obnoxius. *Conc. Lat. II.* (*sub Innoc. II.*) Can. 3.

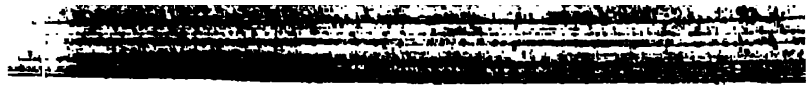
[z] Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡ Πτολεμαΐδος ἐκκλησία τάδε πρὸς τὰς ἀπανταχοῦ γῆς ἑαυτῆς ἀδελφὰς διατάττεται ——. Εἰ δέ τις ὡς μικροπολίτων ἀπεσκιβαλίσει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ δέξεται τοὺς ἀποκηρύκτους αὐτῆς (proscribed by it) ὡς οὐκ ἀνάγκη τῇ πέηται πείθεσθαι, ἴστω σχίσας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἣν μίαν ὁ Χριστὸς εἶναι βούλεται, &c. Epist. 58. pag. 203. edit. Petav.

nuine unity of the church, and peace of Christians; unless to be tied by compulsory chains (as slaves) be deemed unity or peace.

9. Yet those churches, which, by the voluntary consent or command of princes, do adhere in confederation to the Roman church, we are not, merely upon that score, to condemn or reject from communion of charity or peace; (for in that they do but use their liberty.)

10. But if such churches do maintain impious errors; if they do prescribe naughty practices; if they do reject communion and peace upon reasonable terms; if they vent unjust and uncharitable censures; if they are turbulent and violent, striving by all means to subdue and enslave other churches to their will or their dictates—if they damn and persecute all who refuse to be their subjects: in such cases we may reject such churches as heretical or schismatical, or wickedly uncharitable and unjust in their proceedings [a].

[a] Cuicunque hæresi communicans merito judicatur a nostra societate removendus. *Gelas.* Ep. 1. *ad Euphem.* An communicare, non est consentire cum talibus? *P. Sym. I.* Ep. 7.



INDEX.

The Roman numerals refer to the volume; the Arabic figures, to the page.

A.

ABSOLUTION; particular absolution, why allowed in the church of Rome, vii. 295.

Adam's sin and punishment, iii. 532.

Advice, opportunity in giving it to be regarded, i. 15. further directions to be observed therein, 597.

Affairs of others, who may meddle in them, i. 580.

Affections governed by religion, i. 11.

Afflictions supportable from religion, i. 6. the benefits thereof, ii. 403, &c. iii. 554. v. 379, 535. how borne, ii. 446, 497. iii. 72. 479, &c. natural, ii. 497. whence support under them, iv. 515. v. 375.

Almah, as spoken of the Virgin Mary, translated ἀπόκρυφος by Aquila, v. 71.

Almighty, why no other attributes of God expressed in our Creed than that of Almighty, iv. 553.

Ambition, contrary to Christian religion, iv. 241.

Anacletus and Cletus, by some thought to be the same, vii. 185.

Anathemas of the Romanists, vii. 619.

Angels, guardians of good men, i. 76, 124. ministering spirits, iii. 187. the philosophers' notions of them, iv. 469. their account of their quality and production, 499. in scripture styled *the sons of God*, 497. the manner of their creation, why not manifestly expressed in scripture, 558. the heathens' opinions of their original, 560. their creation, 570. popish doctrine of worshipping them, contrary to scripture, vii. 600.

Anger, how avoided, iii. 32.

Anointing, the use, antiquity, and persons consecrated by it among the Jews, iv. 97, &c.

Antoninus, his opinion of God and his providence, i. 74.

Apostasy of the Devil from infidelity, iv. 250.

Apostles, their method of teaching the Christian religion, iv. 337. the character of their lives and doctrine, v. 440. which the elder, vii. 68. that office of the greatest authority in the primitive church, 75. this authority of their office they frequently assert; never superiority over one another, 104. their manner of life, ibid. their equality attested by the Fathers, and plain from scripture, 117, &c. their extraordinary privileges and miraculous powers not

successive nor communicable, vii. 165.
Apparitions, the truth and reality of them, iv. 480. exceptions against them answered, in seq.
Appeals to the pope disclaimed, vii. 533, &c.
Aristotle, the least credulous or fanciful of philosophers, iv. 438. his notions concerning God, ibid.
Ascension of Christ, v. 482.
Assent, proper grounds of it, iv. 272.
——— and judgment, their relation to one another, iv. 277.
Atheists, their folly, i. 371. their principles, iv. 245.
Augustin's, St., opinion of justifying faith, and consequence of that his opinion, iv. 3.
Αὐτάρκεια, the import of that word, Philipp. iv. 11., ii. 403.

B.

Baptism, iv. 26, 32. grace therein communicated, 45, 165. in which justification dispensed, 386. personality of the Holy Ghost shewed from thence, vi. 17. a mystery, and why so styled, 547. the Jews admitted no persons into their religion without baptism, 545. a representation of the resurrection, 551.
Basil, St., his authority against the pope's supremacy, vii. 244.
Bellarmine and Grotius, their allegations about justifying faith considered, iv. 383.
——— his improper comparisons concerning the union of the two natures in Christ, v. 303.
Beza, notatur, v. 422.
Bishops, their dignity, i. 318. their precedency, iii. 278. how to discharge their office, vii. 81. in what sense said to be successors of the apostles, 166. all bishops styled *clavigeri* by the council of Compeigne, 136 their residence and translation, 176—178. the highest order in the church, 271. their equality, notwithstanding some differences in order and privileges, 266, 275, 333. an answer to those who object, they had a power, as well as emperors, to call general councils, 412. metropolitan bishops in their provinces had far more power, and more truly grounded, than the pope had in the whole church, 454. what kind of authority they had heretofore in synods, ibid. their ordination, in whose power; their authority and rights, 460. constitution of them, not in the power of the pope, but emperor, 482. nor censuring them, in the power of the pope, 494, 495. no power in the pope to depose them, 494. the contrary assertions examined and confuted, 518, &c. confirmation of them belongs not to the pope, 578.
Bishops and pastors, their authority in church-government in the primitive church, vii. 666. their character, 667.
Blaspheme, the import of the word, i. 449.

C.

Callings, as referred to Christians, iii. 190. the excellency and reward of industry therein, ibid.
Calling, gentleman and scholar's calling, iii. 214—228.
Canaanites' sin and punishment, iii. 536.

Canon law, the vain pretence for the obligation thereof, vii. 429.
Canons, ancient canons, their silence concerning the pope's authority, vii. 255.
———, universal canons, popes no power to alter them, nor exemption from them, vii. 430. their policy herein, ibid. contrary opinion, from whence arising, ibid.
——— of popes, why set above general councils, vii. 573. Æneas Silvius, his account hereof, 574.
Carelessness, a cause of infidelity, iv. 227.
Catholic, how much the abuse of that word hath conduced to the pope's pretences, vii. 382.
Censures, ecclesiastical censures, the great advantages made from them by the pope, vii. 388.
Censuring and judging, to whom allowed, i. 548, &c. the impiety, impertinence, and uncharitableness of rash censures, 566. Vide Detraction.
———, how regulated, v. 576. and by what means supported under it, 578.
Ceremonies of the Christian church, iii. 295. v. 76. why multitude of them in the church of Rome, vii. 296.
Chaldeans, Phœnicians, and Egyptians, their antiquity, iv. 463.
Chaldee paraphrases, their antiquity, v. 104.
Chance, the absurdities from imagining chance to have produced any part of the world, iv. 394, 413.
——— and necessity the same, iv. 396.
Charity, iii. 298, 445. the necessity and excellence thereof, i. 576, &c. 658. ii. 4. possibility of the practice, 32, &c. power thereof and extent, 32, 33. the nature, properties, and acts thereof, 44, &c. arguments to it, 77. our obligation to the practice from Christ's example, 366. the joy and content in the exercise, 519, 568. increased by knowledge of ourselves and imperfections, iii. 22. derived from faith, iv. 307. charity to one another, how promoted, 518. the many great advantages thereof, 536. to our neighbour, how wrought in us, v. 373, 412, 575. to the poor, whence learnt, 330, 575. want thereof in the church of Rome, vii. 613. among Christians, 638, 641. breach thereof denominates a man to be no Christian, ibid.
Charity to the poor, the duty and reward thereof, ii. 169. Charity to the poor of other churches in primitive times, no argument of unity of church-government, vii. 682.
Christ's living, abiding, dwelling, being formed in us; the meaning of those phrases in the holy scripture, ii. 362. Christ's name, every thing to be done in it, 308. nativity, iv. 98. greatness of that festival, and how to be expressed, 106, 125.
Christ, import and reason of the name *Christ*, v. 96. the prophecies concerning his appearance and offices in the world, 100. Porphyry's objection against the time of his coming answered, 110. Christ's genealogy not contested, 112. nature of the

prophecies concerning him, v. 175. character of his conversation, 121. offices, 220. 493—498. divinity, 236. in what regard called the Son of God, 230. whence styled our Lord, vi. 240.

Christ to be the Judge of quick and dead, v. 554. his dominion, 267. his divinity shewed by his conception by the Holy Ghost, 319. manner of his conception, reasons and use of it, 317. incarnation, 297. how performed, 302. the influence it ought to have on our practice, 300, 309. the great benefits hereof, 312. Christ's passion and sufferings, 335. time thereof, 345. the same lively represented in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, vi. 558. advantages arising from the manner of them, v. 358. correspondence with ancient prophecies, 365. his death, the nature and adjuncts of it, 384, 388. prophecies, causes, and effects thereof, 391, 395, 403. Vide Resurrection and Ascension of Christ.

Christian religion, the truth and divinity thereof, v. 1. excellence and perfection of it, 60. directions therein for the government of life, 72. manner of its propagation, 442, &c.

Chrysippus, notatur, i. 85.

Church, the holy catholic church, vi. 40. obligations from belief thereof, 43. unity of the church, vii. 625. the various acceptations of the word *church*, 626. the titles and privileges thereof, 628.

——— government and discipline in ancient time, vii. 345, &c. church-discipline, iii. 316.

Church governors and government, iii. 276. the obedience due to them, 293.

——— government, no necessity of one kind only of external administration thereof, vii. 655. the contrary shewed to be most proper and convenient, in seq.

——— of Rome, an account of them who by voluntary consent or command of princes do adhere in confederation to the church of Rome, vii. 693.

Civil magistrates' authority, vii. 582.

Civility and courtesy, noncompliance therein, by whom thought to bring an imputation on religion, iii. 488, 489.

Clemens Romanus, called by Clemens Alexandrinus an apostle, iv. 39. a character of his Epistle to the Corinthians, ibid. Eusebius and Jerome's note of its being anciently read publicly in churches, ibid.

Clergy, Romish clergy's exemption from secular jurisdiction, whence, vii. 294. Vide Priests.

Collyridians, the first that attempted worshipping the Virgin Mary, v. 334. The primitive Fathers' detestation and reproof of this error, ibid.

Commendation of a man's self, when lawful, i. 331.

Communion of saints, vi. 44. church-communion, vii. 630.

Community of men on several accounts may be termed one, vii. 633.

Company, good company, a remedy against discontent, ii. 517.

——— bad company; the danger and remedy, iii. 489.

Compliance, the mischiefs of base compliance, iii. 468. how avoided, v. 579.
Computation, ancient manners, and original hereof, iv. 460.
Confession, auricular confession, vii. 295.
Confirmation of magistrates belongs not to the pope, vii. 577.
Conscience, a good conscience, the excellence thereof, and how attained, i. 7, 52. v. 410. benefits thereof, ii. 484. iii. 96, 425, 430, 454. the excellence of it to content, ii. 508, &c. the great support of society, i. 423.
——— the methods some use to delude it, iii. 100. depraved by customary sin, 111.
——— preferred by heathens before honour, iii. 480. a scrupulous conscience, 318.
——— best satisfied by Christian religion, v. 83.
——— the usurpations made thereupon by the popish doctrines, vii. 618.
Consent, universal consent, the great author thereof, iv. 445, &c.
Consideration, iv. 141.
Constantine, M. his judgment of Eusebius, vii. 181. No general synod before his reign, 395.
Consubstantialists, v. 505.
Content, to be found in religion, i. 59.
Contentedness, from faith, iv. 312, 514.
Contentment, ii. 403. the acts wherein it consisteth, 407. how learnt, 429, 434, 436, 440, 501, 519.
Contests and contentions, how to be managed, and who may interpose in them, i. 604.
Controversies in the church, how in ancient times determined, vii. 242, 314, 567, 647.
Conversation, rules for it, iii. 415, &c.
Covetousness, a cause of self-love, ii. 39. the sin and mischiefs thereof, ii. 190. how avoided, iii. 33.
——— an enemy to Christian religion, iv. 241. springs from infidelity, 250.
Council of Trent, their false notions of justifying faith, iv. 350. their character, vii. 3. enjoined the pope's supremacy should not be disputed, 38.
Councils, their authority above the pope's, vii. 51. their infallibility, why pretended, 295.
——— general, which so esteemed, vii. 402. first called by the emperors, ibid. when first celebrated, 395. use of them proves not there was unity of government in the primitive church, 682. the proper occasion of general councils assigned, 683.
Creation, the order and beauty thereof, iv. 575, &c. manner and reason of it, 581.
Credulity and incredulity compared, iv. 484. the former less dangerous, ibid.
Creed, the Apostles', a large and full Exposition of it, vi. 71—569.
Cross of Christ; vide Christ's sufferings.
Cup, in the sacrament, why withholden from the laity, vii. 295.
Custom and example, the vain pleas from them against religion, iii. 492.
——— in sin, the power and remedy, iii. 91, &c.

Custom of sinning, the authority and mischiefs thereof, iv. 245, 432.
Customs, innocent customs of the place where we live to be observed, ii. 131, &c.
Cyprian's, St., account of St. Peter's primacy of order, vii. 66. his Epistle concerning the deposing Marcianus examined, 505.
Cyril of Jerusalem, the first, according to Socrates, who did introduce appeals, vii. 536.
——'s, St., supplying the place of P. Celestine in the general council, vii. 416.

D.

Damasus, (pope,) an Epistle of his in Theodoret (whence Bellarmine's pretence for the pope's supremacy) adjudged spurious, vii. 335.
Dealings, God's dealings with men shew his justice; and the influences consideration thereof should have on them, iii. 576.
Death, Christ's death, nature thereof, v. 384, &c.
——— benefits thereof, ii. 475. iii. 74.
——— the wisdom in contemplation thereof, to philosophers, iii. 97.
——— of friends, how borne, ii. 452.
——— after death, probably no remembrance of things in this life, iii. 66.
Decalogue, for whom primarily instituted, vi. 473. obligation thereof on Christians, 476.
——— a large Exposition of it, vi. 473—539.
Decrees of popes, when contested against the ancient canons, vii. 435. whence their new decrees introduced, 459.
Decretal Epistles, their forgery, and great advantage to the church of Rome, vii. 392.
Degrees of reward and punishment hereafter, iii. 127.
Delay in matters of religion, the danger and folly, iii. 103, 121.
Detraction, the character and causes thereof, i. 525, 526, &c.
——— of others how prevented, iii. 476.
Devotion, how to be performed, i. 421.
——— public and private, iii. 423.
——— an excellent instrument of contentment, ii. 512.
Discipline, church discipline, iii. 316. vii. 651. main form thereof not to be violated, 652.
——— and order of the primitive church, vii. 452.
——— the enacting and dispensing with ecclesiastical laws about the same, belonged of old to emperors, vii. 459.
Dispensations, vii. 393. the pope no power to grant them, 579, 603.
Disputes, when most abounding in the church, iv. 362.
Dissensions, the mischiefs arising from them, vii. 375, 387. the profits accruing from hence to the Romanists, 388.
——— how reconciled among Christians, vii. 688.
Dominion, who have titles to it, v. 272.
Dreams, iv. 480.

E.

Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, not impugned by disclaiming St. Peter's superiority, vii. 81.
——— orders, their dis-

tinction and antiquity, iii. 277.
Ecclesiastical persons; vide Priests,
Education, good education, the advantages of, iv. 433.
Effects, supernatural effects wrought for divers causes, with an enumeration of them, iv. 473. Vide Miracles.
Emperors, not popes, did first congregate general synods, vii. 395. testimonies of popes owning the same, 411.
——— themselves, or honourable persons, authorized by them, did heretofore preside in general synods, vii. 414.
Empires ruined by neglect of religion, iii. 494.
——— their original and increase, vii. 373.
Employment, honest employment an instrument to content, ii. 516.
Emulation, power thereof to excite to virtue, ii. 353.
Enchantments, v. 213.
Endeavours (our own) necessary to happiness, ii. 385. iii. 149.
Enemies, love of them required, ii. 137. arguments to love them from Christ's sufferings, v. 373.
——— of Christian religion, who and how conquered, iv. 283.
Envy, fear of being envied for being religious. The mischief and absurdity, iii. 474.
—— opposite to Christian religion, iv. 242.
Epicureans, false principles of theirs refuted, i. 61.
Epicurus, his opinion of bestowing benefits, ii. 141. his opinion of the production of man, iv. 422.
Episcopacy, the ends assigned of that order, vii. 182.
Error, the mischiefs of it, i. 3.
Eucharist, the, vi. 566.
Events, their strangeness, seasonableness, suddenness, &c. arguments of a special divine providence, i. 296, 297.
Evil-speaking, i. 449.
Eusebius, Constantine M. his character of him, vii. 181.
Eutychians, their heresy of Christ's human nature converted into his divinity, confuted by Christ's ascension, v. 504.
Example, not to imitate good example the greatest ingratitude, i. 341.
——— human, the imperfection of, ii. 369.
——— of Christ to be imitated, ii. 315, 331, 334, 359, 362, 367. iv. 79.
——— the power of, iii. 442, &c. 447, 455.
——— (bad,) mischiefs thence to religion, iii. 497.
——— our duty to set and follow good example, ii. 336. our obligation herein either intimated or supposed in scripture, ibid.
Examples of holy persons in scripture exceed all others for excellence, ii. 358.
———, good examples best direct practice, ii. 339. their particular advantage above precepts, 340, &c. iii. 351, 431.
——— in all ages to learn by, ii. 338.
Excommunicated persons, not admitted into communion by other churches, vii. 651, 690, &c.
Excommunication, iii. 314.
Exemptions, the pope no power to grant them, vii. 579.
Existence, what doth in a lower

degree somewhere exist doth probably otherwhere exist in higher perfections, iv. 427.

F.

Faith in God and Christ, ii. 342. an effectual means of joy and content, 561.
—— nature thereof, iii. 267. iv. 255. the power, 83.
——, the power, reasonableness, and benefits of it, iv. 252, 297. objections against it with answers to them, 253, 254. the value thereof as implying divine knowledge, 256. faith and a good conscience inseparable, 240. faith and works conjoined, 249, 318. faith gives clear and certain knowledge, 259. faith without reason impossible, 267. implies a good use of reason, 262. and compliance with the providence and grace of God, 268.
——, the original and increase thereof, iv. 269. proceeds from sincerity and soundness of judgment, 277. is increased by diligence and attention, 276. and by resolution, 283. is voluntary, 289. the dangerous mistakes about faith, ibid. the ancients' description of it, 290. the effects and influences of faith, 299. faith previous to pardon, 350. examples of its power, 335, &c. increased from consideration of Christ's sufferings, v. 368. and resurrection, &c. 474.
—— and hope in God, whence wrought in us, v. 410.
—— unity of the church preserved by it, vii. 635.
Father, the import of the name when attributed to God, vi. 450. on what grounds the title of Father attributed to God, iv. 495. and what influence it ought to have on us, 496.
Fathers, what regard to be given to their account of St. Peter's primacy of order, or bare dignity, vii. 66.
——— a censure of their writings, vii. 151. Bellarmine's account of the same, ibid. the latter Fathers' most guilty expressions, vii. 152.
——— a character of their writings, vii. 250.
Fear of God promoted by belief of his providence, i. 304. the duty and obligation to the same, iii. 511.
——; the prejudice to religion from base fear, iii. 468, 504.
—— God the special object of fear, iii. 473.
—— a cause of infidelity, iv. 238. power thereof, v. 520.
Feed my sheep; the Romish interpretation rejected, and the true established, vii. 254.
Festivals, (Jewish and Christian,) their commemoration and correspondence, iv. 157. the proper business on festivals, 98.
Fidelity, the manifold mischiefs arising from the contempt of it, iv. 247.
Flattery, the sin, mischief, and remedy, iii. 14.
Flood, sending thereof, the goodness of God therein, iii. 534.
Forgiveness of sins, vi. 419.
Fortune, her pretended power disclaimed.
——— the character thereof, v. 20.
Friendship obtained by the practice of religion, i. 76.

G.

German ubiquitaries confuted from Christ's ascension, v. 504.

Ghost, gift of the Holy Ghost, iv. 156. nature and benefits thereof, 159.
Glosses of the Romanists on scripture, vii. 147. their corruptions and partiality herein, 151.
Gnostic heresy concerning two Gods, iv. 573.
God, what notions to have of his perfections, i. 95. how to be worshipped, 96, &c. our great obligation to him, 199. not peremptorily to conclude concerning the determinate reasons of his actions, 331.
——, the benefits of having right conceptions of him, iv. 273, 274. these represented by Christian religion, 459, 463. his existence proved from the frame of the world, 391. and of human nature, 418. from universal consent, 444. from supernatural effects, 471. from belief of a future judgment, 490. his works unsearchable, 414. his eternity, immutability, &c. 469. proved from the making and governing the world, 470. his unity declared from that harmony which is in the world, and from the common suffrage of mankind, 467. plurality of gods among the philosophers, how to be understood, 469.
—— names of him, their import, iv. 522.
God's attributes, iii. 250, 521. obligations for duty to him thence, ii. 398.
—— omniscience, an high argument to sincerity, iii. 95. a great preservative against all sin, 38.
Godliness, the profitableness thereof, i. 23—80.
Goodness of God, that attribute proved and applied, iii. 514. et in seq. 546.
Gospel, some nations being in ignorance thereof, no argument against a divine providence, or universal redemption, iv. 28, 60.
——— doctrine thereof, and benefits made void by infidelity, iv. 225.
——— the unjust prejudices against it, iv. 230.
——— tenor thereof, iv. 369. perfection of it, v. 126.
Government, supported by religion, i. 339. also maintained by the decent circumstances which attend it, 334.
———— civil government destroyed by atheists, iv. 247. Vide Societies.
Grace, danger in abuse thereof by delay of repentance, iii. 117.
—— of God, iv. 42.
—— communication and effects thereof in heathens, iv. 48.
—— previous dispositions required to the receiving thereof, iv. 68.
—— when a person is in a state of grace, iv. 91.
—— falling from it, iv. 353.
Gratitude, learnt from Christ's sufferings, v. 367.
Gregory, M. his character and authority against the pope, vii. 258.
Grief and pain, iv. 578.

H.

Hades, interpretation thereof, v. 416, &c.
Hamakom, a name applied to God by the Jewish doctors, iv. 533.
Happiness attained by religion, i. 68. hope of, 4.
————, future happiness, degrees thereof, iii. 127.
———— consideration of fu-

ture. happiness a sovereign means to content, ii. 510.
Happiness sought from remembrance of this life's shortness, iii. 77.
——— future happiness, vi. 64.
Hardness of heart, the mischiefs of it, iv. 231.
To hear, in scripture language oft implies to observe attentively, iii. 4.
Hearers, the characters of religious hearers, iii. 321, &c.
Heart, to be kept with all diligence, iii. 1.
—— (deceitful,) iii. 9, 40.
—— the chief seat of the soul according to Aristotle, iii. 3.
Heaven, the extent of the signification of the word, iv. 557.
——— by the ancient Fathers thought inaccessible before Christ's ascension, v. 499. the grounds of this supposition, ibid.
——— sometimes in scripture taken for the place of God's more especial presence, v. 484.
Heavens, their wonderful frame discover infinite wisdom and power, iv. 411. three heavens according to the Jewish notion, 558.
Hell, Christ's descent thither explained, v. 414. the vain conceits about the same enumerated and rejected, 427.
—— torments, vi. 66.
Heresy, iii. 299.
—— of simony, popes guilty of it, vii. 572.
Heretics, how confuted in ancient time, vii. 241, &c.
Hermogenes, error concerning the creation of the world, iv. 572, 573.
Holy Ghost, effusion thereof a great attestation to the Christian religion, v. 211.
Holy Ghost, the miraculous efficacy thereof in our blessed Saviour's conception, v. 316.
——— the offices peculiarly attributed to him, v. 318, &c. his divinity, vi. 1. personality, 5, 19. name, 5.
——— the efficacy of the Holy Ghost in scripture styled the Holy Ghost, vi. 6. the Holy Ghost is God, 20, &c. procession of the Holy Ghost, 30. his offices and operations, 32. whence called Παράκλητος, 36.
Holy life promoted by knowledge of our own hearts, iii. 30, 37.
Honesty, and public behaviour, iii. 415.
Honour in religion, i. 36. iii. 477, 567.
———, the security, usefulness, and natural desire thereof, i. 81, &c.
——— true honour how attained, iii. 142, 179.
——— and delight in religion and learning, iii. 238.
——— worldly honour, the vanity, iii. 51.
Honouring God, the reward thereof, i. 81—112.
Hope, iii. 171. advantage thereof in afflictions, ii. 471.
Humility taught by religion, i. 32. learnt from consideration of Christ's sufferings, ii. 293.
——— of Christ, ii. 389. learnt from his example, 373.
———, iii. 270. procures content, ii. 507, 517.
———, strictly enjoined to Christ's apostles and followers, vii. 79.
——— increaseth faith, iv.

proceeds from faith, iv. 309. acceptableness thereof to God, 348. wrought in us by the consideration of our dependence upon God, 513. and of Christ's assuming human nature, v. 310, 329.
Humour, delicacy and niceness thereof, iv. 232. a cause of infidelity, ibid.
Hypocrisy, iii. 415. how avoided, 94.
——— whence virtue sometimes so miscalled, and how borne, iii. 484.
Hypostasis, why the word not admitted by the Latin fathers, vi. 11.

I.

Idolatry, the original, unreasonableness, and danger thereof, vi. 486. expressly forbidden, 491.
——— the gospel hath shewn how to destroy it, v. 150.
——— of the church of Rome in worshipping the Virgin Mary, v. 333.
Jehovah, the title given not only to God, but also to Christ in scripture, v. 266. vi. 478.
Jerusalem, destruction thereof no argument against divine Providence, iii. 542.
Jesting, limitations thereof, i. 385.
Jesuits, their character, vii. 390.
Jesus, the name, ii. 308. extent of the salvation by him, and on what accounts, iv. 33.
——, according to the common notion of the Jews, did imply his being the Son of God, vii. 61.
——— the true Messias, v. 90. why the name given to Christ, 92.
Jewish religion, the imperfection thereof, v. 32. no imputation upon God from thence, v. 43.
Jews, their uncharitableness and inhuman temper, ii. 147.
Ignorance, mischiefs arising from ignorance of ourselves, iii. 13.
——— of mankind before Christ's coming, iv. 113.
——— of popes in divinity, vii. 570.
——— how serviceable to the church of Rome, vii. 389.
Image worship, vii. 296.
Images, worship thereof contrary to reason, scripture, and antiquity, vi. 491.
Impartiality, a divine attribute, &c. iii. 554.
Indifferency in matters of religion, the danger, iii. 508.
Indulgences, vii. 394.
Industry, advantages therein, iii. 141.
——— in our calling as Christians, iii. 206.
Infallibility, pretence to it the greatest tyranny, vii. 292. whence pretended, 295. the mother of incorrigibility and corruption of manners, 298, 569.
Infidelity, the folly thereof, iv. 483. the chief cause of sin, 223. character thereof, ibid.
Infidels, viz. such as do not good actions, iv. 250.
Ingratitude punished by the Persians, i. 236.
Iniquities of the fathers punished in their posterity, vi. 498.
Injuries, Christ the example of bearing them, and our duty of imitation, ii. 541, 548. how we may learn to forgive them, v. 578.
Inspiration, the popes' and synods' bold pretensions to it, vii. 613.

Intemperance, an enemy to Christian religion, iv. 310.
Joshua, a type of Christ, v. 93.
Joy excited by a belief of divine Providence, i. 508.
— spiritual joy, iv. 98.
Israelites, God's goodness to them in his judgments, iii. 536.
Judaism; ancient Judaism nowhere to be found, v. 58.
Judge, (upright,) his character, iv. 277.
Judges, the nature of their office and place, i. 549, &c.
Judgment, future judgment, iii. 269. impartiality thereof, 570. the effect to reformation, 95, 102.
——— bad judgment a cause of infidelity, iv. 229.
——— future judgment, what influence it hath on our lives, iv. 301.
——— will clearly discover the events of this life, and justify the divine proceedings, iv. 490.
——— the reasonableness and equity thereof, v. 514. belief hereof the greatest incentive to virtue, 523.
——— the certainty and circumstances thereof from divine revelation, v. 542.
——— the last judgment, solemnity thereof, v. 562.
Judgments of God unsearchable, iii. 249.
Jurisdiction, universal jurisdiction over the clergy, the pope's presumption herein, and when begun, vii. 369, &c.
——— temporal and ecclesiastical, nature thereof, vii. 584.
Justice of God, frequent instances thereof in this life, and on whom often executed, iv. 485—488.
Justice to our neighbour, the obligation thence to a holy life, iii. 449.
Divine justice in punishing illustrates the divine mercy, iii. 528, 529.
Justice in our dealings, v. 573.
Justify, that word in profane writers seldom or never applied to persons as it is in scripture, iv. 366.
Justification, v. 406. the divine acts to which that term is applicable, iv. 362. what it imports, 361. the fathers and schoolmen did not differ about it, ibid. disputes about it, when they began, 362. and how to be reconciled, in seq. the differences relate principally to the notion of the word, 365. is not learnt from mere grammarians, 366. nature thereof explained from St. Paul's Epistles, 368. et in seq. is not an infused quality; Bellarmine and Grotius's allegations insufficient in this point, 383. upon what account St. Austin and some other fathers may seem to use the word *justification* according to the sense of the Tridentine council, 385. of the time when this act is performed or dispensed, 386.
Justification and *sanctification* sometimes in scripture equivalent terms, iv. 387. when it is we deprive ourselves of the benefits of it, 388, 389.
Justifying faith, embracing thereof supposes a virtuous mind, iv. 287. the nature of justifying faith, 326, &c. errors concerning the same re-

futed, iv. 354, &c. whence the Jews and Gentiles objected against it, 385.
Justin Martyr, notatur.

K.

Keys, power of the keys, vi. 51. power thereof, as also all other authority, communicated to all the apostles equally, vii. 86, 134.
Kingdom of heaven, the phrase explained, vi. 52. and what meant by opening the same, 53—57.
Kings, the authority of their example, i. 101. the duty of praying for them, and practice of the church herein, 240—275.
—— the honour and obedience to them, iii. 579.
—— have the power only of calling general councils, vii. 408. the unreasonableness of the contrary, 409. vide Emperors.
Knowledge learnt in religion, i. 39.
———— imperfection thereof in this state, iii. 252, 372. the universal love of knowledge, 12.
———— of ourselves conducive to the understanding the nature of mankind, iii. 39. necessary also to the governing ourselves, 40.
Knowledge, secular knowledge, the vanity thereof, iii. 65.
———— of ourselves, iii. 8.
———— divine knowledge, the excellence of it, iv. 256. attained by faith, 259. perfection thereof, ibid.
———— human knowledge, the uncertainty of it, iv. 259.
———— —— the natural desire thereof, an argument of the soul's immortality, and original from God, iv. 435.

L.

Laws, human laws, strict obedience due to them, ii. 29. the mischiefs arising from the violation of them, 134.
———— the nature and obligation of them, v. 523.
——, ecclesiastical laws, in whose power to enact them, vii. 452. the pope subject to them, 455.
Learning, how attained, iii. 229. benefit thereof, 333.
Legends of the church of Rome, the profits arising from them, vii. 392.
Life, miseries of human life, ii. 485. to know the determinate measure of our life not a subject for prayer according to many of the fathers, iii. 44.
Life's shortness a proper consideration to apply our hearts unto wisdom, iii. 46. and to the improvement of time, and practice of sincerity, 93.
Life, (present and future,) compared in four respects, iii. 80.
—— long life, to whom promised in scripture, vi. 524.
—— everlasting, vi. 63.
Light, benefit thereof, i. 50.
Limbus Patrum, v. 427.
Lord's Prayer, a full exposition of it, vi. 443—471.
Love, the authority and excellence thereof, i. 460.
—— described according to its essential properties, i. 619.
—— of God, the properties thereof, i. 619, &c. wrought by attentive consideration of the divine perfections, 642. by meditation on God's works and actions, 648. and by reflecting on personal benefits received, 651.

Love of God to mankind apparent from the tendency of his laws, ii. 2.
——— to men, a threefold manner thereof expressed in scripture, v. 400.
——— wrought in us from consideration of Christ's death, v. 410.
—— of our neighbour, ii. 1. the nature and measure of it, 9. examples hereof, 22, &c.
—— of one another, the nature and properties of it, ii. 44, &c. the same duty enforced by divers arguments, 4, &c.
—— of God and our neighbour, the joy in these duties, ii. 569, 570. obligation to a good conversation from thence iii. 446.
Lying, the nature, mischiefs, and follies of it, i. 510.

M.

Macedonians, or Semi-Arians, their heresy concerning the Holy Ghost, vi. 20, &c.
Magicians, v. 184.
Magistrates, their power to inflict punishments, v. 341. vi. 526. their authority from God, v. 341.
Mahometanism, v. 24—31.
Malice, v. 363.
Man, his creation by God evidenced from reason, iv. 419. absurdities of the contrary, 425.
Manichæus, his vain opinion of the creation of the world, iv. 554. and two first causes of things, 574.
Marcion, his heresy of two Gods, iv. 554—574.
Marriage, the Romanists' abuse thereof, vii. 609. why forbidden to their priests, 296.
Martyrdom, iii. 481.
Mary, the Virgin Mary, her relations and qualifications, v. 328. by whom first worshipped, 333.
Mass, doctrine thereof, vii. 295.
Matrimony, original thereof, whence, iv. 461.
Matter, the philosophers' opinions of it, iv. 561.
Meekness, faith productive of it, iv. 308.
Melchizedek, the first priest mentioned in scripture, i. 338.
Mercy of God in pardon of sin, iii. 116.
Merit, pretended merit disclaimed, ii. 318, 319, 323, 325, 438. iii. 382. iv. 346.
—— doctrine thereof in the church of Rome, vii. 295.
Messias, the names attributed to him in scripture, v. 90. why the name not openly expressed in the ancient predictions, ibid.
Midrash, or mystical sense in the Old Testament, the ancient Jews' constant belief thereof, iv. 142.
Ministers, iii. 273.
——— vide Priests.
Miracles, why the prophets and apostles dignified with the power of working them, i. 347.
——— their power, certainty, and original, v. 175—196. divers causes why wrought, iv. 477. not ceased, if there were necessary occasion for the working of them, v. 210, 211.
——— true miracles demonstrate divine power, iv. 271. and that it nowise dependeth upon matter, 272. miracles, why bestowed, v. 430.
——— why pretended to by the Romanists, vii. 296.

Moderation recommended, i. 461.
Modesty, what kind blameable, iii. 468.
Monarchy and democracy, iii. 278.
——— universal monarchy not politic nor convenient, vii. 277. neither in church nor state, 324.
——— less subject to abuse than other ways of government, vii. 672.
Monasteries, why exempted by the pope from secular jurisdiction, vii. 294.
Monkery, vii. 297.
Moses' history most ancient and credible, iv. 463.
Μυστήριον, rendered by the most ancient translators of the Bible by the word *sacrament*, vi. 543.
Mythology of the heathen, iv. 456—460.

N.

Name, what to do any thing in another's name, ii. 308.
——— of Christ, all to be done in his name, ii. 308.
——— a good name by practice of religion, iii. 457.
Names anciently given by divine Providence to persons answerable to their employments, v. 91. the excellent use thereof, ibid.
Nativity of Christ, how to be solemnized, v. 312—315.
Nature, union of the two natures in Christ, v. 301—307.
——— human nature, the dignity thereof, v. 311.
Necessity and chance the same, iv. 396.
Negligence, a cause of infidelity, iv. 227.
Neighbour, directions for loving as ourselves, ii. 10, 11. the manifold obligations to this duty, ii. 14. that it is practicable, 22, 29. arguments to that end, 38, 77. vi. 537.
Nestorius's heresy concerning the two natures in Christ, v. 324.
Netser, (or the Branch,) the name, why attributed to the Messias, v. 91.
Nicholas, (pope,) the first who excommunicated princes, *secundum Bodin*, vii. 310.
Novatians, their pretended purity and perfection, iii. 381.

O.

Oath of bishops of Rome, at their election, vii. 46.
Oaths, the abuse thereof, i. 375. how sacred they are, 376. represented in scripture as a special part of religious worship, 419.
——— their limitation, i. 415. nature, 416. the sin of abuse of them, ibid. directions about them, 421.
——— adjudged by heathens to be the greatest obligation of conscience, i. 424.
——— how conducive to the preservation of human societies, v. 526.
——— rash oaths no temptation to them, i. 442. the mischiefs they bring on society and government, 423. commonly lead to unlawful practices, 429. and to undertakings detrimental to a man's self, 430. the disparagement they bring on them that use them, 436. their impertinence in discourse, 438. an uncivil practice, 439. they proceed from passion, conceit, levity, stupidity, humour, want of reverence to God, 441.
Obedience to Christ's law in-

dispensably necessary, ii. 313. iii. 560. must be universal, 511. iv. 38. the argument of our love to our Saviour Christ, ii. 382.
Obedience to God, whence learnt, iv. 507—511. v. 368, 477.
——— blind obedience, vii. 379.
Opportunity, to be observed in action, and is best taught by religion, i. 15.
Oracles, their antiquity, iv. 476.
Order and discipline of the primitive church, vii. 677. vide Discipline.
Ordination, iii. 280. priority therein did anciently ground a right to precedence, vii. 68.
Original sin, vi. 548. ii. 323. iii. 532. iv. 377. v. 274, 275, 325, 400.
Orthodox, who such in the primitive church, vii. 638.

P.

Paganism, v. 17.
Pagans, their state with reference to receiving divine grace, iv. 48. whether such grace is consistent with the want of an explicit knowledge of Christ, and faith in him, 53.
Pain and grief, iv. 578.
Παντοκράτωρ, that title, why proper to God, iv. 522—524.
Paradise, lost by infidelity, iv. 250.
——— seat thereof, v. 425.
Parents, the duty owing to them, vi. 519, 520.
Passion, a cause of infidelity, iv. 240. contrary to the Christian religion, 243.
——— of Christ, infinite merit thereof, iv. 35, 36. foretold in the Old Testament, 129, &c.
Passover, why instituted, vi. 556.
Pastors of the church, their duty to maintain peace and charity, vii. 649.
Patience, ii. 525. Christ the perfect example thereof, 539.
Patience, accessory to faith, iv. 285. proceeds from faith, 312, 315.
Patriarchs, not an higher order than primates, vii. 361. their institution and authority, 364.
Peace, the great advantages thereof, ii. 144. how attained, 155, 156.
—— no peace to the wicked, ii. 510.
—— how advanced by Christ's kingdom, v. 147.
—— to be inviolable among Christians, vii. 642. the sacraments conducive to the same, 643. as also convocation of synods, 645.
Peaceable temper and behaviour, and whence learnt, ii. 106.
Pelagians, their pretended purity and perfection, iii. 381. their errors about holy baptism, iv. 166.
Pentecost, the joy of that feast, and how observed and expressed by the Jews, iv. 158.
Perfection, the notion thereof explained, as applied to man in scripture, i. 359.
——— some degrees thereof among the creatures, and whence so wisely appointed, iv. 576.
Performances to be judged by their natures, not contingent events, iv. 31.
Perjury introduced by rash and vain swearing, i. 428.
Persecution, iii. 488.
Perseverance in religion, iii. 502.
Peter, St. whence his primacy asserted, vii. 56. in personal accomplishments most eminent among the apostles, 60.

it is probable he was first called to the apostolical office, vii. 67. his zeal and activity, 61, 69. his superiority in power rejected, 71, &c. was no priest at the celebration of our Lord's supper, *contra Concil. Trid.*, 73. not bishop of Rome, 172. whether ever at Rome, 175.

Philosophers, their absurd assertions, iv. 445. their obscure notions about religion, 258, 259. v. 9, 10. their precepts, how little useful to promote virtue or restrain vice, 525.

——— and poets, their opinions concerning man's original compared with the scripture account, iv. 454, &c.

Philosophy and Christianity further compared, v. 78.

Plants, the great power and wisdom of God in making them, iv. 393, &c.

Pleasure, the vanity of, iii. 62. true pleasure in religion, i. 37. iii. 126.

Pleasures conquered by practice of religion, i. 14, 72.

Pliny, his opinion of a resurrection, and cause of his error therein, v. 433.

Poets, the best interpreters of the popular opinions, iv. 467.

Pontius Pilate, a character of him, v. 346.

Poor; the duty and reward of charity to them, ii. 98, 99.

—— the care and protection of them evinces the providence of God, iii. 520.

Pope's supremacy, the controversies about it, vii. 1. the great disturbances it hath caused, 2. pretended authority to depose princes, 5. their behaviour according to their circumstances, 38. pretended supremacy in spirituals, vii. 43. their imperious arbitrary government, 83. the insolent titles given to them, 84. no judge of controversies, 244, &c. their character before and after Constantine, 302. usurpation on princes, 309. causes of the growth of pretended supremacy, 369. did not claim a power of summoning general councils until they had in a manner shaken off subjection to the emperor, 411. no more authority in councils, than patriarchs and other clergy, 412. supremacy not indefectible and unalterable, 581. a character of them and their usurpations, 427, 669, &c. supremacy disclaimed, 659.

Porphyrius, his acknowledgment of the certainty of some predictions, iv. 477.

Possible, what is in kind possible, is in any perfection of degree possible, iv. 427.

Poverty; the disadvantages and contempt accompanying it, i. 343, &c.

Power obtained by religion, i. 36.

——— and wisdom of God in the creation, iv. 398.

——— worldly power, the character, iii. 51.

——— only in God originally and essentially, ii. 317.

——— worldly power, vii. 371. description thereof, and how much it hath advanced the pope's usurpations, 373.

Pragmaticalness, how avoided, i. 612.

Pragmatical Sanctions, vii. 393.

Prayer, iii. 422. arguments to the duty of prayer, i. 15. 136, 137, 167, &c. efficacy and nature thereof, 265.

299. vi. 443, &c. the prevalency hereof towards the love of God and of our neighbour, ii. 38. and to attain peace, i. 656. opportunity and constancy herein required, 146, 147, 155, 156, &c.
Prayer, to be offered in Christ's name, ii. 324, 325. the duty itself, in seq.
——— the benefit against discontent, ii. 511.
——— promoted by knowledge of ourselves, iii. 34.
Prayers, whence to be made for all men, iv. 15, &c.
Predestination, iii. 574.
Predictions, their original antiquity and authority, iv. 474.
Prejudice, a cause of infidelity, iv. 299.
Presidency of the pope, nowise necessary to the being of a general council, vii. 425.
——— some imposed upon by the ambiguity of that word, vii. 418.
Presidencies, spiritual presidencies, to erect and translate them a prerogative of sovereign power, vii. 579.
Presidents in council appointed by popes, of no authority, vii. 416.
Pride from ignorance of our own selves, iii. 367, 408.
——, a cause of infidelity, iv. 233. opposition thereof to Christian religion, 235.
Priest doth not import a Jewish sacrifice, i. 325.
Priests, their maintenance, i. 329. the titles conferred on them in scripture, 332, 333. the respect paid them by all nations, 337, 338. the order of them related in scripture according to their antiquity, ibid. their authority among the Jews, 351. the love they obtained in the first ages of the church, i. 354. their personal qualities, 347. employment, 350. condition in the world engages protection, 354.
Priests mentioned in Psalm cxxxii. 16. are the priests and pastors of the Christian church, i. 320.
——— why forbidden marriage by the church of Rome, vii. 296.
Priesthood, the excellence thereof, i. 339.
Primacy, four kinds thereof, vii. 60.
——— in St. Peter neither personal nor successive, vii. 160.
——— of St. John and St. James have more specious titles than of St. Peter, vii. 148, 155.
Primacies, diocesan primacies, the pope's great gain in the western churches not embracing that discipline, vii. 363.
Privileges, the pope no power to grant them, vii. 579.
Probability, the degrees of, according to Aristotle, iv. 445.
Profanation of God's name by a wicked life, iii. 436.
Profit, the power of it, i. 23. consistent with religion, 25.
Promises of the gospel, ii. 563. of a conditional nature, iii. 149.
Proof of things, how to be managed, iv. 482.
Prophecies, ancient prophecies of Christ's sufferings, iv. 148, &c.
Prophecy, iv. 474.
Prosperity attained by religion, i. 32, 43.
——— of the wicked, and that the same is no argument against a divine Providence,

ii. 426, 454, 478, 483. iii. 259, 264, 518, 521, 552, 572.
Prosperity, miseries thereof, ii. 494.
Providence; belief thereof makes all conditions pleasant, i. 5, 48.
——— seen in events, i. 279. whence objected against, 284.
——— dependence thereon the best preservative of government, i. 269. belief thereof engages to mutual love, ii. 40.
——— of God, iv. 471, 537, 546. in governing the world, ii. 408. iii. 258. joy arising thence, ii. 565.
——— shews his justice, and what influence the consideration thereof should have on us, iii. 575.
——— unsearchable, iv. 76. disbelief thereof makes covetous, iv. 250.
——— visible in the constitution and preservation of societies, iv. 441, 485.
——— vindicated by belief of a future judgment, v. 530.
Provincial synods, when appeals were first made to them, vii. 532.
Prudence, companion of faith, iv. 286.
Punishment, design thereof reformation, i. 281.
——— causes and consequences of it, iv. 224, 247. what influence temporal punishment hath to the pursuit of virtue, or avoiding vice, v. 528.
Punishments according to Damascene, i. 300.
Purgation and sacrifices from institution, iv. 460.
Purgatory, ii. 479. whence invented, vii. 294.
To put on Christ, the explanation of that phrase in scripture, ii. 362.

Q.

Quick and the dead, the phrase explained, v. 564.
Quietness, the duty and arguments to it, i. 575.

R.

Reason; the proper use and excellence of it, i. 410.
——— use thereof in religion, iv. 235, 262, 291. v. 2. mischiefs arising from abuse thereof in religion, iv. 392.
——— and conscience determine the excellence of the gospel, iv. 280.
——— the due exercise thereof makes every part of the creation useful to us, iv. 408.
Redemption, (universal,) ii. 397, &c. the mighty love therein, iii. 524.
——— of the world, God's infinite love in it, iv. 273. mystery and reasons thereof, 300, &c.
Reflection, a peculiar act of human nature, iii. 5.
Regeneration, iv. 27. vi. 549. how wrought, v. 323. vi. 210. necessity thereof, ibid.
Rejoice evermore, ii. 553.
Relics among the Romans, vii. 296.
Religion; wherein it consists, i. 18. advantages of it, i. 1, 23, 28. promises of this life to it, 43. the mischiefs in the want thereof, 51, 56. danger of the contempt of it, 371.
——— the excellence and veneration thereof, i. 359.
——— performance thereof easy from examples, ii. 349. and from the Divine assistance and our own resolutions, 385.

Religion, joy therein, ii. 553. exercise of religion to be in every condition, iii. 136. benefits attending the same, 137.
——— supported from belief of a future judgment, vi. 526.
——— the atheist's objections against it, v. 24. iv. 246.
——— Christian religion recommended to reason and experience, iv. 262. perfection of it, 263. corresponds with ancient predictions, v. 131. testimonies given by God to it, 175, 213.
Religious man; description of him, i. 128.
Remission of sins, iii. 116. the popish doctrines and errors about it, vii. 602.
Repentance, ii. 514. delay therein, the danger, iii. 93, 99, 105, 112, 121.
——— the pleasure therein, ii. 516. iii. 125. whence wrought, v. 410.
Reproach borne by knowledge of ourselves, iii. 19.
——— vain fear of being reproached makes some neglect their duty of religion, iii. 474.
Reproof; who may use it, and when, i. 452, &c. the rules to be observed in it, 457, &c.
Reputation; the value set upon it, i. 87. gained by religion, 10, 35, 54, 110, 127.
Reputation in practice of religion, iii. 457.
——— of others not to be detracted from, vi. 536.
Residence of bishops, vii. 177. their translation, 178.
Resignation, ii. 384. iv. 281, 514.
Resolution; want thereof often makes things seem impossible that are possible, ii. 31.
Resolution gained by practice of religion, i. 119.
——— in religion, ii. 348. increased by knowledge of ourselves and life's shortness, iii. 27, 74.
——— the power, iii. 122. necessity, 445, 468, 504.
——— iv. 282, 313. want thereof a cause of infidelity, 238.
Restitution of bishops not an act of jurisdiction, never in the power of the pope, vii. 519, &c. pretended examples shown to be invalid, in seq.
Resurrection represented by baptism, vi. 551.
——— of Christ, v. 383, 430, 462. the great attestation it gave to the Christian religion, 207, 471. expediency thereof, 462. an act of the Divine love, 467. assurance of our resurrection, 431, &c. 469.
——— of the body, vi. 58. sometimes called regeneration, 59.
Revelation, nature thereof, iii. 255.
——— divine revelation, the necessity and benefits thereof, v. 8. character of it, 17, 32, 37.
——— made by the apostles the only ground of absolute belief, vii. 269.
Revenge, the miseries attending it, ii. 144.
——— and love of enemies, ii. 532—536.
Revenge, contrary to Christian religion, iv. 242.
Reward, power thereof to excite to virtue, ii. 354.
Rewards and punishments; vide Judgment.

Riches; their authority, i. 343. their proper use, ii. 233. their vanity, 238.
Right hand of God, the import of that phrase, v. 484.
Be not righteous overmuch, &c. the foolish plea some assume from thence, iii. 510.
Rites in the Christian religion, solemn, significant, proper, and useful, vi. 542.
Rock, St. Peter being so called, examined, vii. 123.
Romanists, an enumeration of some of their errors, vii. 293, &c.
——— in England, schismatics, vii. 692. a further character of them, ibid.
Romans, chap. v. 16, 18. Bellarmine's mistakes about the interpretation of them, iv. 377.
Romish church vainly pretends to greatest antiquity, vii. 662.
——— religion; the character of it, i. 316.

S.

Sabaoth, a name of God, iv. 522.
Sabbath; institution and end thereof, vi. 504. whence instituted among the Jews, iv. 555.
Sabellius and Socinus, not differing in their notions concerning the Holy Spirit, vi. 12.
Sacrament of the Lord's supper, wherein differing from the Jewish passover, vi. 556.
——— the preparation for it, vi. 562. duty after receiving thereof, 565. frequency of receiving among the primitive Christians, 566.
Sacraments, iv. 26. the *opus operatum* therein among the Romanists, vii. 294. why celebrated by them in an unknown tongue, vii. 296. their further abuse thereof, 614.
Sacraments of the Christian religion, their institution and character, vi. 541. whence called mysteries, 543.
Sacrifice, i. 195, &c.
——— called *Tamidh* among the Jews, i. 155.
——— of Christ, sufficiency thereof, v. 253.
Sacrifices, their original from institution, iv. 460.
——— expiatory sacrifices, vi. 45.
——— Jewish sacrifices prefigurative of Christ's death, v. 391.
Sacrilege, iii. 248.
Safety obtained by religion, i. 7, 122.
Saints, who styled in the gospel, iii. 438.
—— papists' doctrine of worshipping them contrary to scripture, vii. 600.
Salvation, the term explained, i. 327. iv. 32.
Sanctification and justification are in scripture sometimes equivalent terms, iv. 387.
Scepticism; the unreasonableness and mischiefs of it, iv. 485.
Schism, nature thereof, vii. 688. the persons guilty of it, 689.
Schismatics, iii. 289, 320.
Scholar's calling, iii. 228.
Scoffing at religion, the folly, iii. 478, &c.
Scripture; interpretation of holy scripture, iii. 324, &c. the duty of reading, hearing, and practising the scriptures, ii. 382. the great benefits from the examples therein propounded, 338.
——— style thereof, v. 86.

Scripture the only rule for our belief, vii. 72.
Scriptures, prohibiting of them, whence, vii. 295, 607. and teaching them in an unknown tongue, 608.
Self-complacence, iii. 389.
——conceit and confidence, iii. 367, 387.
——denial, ii. 499. iv. 274.
——interest, iii. 395.
——love, iii. 17, &c. 353, 409. how destroyed in us, ii. 41, 104.
——praise, iii. 409.
——will, iii. 391.
Seneca not free from ambition, i. 85.
Separations in the church, the mischiefs of them, vii. 686.
Servants of Christ, why Christians so called, ii. 312.
Shame in sin, iii. 110, 127.
Sheol, interpretation of that word, v. 417.
Simony, popes guilty of it, vii. 572.
Sin; the folly thereof, i. 505.
—— the guilt and misery, ii. 514, 515. resistance thereof brings benefit to virtue and religion, iii. 503, &c.
—— whence it proceeds, iv. 578. heinousness thereof, v. 411.
—— wilful sin, how prevented, v. 371.
Sincerity, remembrance of the shortness of life conducive to attain it, iii. 94.
———— iv. 309. v. 581. attained and practised by consideration of a future judgment, 568.
Singularity, fear of the imputation makes some neglect religion. Folly of this, iii. 501, 502.
Slander, vi. 536. the nature and mischievous consequences of it, i. 480, 505.
Slander and detraction, how they differ, i. 497.
Sloth, iii. 121. a cause of infidelity, iv. 228.
Society advanced by Christian religion, i. 16, 77. ii. 42.
———— the benefits and ends thereof, ii. 144.
————'s flourishing by observance of religion, iii. 454.
Societies destroyed by atheists, iv. 248.
———— evince the being of a God, iv. 439. love thereof natural, ibid. advantages of the same, 440. preserved by belief of a future judgment, v. 526.
Solitude grateful to good men, i. 78.
———— fear of being thought too much addicted to it, inclines some to forbear being religious, iii. 497.
Solomon, a character of his knowledge, iii. 231.
Sovereignty, the particular branches thereof considered, and popes' vain pretences to the same, vii. 394.
Soul, necessity of caring for it, i. 156.
—— duty of caring for it, iii. 9, &c. soul's activity, ii. 331.
—— and body, their union, v. 303.
——'s immortality, i. 63. iv. 420, 427. v. 434, 471. vi. 58. excellence and operations, iv. 423, 455. creation by God, 570. heathens' opinions of the state of souls after their departure, v. 416. Jewish account thereof, 418. various acceptations of the word *soul* in scripture, 422.
Speech; not offending in it an high instance of solid goodness, i. 358.
———— the extent and proper

use of it, i. 363, 444, 521, 522.
Holy Spirit's assistance and offices, iv. 44.
Spirit, vide Inspiration.
—— the use of that appellation, vi. 2.
—— a fierce spirit a cause of infidelity, iv. 239.
Spirits; the manner of their acting, iv. 162.
——— vide Apparitions.
——— evil spirits, v. 185, 205.
Spiritual gifts, iii. 339.
——— guides and governors, obedience that is due to them iii. 273.
Stoics, their dictates extravagant and unpracticable, as framed not according to the nature of man, but to an idea in their own imagination, iii. 39.
—— their examples in their doctrines, ii. 349.
Stupidity, a cause of infidelity, iv. 228.
Submission to the divine will, ii. 384.
Success in religion, i. 133.
Sufferings of Christ, ii. 393. iv. 129. v. 335. the inconsistency of the philosophers in objecting against them, 381.
Synod, no general synod before Constantine M., vii. 395.
Synods; in ancient synods divers things were ordained without the pope's consent, divers against his pleasure, vii. 451, 455. instances hereof, in seq.
——— no rule extant about them in the first fathers till after 280 years, vii. 448.
——— their decrees and acts, by whom ratified, vii. 430, 437.
——— Romish synods and enthusiasts compared, vii. 614.
Swearing, vide Oaths.

T.

Talents, improvement of them, iii. 211.
Talmudists, the seven things they say were constituted before the world, v. 91.
Taxes, imposing them on clergy or people, not in the power of the pope, vii. 580.
So teach us to number our days, &c. Psalm xc. 12. the importance of those words, iii. 42.
Temperance, iv. 310.
Temptation; the import of the word in scripture, vi. 464.
Thanksgiving; the duty thereof, i. 179. practice among the Gentiles, 195. when to be performed, i. 206.
Time, how improved, iii. 89, 122.
Tithes, of what sort they were paid in ancient times, iv. 460. the quantity allowed, ibid.
Tongue; judgment and circumspection necessary to govern it, i. 364.
——— the excellence of not offending with it, i. 358. want of government thereof, whence; and mischiefs accompanying it, 369.
——— the proper use of it, i. 444, 521, &c.
Tradition, universal tradition, iii. 287.
——— whence corrupted, iv. 462. this corruption no argument against the truth and authority thereof, 463. agreement thereof in man's original and creation of the world, 466, 560.
——— in some matters very uncertain and contradictory, vi. 69.
——— universal tradition disowns the pope's supremacy, vii. 576.

Traditions of the church of Rome, vii. 295.
——— oral traditions, vii. 617.
Tranquillity in religion, i. 65.
Transubstantiation, vii. 294. absurdity thereof from Christ's ascension, v. 505.
Trent, (council of,) character thereof, vii. 556.
Trinity, the blessed Trinity, vi. 5.
Trust in God sometimes expressed in scripture by doing an action in his name, ii. 315.
Truth; the excellence and delight thereof, i. 2. ways thereof are plain, 115, 121.
——— excellence thereof, iv. 255, 296. attained by faith, 296.
——— want of love to it a cause of infidelity, iv. 233. how obstructed, 270. power and plainness thereof, 297.
Types and prophecies, whence it may be conjectured Almighty God was pleased of old to make use of them, iv. 143.

V.

Vain-glory, iii. 403, &c.
Valentinus and followers, their heresy concerning Christ's conception, v. 318.
Ubiquitaries, German ubiquitaries confuted from Christ's ascension, v. 504.
Virgin Mary, the manner of our blessed Saviour's being born of her, v. 323.
Virtue and vice compared, iii. 137.
—— the practice and in[illegible] thereof even in this [illegible] rate state, iv. 430.
Visions, their re[illegible] what authori[illegible] 480.
Unbelief, vid[illegible]
Unction, the holy unction or chrism annexed by the ancient Christians to baptism, vi. 549.
Union with Christ, scripture account thereof, ii. 362.
Unity of the church mentioned in the Constantinopolitan Creed, not of external policy, vii. 674.
—— preservation thereof in the primitive church, no argument of its being united in one government, vii. 681.
Volkelius, his error of the creation of the world, iv. 573.
Vows, in the church of Rome, why imposed, vii. 294.
Use; popular use no good argument of truth or right, iii. 493.

W.

War; the mischiefs thereof, ii. 144, 163.
Washings among the Jews, vi. 545.
Watching, the duty, iii. 5.
Wealth, how procured by the church of Rome, vii. 390.
Will, resignation thereof, ii. 145, 167, 384. learnt from consideration of Christ's sufferings, 303.
—— freedom thereof, ii. 386. iii. 17. iv. 418.
—— of God with regard to our duty, ii. 398.
The Will, τὸ Θέλημα, a [illegible] by some writers assigned to God, vi. 5.
Will, perver[illegible] cause of [illegible]
Wisdom

Wisdom, how attained, iii. 156, 178.
Be wise as serpents, Matt. x. 16, iii. 511.
Word, not offending in it an evidence of a high pitch of virtue, i. 358.
Words and things frequently of like signification in scripture, vi. 477.
—— how used by the same writers, iv. 384.
Works, rewards (hereafter) according to them, iii. 554.
World, deluge thereof from infidelity, iv. 250.
World, testimonies of naturalists concerning the frame thereof, iv. 401. thence God's existence proved, 395, 405. every part subservient to man, 406. manner of its creation and reason thereof, 580. philosophers' opinions on this subject refuted, iv. 565.
World, contempt thereof taught from Christ's sufferings, v. 374.
World's creation and harmony declare the divine Providence, iii. 517.
Worldly-mindedness, ii. 473. iii. 48.
——— things, overvaluing them an occasion of discontent, ii. 519.
Worship of God; how to be performed, i. 421.
——— public worship of God, i. 160. vi. 443. solemn times thereof to be observed, 515.

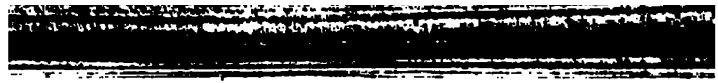
Y.

Youth, the seasonableness thereof to be religious in, iii. 131.

Z.

Zeal, blind zeal, a cause of infidelity, iv. 239.

END OF VOL. VII.



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